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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1927.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting those who not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in this notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth; even for this respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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ABINAS CHANDRA BOSE
(Controller of Examinations: 1917-1926)

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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AN IDEALIST'S CONFESSION OF FAITH¹

Gentlemen,—I thank you very much for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this section. I wish your choice had fallen upon some worthier individual. At this time of life, I am not vain enough to imagine that your choice is due to any special qualification that I possess. I take it that I have been chosen because I happen now to be one of the senior teachers of philosophy in this country.

Gentlemen, I hope you will excuse me if in my short address to you to-day, I strike a somewhat personal note. I have reached a time of life when a rather free use of the personal pronoun first person may be condoned, although I know very well that it is a prerogative which belongs only to youth. I intend the few words which I am going to speak to you to-day to be a confession of faith—an idealist's confession of faith. You will find nothing striking or original in them. I propose only to sum up very briefly and baldly the convictions of a life time.

It was in 1885 that I first became acquainted with the principles of idealism. Berkeley's *Principles of Human Knowledge* and *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* opened the gates of a new world of thought to me. In those days the study of Indian philosophy was taboo in our universities. I saw that what seems so obvious to the unreflecting mind,

¹ Address delivered as President to the Metaphysical Section, Indian Philosophical Congress, held in Benares in December, 1926.

the view that matter exists independently of mind and may be the stuff out of which mind itself is developed is the very reverse of the truth and that the world is essentially spiritual in its nature. But I was fortunate in being able to avoid the subjectivism of Berkeley, because, almost simultaneously with Berkeley, I began the study of Kant and Hegel also. From these great thinkers and also from T. H. Green, Edward Caird, F. H. Bradley, Bernard Bosanquet and others I learned the lesson that idealism need not necessarily be what has recently been called mentalism.

It is undeniable that the theory which is suggested by the first look of things is entirely opposed to idealism. In the vast world of matter, the position of mind does not at all seem to be well assured. It is not certain that it exists anywhere but on this tiny planet and appears to be wholly dependent on the brain. Even on this planet, it is apparently a late product of evolution. How then can such a thing be regarded as the pre-supposition of matter? But although such considerations seem to be obvious, it is impossible for one who has grasped Berkeley's doctrine, the *esse* of a thing is its *percipi* to withhold assent from it. Berkeley indeed unduly narrows his principle. Instead of saying that the *esse* of a thing is its *percipi*, he should have said, the *esse* of a thing is its *intelligi*, for there are modes of knowledge other and higher than perception. However that may be, Berkeley is irrefutable when he argues that an object unrelated to the mind that perceives it, or, as we should say, knows it, is an abstraction. Bain is quite right in saying that all the ingenuity of a century and a half has failed to see a way out of the contradiction exposed by Berkeley. Unfortunately, Berkeley converts a valuable truth into a serious error when he concludes that because a thing cannot exist independently of mind, it is nothing more than ideas of the mind. From the premiss, nothing is real which is not in essential relationship with mind, the conclusion certainly does not follow that

all that is is reducible to ideas of the mind. The source of Berkeley's fallacy is probably what Stillingfleet calls Locke's new way of ideas. From the truism, whatever men know, if they know anything, must be related to their conscious life, Locke infers that we know things by means of their ideas. Are ideas separable from things or are they the mental process of knowing them inseparable from and presupposing them? Locke unwarrantably chooses the former alternative and the result is that between the mind and the objects that it knows there get interposed a *tertium quid*, the ideas of things. But if things are other than ideas, how can we ever be assured of their existence? Ideas, argues Berkeley, are either unlike the things or like them. If the former, how can we know things by means of them? If the latter, things must be ideas, for only ideas can be like ideas and what do we gain by unnecessarily duplicating ideas? He, therefore, arrives at the conclusion that things *are* ideas and not, as Locke supposes, different from them and known through the medium of them.

The objective world thus gets reduced into ideas of the mind. If this be the necessary consequence of idealism, it must be admitted that idealism stands condemned. But, as I have already said, between the view that nothing is real apart from knowledge and the view that objects are only ideas of the mind there is no necessary connection whatever. Ideas have no meaning apart from the things which they signify and to which they must be referred. To point this out and thus to expose the error of Locke's new way of ideas is the merit of Reid. He truly urges that sensations are real only as signs of things and do not exist independently of them. The reduction of things to ideas is therefore impossible, for the latter presuppose the former. From this truth, however, Reid draws the wrong conclusion that things are self-subsistent and independent of mind. The fact that ideas mean objects and are abstractions apart from them no more

proves the independent existence of objects than does the dependence of them on the knowing mind prove that they are only ideas. Subject and object are inseparably related to each other. Mind apart from the objective world is as much a fiction as an objective world apart from mind. Each implies the other as its necessary correlative.

It is in Kant's theory of knowledge that this great truth was first unambiguously expressed in modern times, although Kant himself did not realise the full significance of it. It is curious that while holding, like Reid, that sensations are meaningless without reference to things, he yet labours to prove that the objective world of cognition is the outcome of the data of sense being subsumed under the forms of thought supplied by the mind. He does not see that the one doctrine is utterly incompatible with the other. The truth seems to be that he failed to realise that the view expressed in the section on the refutation of idealism inserted in the second edition of the *Critique*, to which he was led by his anxiety to disown subjective idealism attributed to him by his critics, necessitates a radical modification of his whole theory of knowledge. It is impossible to convert merely subjective feelings into objects of knowledge by any such process as is described so elaborately in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Transformation of feelings into felt things is an impossibility. We have to deal from the very first with things opposed to the mind and sensations are only signs of things. To say this is not to deny the truth of what really matters in Kant's doctrine. His great achievement is not to show that understanding *makes* nature, but to demonstrate that the principles of the understanding constitute the framework of nature.

This idealistic truth finds adequate expression in the writings of Hegel. Lord Haldane justly speaks of Hegel as the most rewarding of modern philosophers. Hegel takes the world as it is and only seeks to interpret its nature adequately. He points out that the various aspects of it are

inseparably connected and cannot be sundered from one another. Together, they constitute the one reality which at the highest level of interpretation is mind. To pick out one aspect of the real and to attempt to subordinate all the rest to it is what he calls abstract thinking and to abstract thinking he attributes all the woes of philosophy. When he says that the real is mind or spirit, he does not mean that matter does not exist. By 'mind' he understands the spiritual principle of unity which overreaches the distinction that arises within itself of the subject that knows and the object that is known. Kant lays stress on the correlativity in knowledge of the self and the world. Hegel points out that such correlativity pre-supposes a unity that finds expression in the distinction and opposition of the correlated elements. Mind is the inclusive unity, the entirety within which all distinctions, including the distinction of the knower and the known, falls. There is therefore no question of denying the reality of matter. All that is insisted upon is that what seems to be only material is, in its last interpretation, spiritual without ceasing to be material. The materialist mistakes what is only one aspect of reality for reality itself. The universe is neither mere subject nor mere object but subject-object—a spiritual whole self-distinguished into mind and the world.

In the eye of the plain man objects merely co-exist in space. The world is to him only a vast aggregate of these objects. Science first opens our eyes to the truth that objects are essentially related to one another as elements of a single system. To be, in the words of Lotze, is to stand in relations. But if it is so, if the world is not an aggregate but an organic whole, it must be the objective expression of mind. Things which are real only as mutually related to one another are ultimately one and this unity can only be conceived not as a numerical unity exclusive of other unities but as an ideal unity manifested in the differences of things. The world which, viewed from the outside as science views it, is a

totality of things standing in relations of various kinds to one another is, viewed from within, the self-expression of mind.

The difficulty in thinking of mind as that for which the object-world is, arises mainly from the fact that mind itself seems to be a limited object included within that world. But such mind is not mind in its proper nature, but what it is in its imperfect form as conditioned by an animal organism. It, however, bears a character which indicates that, freed from its limitations, it is the very centre of the universe, the presupposition of all that is real. If, in one aspect, it is one among other objects in nature, in another aspect, it is the subject to which the object-world presents itself and also the unity presupposed in the distinction of subject and object.

Of the truth of the type of idealism which I have sketched so barely, I became convinced in early life. The acute criticisms to which the idealistic theory has in recent years been subjected have not led me to modify my views in any way. Indeed in what is called new realism, I fail to find anything that is really very new. Its main arguments are old and familiar and the idealists, so it seems to me, have fully met them. This is not the fitting occasion for entering into a discussion of new realism, but, with your permission, I wish to say a word or two on some of its contentions. The idealist, we are told, wrongly supposes that the object and the object of knowledge are one and the same. It is no doubt contradictory to say that the object of knowledge exists independently of knowledge, but from this it does not follow that the object itself is in any way dependent for its existence on knowledge. But from Berkeley downwards, it has been pointed out by all idealists that the distinction between object *per se* and object of knowledge is impossible. It is of the very essence of the object to be *for* knowledge. To be known is not an accidental property that it sometimes acquires but its fundamental characteristic, a characteristic without

which it is nothing. An unknown object, unknown not by this or that mind but by mind, is a chimera. As F. H. Bradley puts it, "Find any piece of existence, take up anything that any one could possibly call a fact, or could in any sense assert to have a being, and then judge if it does not consist in sentient experience."

Another charge laid at the door of the idealist is, that he fails to distinguish the object from the process of knowing it and improperly identifies them. The idealist, however, does nothing of the kind. So far from ignoring this distinction he insists upon it, only that he points out that the distinction is relative and not absolute and arises within knowledge itself. The object can neither be reduced to the process of knowing it nor can it be divorced from it. They mutually imply each other as the correlated aspects of the one whole of experience. The fallacy which the realist commits is to suppose that because the object of cognition is other than and distinguishable from the cognitive process, it is not essentially related to that process.

In proclaiming the reality of the external world, idealism is whole-heartedly in agreement with realism. As I have observed elsewhere, it "can have nothing to say against the main contention of realism. Instead of reducing things to states of consciousness, it allies itself with realism in seeking to destroy the root from which this sort of speculation grows. What are called secondary qualities, it urges, belong to things quite as much as the primary qualities. To separate them from each other and to refer the former to the perceiving mind and the latter to external objects was the cardinal error of Descartes, Locke and others. Berkeley went further along this path of error by reducing primary qualities also to ideas of the mind. As against these views, realism rightly urges that objects must be credited with the primary as well as the secondary qualities. Nay, we must go further still and perceive that besides the primary and secondary qualities,

things also have what have been called tertiary qualities, *viz.*, the aesthetic qualities revealed to the poet and the artist. But if realism is so bountiful and lavishes on things qualities of different sorts in such an ungrudging spirit, why should it not be more generous still and give to them *minds* in order to make it possible for them to enjoy their wealth of qualities? Idealism does not see why the fountain of realism's charity should suddenly run dry as soon as things are vested with diverse qualities. Surely it is intolerable that they should be supposed to have everything except that which alone can make all else worth having, *viz.* mind. So far then from reducing existing entities to ideas of the mind, idealism of the right kind does the very opposite: it carries mind over to things. It is so greatly in earnest with the doctrine that things are real that it has no patience with the futility of realism when it fails to see that things must have mind to understand that they are real. It, therefore, is in no way hostile to realism, but incorporates the truth of it into itself."

In recent years, I have felt the need of broadening the basis of idealism in at least two respects. It is not possible to explain my meaning clearly in a short address like this. I have stated my views, I am sorry to say rather meagrely, elsewhere and can only give here a bare indication of what I have in mind. In my view, the Absolute self, the self of which the universe is the expression, cannot be regarded as a single undifferentiated self. It is true that it is a cardinal principle of idealism that the Absolute self is realised in the differences of the world, but it is not perceived that the things in which the Absolute mind is revealed cannot be things merely but must be minds as well, minds not on their own account but through inseparable connection with each other as component factors of the Absolute mind. The differentiation of the universal self into objects, that is to say, must be a corresponding differentiation into the selves of these objects. This means that what viewed from the

outside is a mere thing, is, inwardly, mind—mind that excludes nothing, for it is the nature of mind to be all-inclusive, but embraces the entire circle of reality within its consciousness. Ideally, therefore, every object is a unique centre of the universe, a view-point from which the whole world is contemplated. The Absolute is the unified system of these selves—a self of selves.

The next suggestion which I venture to offer is that it is a mistake to think that the Absolute is fully revealed in the natural world. Idealism rightly denies the medieval distinction between the natural world and the spiritual world. There is no spiritual world somewhere beyond this world. The spiritual world is this very world adequately interpreted as the manifestation of mind. But this does not justify the conclusion that the Absolute is completely revealed in the material universe. There may be objective worlds other than the physical world in which we happen to be at the present moment. There is no reason to suppose that matter alone constitutes the object. It may also consist of stuff of another sort than matter. Nothing is more obvious to the discerning eye than the fragmentary character of the world in which we live. It looks more like a piece of composition separated from its context than a complete book. The truth seems to be that it is only a very insignificant part of a much larger world in which alone the Absolute is completely revealed. I agree with Hegel in thinking that a God who is not revealed is no God, but that does not mean that He is revealed only in the world of our knowledge and nowhere else. The visible world and all possible invisible worlds, however, must be conceived as component factors of the one objective world which alone can be regarded as the full manifestation of the Absolute.

I will conclude with one word more in explanation of the position of Idealism. People have very strange notions about it. It is sometimes supposed to be concerned only

with what is unearthly and transcendental and to have nothing to do with plain matters of fact. Whatever may be the case with dreamy speculations which sometimes pass for idealism, the supreme merit of philosophical idealism is that its feet are all along planted on the solid ground of experience. It denies nothing. It does not make the absurd attempt to prove that the material world does not exist. It only seeks to rightly understand the nature of what indubitably is, to interpret the world we live in not from any circumscribed point of view but comprehensively and adequately. Its main conclusion, in Bradley's words, is that "outside of spirit there is not and cannot be any reality." This, at all events, is what idealism has always meant for me. I have no hesitation in ending to-day by repeating what I wrote in one of my youthful essays nearly forty years ago. The idealist "does not want anybody to attempt the extravagant task of going beyond knowledge and experience. He takes his stand upon positive and verified facts, steadily refuses to believe in anything but what is known in experience and sets his face resolutely against mysticism. But at the same time he challenges the right of easy-going philosophers to talk glibly about matter and mind without making any critical inquiry into their nature and meaning. What Absolute Idealism says is this,—'Do not indulge in mysticism and transcendentalism. Adhere to positive facts alone. Carefully inquire into the import and meaning of the external and the internal world. The external world is a mass of dead matter to your unreflecting mind. Look at it with penetrating and searching eyes and you will find that it is not composed of inert lifeless matter but is the living thought of a living God. The whole scene will be transformed in a moment. Where you found death before you will now find life : where you found strife and sorrow, you will now find harmony and joy.'"

I

THE GOLD BULLION STANDARD

INTRODUCTION

India is a country in which changes of currency are a great danger, for they make or mar the future of our Indian people. They frighten and exasperate the people and shake their confidence in the new currency proposals that are foisted on the uneducated population, unable to adjust themselves to any changes from the normal state of things. The present political atmosphere brooks no unwise tampering with it and brand new experiments should never be tried. The Gold Bullion Standard proposes to inaugurate a most significant change and introduces another experiment in the currency history of the country. The ultimate dethronement of the Silver Rupee and the proposed circulation of inconvertible paper currency would not fail to exercise profound influence on the social habits of the people and on the price of silver. Hence it is imperative to examine the theoretical soundness and its practical utility to the Indian economic system. An examination of the Gold Bullion Standard must be conducted neither in the light of exaggerated optimism or pessimism nor political prepossession, but in the cold light of economic reasoning and trained judgment. It must also not be forgotten that the principles of banking and currency are dynamic and not static. The recent modification or purification of the conception of the Gold Standard System must be borne in mind while analysing the Gold Bullion Standard conception.

The Essential Features of the G.B. Standard.

It is an absolute Gold Standard without gold currency. Gold is the world's standard and India adopts the same as the

standard of value. The local currency is established in relation to gold. The integral and distinguishing feature is that gold coin is not to be in circulation. There is no real conspicuous and visible embodiment of the G.B. Standard in the shape of a gold unit. Gold bullion is to be used for the payment of international indebtedness and it would be freely available for internal purposes. The people possess the rights of convertibility of local currency into gold, the power of melting it and exporting it out of the country.

There is a fixed gold parity of the local currency unit (*i.e.*, the silver rupee or the paper currency note which is 8.741 grains of fine gold. This is to be the imaginary common standard unit of value or money of account, instead of the present silver rupee which is considered as the standard unit of account by the people.

The currency authority has to buy and sell gold without limit at the fixed par value of the rupee (1s. 6d.) in quantities of not less than 400 fine ounces. Gold bars are to be given in exchange for local currency with notes or silver rupees. The sale of gold is so arranged that the currency authority would not become saddled with the task of supplying gold bullion for non-monetary purposes also. The interests of the gold bullion market are thus protected.

The currency authority's sole duty would be to effectively assimilate gold imports and regulate the consequences of gold export. Resolute monetary control, seasonal expansion and contraction of currency and future banking progress are to be the actuating ideals of this institution.

Reasons for taking this step.

As India has been sufficiently educated in the monetary field by the use of token currency, the use of notes and as they have placed greater reliance on notes than coins during the years 1916-1919, even though the fiduciary issue has been greatly expanded, the gold bullion standard would be

acceptable to the people. It seems to be a rational development of the present monetary system. The rupee would be kept in constant relation to gold in a fixed par value. The ideally best token being paper, this ideal would be best reached under the Gold Bullion standard. Powers of psychological suggestion and well-directed propaganda would have to be employed so as to secure sufficient general enlightenment in the currency matters.

The position of the quasi-standard rupee is such that it cannot be declared limited legal tender and brought into disrepute. There are roughly 647 crores of silver rupees minted and although some of them might have been melted the present volume in actual circulation might be estimated at 150 to 250 crores of rupees. Any undertaking of the immediate conversion of these existing silver rupees and hoarded ones into gold would be unwise, as India would be unable to foot the bill. It would be difficult to suggest any practical limit to the amount of gold required for this purpose. Even if India is unwise to neglect her own interests and be so short-sighted as not to protect the silver hoards of the poorer classes, financiers in other countries have become alarmed at the question of India's return to a pure gold standard and the large absorption of gold that would be required for this purpose. Under these circumstances any co-operation in giving a loan for gold standard purposes would be out of question. Hence to put an end to the present drift policy in currency matters the Gold Bullion standard has been perfected and so far as India's admission into the financial society of nations is concerned it can be obtained by the Gold Bullion standard. Effective participation in formulating the world's currency policy can also be secured if the proposal for the starting of a separate Central Bank materialises.

The previous Indian Currency system has not assigned a definite place to gold and without recognising the fact that the value of gold would be changing according to demand and

supply for it, the Government of India undertook to 'fix it down at a constant value to silver coin. Again they undertook to receive gold coin at this rate but not to pay it back to the people. Thus there was no definite policy with regard to the position of gold in the Indian currency system. It was allowed to circulate as legal tender though in fact it ceased to circulate. This anomalous position is now ended and the Gold Bullion standard has definitely given up gold as a form of currency.

The Merits of the Scheme.

India can obtain the gold she requires through trade channels. As gold coin in circulation is not allowed, there would be no frittering away of capital which can be used for the economic development of the country. The gold currency is an obsolescent feature in all civilised countries. The economising of gold which is recommended by all theorists and warmly advocated since the days of Genoa Financial Conference can be carried out effectively under the Gold Bullion standard. The unlimited acceptance of imported gold at par and unlimited issues of gold for export at par are the cardinal features and a strong reserve of gold would have to be amassed for fulfilling these functions.

There is no immediate degradation or blowing up of the rupee. Any signing of the immediate death warrant of the rupee by demonetising it would lead to nervousness on the part of the people. Its long history and traditional position are respected and it tends to remain the standard unit of currency till people understand the new standard. Even the silver interests of America or China need not be afraid of an immediate drastic reduction in the price of silver. The Government of India has receded from the silver market so long ago as 1919 and the silver producers do not count on the Government of India as an important factor. The sales of silver by the currency authority, which it might deem

necessary to sell during the first few years of the working of the Gold Bullion standard, would not happen if rupees go into circulation. The Government and not the currency authority, would remain the purveyor of the silver rupee. The present invisible taxation paid by the country in circulating debased currency such as the silver rupee at an increasing value would be rendered unnecessary. The eventual withdrawal of the right of converting notes into silver rupees would force India to depend on the inconvertible paper notes issued by the Central Bank.

The overpowering influence of the India Office in financial and exchange matters would be removed, for the currency authority in future would be the Central Bank who would be responsible for the soundness and flexibility of the currency system of the country. As banking facilities tend to develop, the discount policy of the Central Bank would enable it to maintain sound monetary conditions. Currency with a stable value is a *sine qua non* for the development of banking and as the Gold Bullion standard secures stable currency, wide and proper development of banking facilities can be expected from a successful working of the Gold Bullion standard. The bank note issued by the Central Bank, which is to be the future Currency authority, would become the apostle of deposit banking in the country.

• The Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve whose functions were never clearly demarcated in the past, get combined and are placed on a statutory basis. The gold in this reserve would prove an adequate support to the exchange, and the external value of the local currency unit would be safely maintained under this arrangement. A proper mobilisation of the reserve would tend to facilitate the turnover of the currency. However the right of double convertibility cannot be secured under the G. B. Standard. The new notes cannot be converted into both silver and gold and such a permanent arrangement cannot be secured even

under a pure gold standard. Hence while there is the *de facto* convertibility of notes into silver rupees there is no *de jure* convertibility.

The automatic nature of the Gold bullion standard system would be as effective as in the case of a pure gold standard with gold currency. The favourable trade balance would lead to a free flow of gold bullion and as this is bought by the Central Bank, the local currency is released by bank payments made in purchase of gold. The unfavourable trade balance is to be liquidated by the export of gold bullion which has to be purchased by the Indian importers from the currency authority. Gold bullion can be pumped in and out with great ease and facility as the gold import and export points are fixed by statute. This places her on a position of equality with other gold standard countries.

The Indian Currency system requires great expansion of the total currency during the busy season for financing the movement of crops and contraction of the same during slack season. The purchasing of the unlimited stocks of silver or the tinkering of the P. C. Reserve would be rendered unnecessary by the currency authority. As bills of exchange would become popularised and drawn for the payment of the crops, these would be discounted in the money market and the banks requiring further resources would rediscount these bills at the hands of the Central Bank which can issue notes on these commercial bills. The Bank can buy gold bullion from the people and this would expand the volume of the local currency. The centralising of the currency and banking reserves in the hands of the Central Bank would reduce the fluctuations in money rates and the hitherto divergent policies in regard to currency by the currency authority and banking by the banking authority would be given up. Internal prices would be placed on a more stable basis than under the G. E. standard system. The proper regulation of the discount policy by the Central Bank would

make the currency expansion and contraction automatic. The statutory constitution of the combined reserve to be placed in the hands of the Central Bank allows it to expand and contract currency according to seasonal demands. So far as automatic contraction is concerned, it can be brought about as soon as people feel that local currency has depreciated in terms of gold and they would hasten to the bank to convert the local currency into gold bullion which the bank has to sell.

The Gold Bullion standard does not debar the country from the possibility of ultimate resumption of gold currency. Thus the gold currency standard can be reached if sufficient gold reserves are accumulated, but the education of the people in the use of the new inconvertible rupee note and the other denominations of paper currency popularised by the Bank would be such as to open the eyes of the people to realise the uneconomical character of gold currency. For the time being there would be no free internal circulation of gold, but it is quite likely that if banking education proceeds apace we would never be desirous of it.

The institution of the "On Tap Savings Certificates" redeemable at the end of three or five years in legal tender money or gold bullion with an attractive rate of interest attached to them is a modest attempt to counteract the unproductive employment of the yellow metal. Though they are poor substitutes of gold notes which carry the right of convertibility into gold coins, they can do much to encourage the investment habit on the part of the people who can afford to save.

The demonetisation of the gold sovereign is also a feature which should not escape one's attention. The sovereign has been a benefactor and the nightmare of the Indian Currency system. The obvious advantage is the possibility to introduce a new gold coin and gold mint in our country when gold coin is considered necessary, and the position of the reserves is

such as to facilitate it. The present demonetisation of the sovereign would be no real danger, as India's main demand for it is only a bullion demand, and not a coin demand. The bulk of the Indian transactions find the rupee a more suitable coin than the sovereign. The gold sovereign is not a real Indian coin; besides this reason, we have the following most important reason for demonetising the sovereign which is not usually taken into consideration. For a supply of this coin India has to depend on England. The currency authority in India cannot control the issue of this coin, and such a coin should find no place in the Indian currency system. A sound currency system is that which gives scope to the currency authority to control and regulate every important coin which is a constituent feature of the system.

Supposed Demerits of the Scheme.

The working of the system in all its details will take some time to begin. There should be the formation of the Central Bank and the accumulation of the necessary gold reserves in India. A large number of rupees would be presented to the Central Bank for conversion into gold bullion. There is already a fall in the price of silver and its future fall would stimulate the demand for gold, and it would be unwise for the Central Bank to begin operations with a slender stock of gold. In other respects it can begin straight away. Some of the measures that can be taken up immediately for increasing the gold stock of the Central Bank should be considered. The import duties can be made payable in gold or gold equivalent. The Indian export bills are to be taken up in sufficiently large number and gold can be secured from their proceeds. An attempt to retain the gold produce of the country should be made.

The first essential of a currency system is that it can be understood by the people and that it should be of such a nature as to be acceptable to them. The popular sentiment

is in favour of a gold standard with gold in circulation. When this is denied it would be considered rightly or mistakenly that it is less automatic and less free from manipulation than the pure gold standard with gold currency in circulation.

The position of the silver rupees would be looked upon with certain misgivings as the people would not obtain them as a matter of right from the Central Bank in return for its new notes. The new Reserve Bank note and the silver rupee would both be legal tender currency in the gold bullion standard system. Holders of notes can secure rupees only at the will of the Reserve Bank. The paper note is neither convertible into the silver note, as at present, or into a gold coin but both these are convertible into gold bullion—the standard of value. The exchangeable limit of the local currency into gold bullion is too high. It is only the bullionists and the rich men that can afford to do it. The present note-issue is convertible into silver rupees and the issue of a new inconvertible note would tend to make the people cherish the present note and the new inconvertible note would be at a discount. It might be a note payable in gold but the line of difference drawn between the old and the new double-guaranteed bank note is to be deprecated.

There is no statutory undertaking that the free inflow and outflow of gold would be permitted without any direct or indirect limitations on the amount of gold coming in or going out. The location of the gold securities in London would not be liked by the people. As the Central Banker's gold reserves might again be depleted too readily when the people require commodity-gold attempts have been made to protect the Bank against such a drain. Similarly the free inflow of gold must be ensured.

Although we have at present an excellent opportunity to settle the national currency question, the Currency commission by prescribing the Gold Bullion system has not succeeded in this task. The G. B. standard at best be

accepted by the people as a half-way house leading to the adoption of the pure gold standard with gold currency in circulation in the near future. Academically speaking the G. B. standard is a step nearer to the international exchange standard recommended by the G. I. Financial Conference and is really an improvement on the Gold Standard with gold currency in circulation.

It has undoubtedly the following points of superiority above the defective G. E. Standard system, *viz.*, the giving of gold bullion in return for local currency for all purposes, the statutory basis of the combined reserve, the banking management of the currency and credit policy and the economy of gold. It is doubtless inferior to the effective G. S. plan, at least from the standpoint of public sentiment and confidence. It is the fond hope of the economists that a gold currency would make it possible for India to mobilise the liquid resources and increase the turnover of currency. But the main point of increasing the capital resources cannot be solved by merely multiplying currency. Greater means for mobilising capital resources are the real remedy. It would require an extensive educational campaign to make the people realise the true implications of the Gold Bullion standard. Otherwise appeals to economic arguments will prove vain in face of the existing and overwhelming liking for the Gold standard with gold currency in circulation.

Trade with Africa and the countries on the Persian Gulf would be hindered as the present financing medium is the silver rupee. The gradual dethronement of the rupee would be however giving full time for adjustment and no serious danger need be felt.

The view is too often held that India is a sink of precious metals. Although this is quite a superficial view it must be admitted that unwise use of existing stocks of gold is being made by the uneducated people. This is likely to continue under any system. Increased education, improved legal and economic

status for women, the raising of the standard of living and the development of banking facilities are the necessary correctives. But as the existence of this habit would have an adverse effect on the gold reserves of the Reserve Bank, every attempt must be made to change the ways and habits of the people with reference to the accumulation of the precious metals. Monetary reform and banking re-organisation must be considered as mutually convertible terms; the one cannot succeed without the other.

Should we accept the Gold Bullion Standard or not?

Although several economists and witnesses before the Hilton-Young Commission have pointed out that India has to pass through the necessary stage of gold currency in circulation before it could hope to attain the ideal currency system, this advice has been disregarded. The gold standard as understood in the modern sense, is readily granted and the means to secure gold currency in future are carefully preserved so that an 'optional gold currency' can be grafted on the currency system. The preliminary stage is accomplished and although the Commission do not think it advisable to vote for the gold currency ideal, it can be secured through the will of the Legislature as soon as the Gold in the reserve permits it.

- The scheme can be accepted if the Legislature can introduce the proviso that after the lapse of a certain period the right of coining gold bars into coins or mohurs would be granted to the people if they so desire it. The composition of the gold in the reserve should be placed at a high ratio of the total amount and as soon as this high proportion of gold is reached, the right of giving gold to the holders of silver and coins can be undertaken. Thus at last can we rid ourselves of silver and "slough off the remains of the old skin." The rapid attainment of the final stage would depend on increased education, the raising of the standard of life, and the perfection

of the banking system, and when they are secured the uneconomical nature of the gold currency would be realised. The Gold Bullion standard would remain *in toto* without the unnecessary excrescence of gold currency attached to it. There would be no need to feel any regret at this conclusion. The currency question has been racking India for the past several years and it will continue to do so for a longer time under the Gold exchange standard system. Until we are prepared to accept and use the new currency bridge, *i.e.*, the G. B. standard, the attainment of the ideally best currency which is the ultimate goal, would be postponed *ad infinitum*. Academically viewed the G. B. Standard is infinitely superior to the present policy of drift in currency matters. Practically speaking it is the only successful monetary reform that unaided India with its meagre resources of gold can achieve with maximum profit and minimum disturbance to our country as well as others. Sentimentally viewed, it fails to take cognisance of the overwhelming liking of the Indian people for gold currency in circulation. Psychologically considered it is a bitter disappointment to popular expectations.¹

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

¹ Read before the Indian Economic Conference, Calcutta, January, 1927.

TAXATION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOMES IN BENGAL

Few questions on Indian finance have given rise to greater controversy in recent times than the one connected with taxation of agricultural incomes in Bengal. The proposal to levy an income tax on agricultural incomes in this province, has been vehemently denounced as a violation of the terms of the Permanent Settlement, as "absurd," and "unpractical" and as emanating from a desire to "seek cheap distinction." With equal warmth it has been advocated as necessary to correct a long-standing anomaly and an apparent injustice. Amidst the confusion of discrepant counsels the country expected a clear and confident lead from the Taxation Enquiry Committee. That body however, instead of giving an unequivocal verdict on the issue thus clearly framed, admitted the theoretic justification for such a levy, but dwelt on what it described as "political" and "administrative" difficulties. It is proposed in this paper to review from the historical standpoint the attempts made on two occasions during 1860-65 and 1869-73 to tax agricultural incomes in British India. An analysis of the working of this tax during those early days may not be without some value in the present controversy. The question will be discussed only with reference to Bengal, firstly because more than any other province Bengal is keenly interested in the issue in view of the inelastic character of her revenues, and secondly because the question of taxing agricultural incomes in permanently settled areas stands on a different footing from that in other parts of the country.

India's first income tax levied in 1860 brought under taxation the various categories of income, irrespective of the source from which they were derived. Income from lands and houses, from professions, trade and employment, and from annuities and dividends, were all placed on the same footing

as regards taxation, because as Mr. Wilson put it "an income tax to be just ought to be universal and equal in its application to all alike within a certain limit of income." This canon of universality as an essential feature of income tax was also emphasized by his successor Mr. Samuel Laing who observed in 1861 that "capital and trade of India as well as her land, should contribute in fair proportion towards the support of the State. From that principle I believe no government will ever recede." Under the Act of 1860 the minimum taxable limit was Rs. 200 a year. The tax was levied at the rate of 2 p.c. on incomes between Rs. 200-500 a year, and at 4 p.c. on incomes above Rs. 500.

The rules regarding the taxation of income from land were elaborated in the 97th section (Part 6) of Act XXXII of 1860. So far as the temporarily settled areas were concerned, it was laid down that the profits from land were to be estimated at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the land revenue. It follows, that in these areas only persons paying a land revenue of Rs. 600 a year, or over, were liable to pay income tax in respect of their agricultural income. In all other cases, as for example, with regard to Bengal, the law was that actual returns were to be submitted by the owners "together with a rent roll containing the name of every person to whom such lands or houses or any part thereof are underlet by the person making any such return," and the income tax was imposed on the actual profits from land thus ascertained. The necessity for submitting such a rent roll by the Zemindars arose from the fact that the tax was chargeable not only on the zemindars—the rent receivers—but also on the farmers—the actual cultivators of the soil. It is necessary to remember this fact when passing a verdict of condemnation on all proposals to tax agricultural incomes in this country, for it must be conceded that in thus trying to tax the income of the cultivators the government of the day wanted to do what was well nigh impossible. The determination of the farmer's profits is a

matter of considerable difficulty even in advanced Western countries. In a country like India, where the farmers are illiterate and are not in the habit of keeping accounts, these difficulties are increased a hundredfold. The proposals to tax agricultural income in Bengal that have been made recently, are not of this all-embracing character for they do not go to the length of suggesting that the farmers should be taxed on their profits from agriculture.

This attempt to tax the agricultural income for the first time was bound to raise the question whether such a procedure was legal, having regard to the terms of the Permanent Settlement, and it is interesting to enquire at this stage what the official supporters thought about the measure and with what feelings it was regarded by the landed interests whose income was thus sought to be brought under a general scheme of income tax. Mr. Wilson anticipated that the cry of "broken pledge" would be raised and he took care to make the position of the Bengal zemindars perfectly clear. He said that "it was never in the mind of Lord Cornwallis that the fortunate owners of that part of India should be exempted from any general tax that the necessities of the state required. There is not one word as to exemption from taxes in the proclamation issued by Lord Cornwallis." Equally emphatic was the verdict of Sir Barnes Peacock who observed in the Legislative Council (*vide* Proceedings, dated the 27th August, 1859—in connection with the debate on Harrington's Bill) that it would be unfair to tell the zemindars that a particular tax was to be imposed upon them and not upon others. But when the profits of professional labour were going to be taxed generally, he did not see according to what principle of justice they could be exempted from taxation. If government were to throw on that class a particular burden, they would be guilty of breach of faith. * * If government were precluded from including zemindars in any general taxation, it might be concluded that it precluded government from levying a duty

on the exportation of rice produced in lands held under the Perpetual Settlement.”

It was only to be expected that the proprietors of land would not take kindly to a system of taxation which for the first time since the Permanent Settlement of 1793 attempted to bring under taxation their share of income, and complaints were loud against what they regarded as an innovation. Whilst the general body of landlords protested against the measure, there was, however, at least one landlord who was not prepared to consider this taxation as a breach of Permanent Settlement and who regarded this measure in a different light from the rest of his fellows. This will be evident from a letter, still preserved, written in 1860 by Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur of Burdwan to Mr. James Wilson. No apology is needed for quoting the letter in full in view of its importance:—

Letter from Maharaja Mahatab Chand Bahadur of Burdwan to the Rt. Hon'ble the Member of Supreme Council in India, dated the 3rd May, 1860 :

“ Sir,

I trust that you will pardon the liberty I am taking, in addressing you on the subject of the system of taxation which you are now proposing, and in which I am deeply interested as the proprietor of the most extensive Zemindaries in Bengal.

The sense of my obligation teaches me that it becomes an act of duty in me as a subject of my Gracious Sovereign not only to cheerfully acquiesce but also to tender my humble support in aiding your new system to relieve our unavoidable financial difficulties.

Permit me, sir, most respectfully to assure you that the immediate cause for the expression of my opinion is the attempt which has been made to oppose your admirable system of taxation—this opposition being founded upon the false assumption that it is a breach of the perpetual settlement.

No doubt at the time the settlement was made it was considered as sufficient for the exigencies of those days but I cannot find anything in the terms of the permanent settlement to convince me that the zemindars of India have for ever been exempted from contributing to assist the Government when they incur unavoidable expenses in preserving property,

life, the honour and all that is dear to them of those very zemindars. Sir, I as the greatest zemindar disclaim all such exemption. I am willing to submit most cheerfully to your wise system of taxation which places this unavoidable impost equally on all classes. If you think that this declaration of mine which is the result of mature consideration will be any guide to my countrymen, if you think that the example thus set by the greatest proprietor of zemindaries in Bengal can induce his countrymen to believe that it is true to policy to surrender a portion of (for?) the security of the whole. I place in your hands my adherence to that admirable system of taxation by which, in my belief, your memory will be endeared to India."

Whilst on this subject reference may be made to the Despatch of the 12th May, 1870, from the Secretary of State to the Governor General in Council in which the position of the Bengal zemindar was examined and his legal liability with regard to the payment of income tax explained. Referring to the promise contained in the Regulations of 1793 that the public demand was fixed, the Secretary of State said, "The public demand was to be fixed and permanent such was the promise and its scope and object were clearly explained in the concluding exhortation addressed to the landowners, that they would exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they would enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management, and that no demand would ever be made upon their heirs and successors by the present, or any future government, for the augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates. These last words illustrate the whole force of the argument which has been admitted to be just in the case of the income tax." The Secretary of State then proceeded to say that it was quite true that the income tax was in the fullest sense of the word a public demand. "But there was one thing which that tax was not; it was not an increase of public demand levied upon the zemindars 'in consequence of the improvement of their estates.' It was levied upon a wholly different principle and in respect of a wholly different kind of liability. One index and proof of this

difference lay in the fact that although this public demand was made upon those to whom the promise of the Permanent Settlement had been given, it was made upon them only in company with other classes of the community and with no exclusive reference to the source from which this income is derived."

We may now pass on to consider the operation of the income tax in Bengal during 1860-65 and 1869-73 with a view to find out what the contributions of Bengal zemindars were by way of income tax, and to what extent, if at all, administrative difficulties stood in the way of the smooth working of the tax. It has been contended that the bulk of the zemindars of to-day are very poor and that in Bengal at the present time a sum of nine crores and eighty-six lakhs of rupees is intercepted by as many as 3,656,000 landholders of all grades, thus giving an average income per zemindar of Rs. 28 a year. Arguments of this character based on averages are wholly misleading, for with equal plausibility it may be argued that since the average income of an Indian is only Rs. 80 or so, Indians as a class are too poor to pay income tax or for the matter of that, any tax whatsoever. In trying to determine the taxable capacity of a community or any particular section of it what we primarily want is not the average income, but the distribution of income. A rough idea of the distribution, of income both agricultural and non-agricultural during 1860-65 in Bengal may be obtained from the following table:—

Table I—showing the income tax assesseees, agricultural and non-agricultural, 1860-65.

Year.	Total number of persons assessed to Income Tax in Bengal.	Number of landholders and others. deriv- ing their income from landed property and assessed to income tax in Bengal.
1860-61	251,261	100,715
1861-62	254,537	97,198
1862-63	63,876	33,415
1863-64	60,188	32,462
1864-65	53,115	32,200

In interpreting these figures we must remember that the minimum taxable income was Rs. 200 a year during 1860-62 and Rs. 500 a year during 1862-65. The conclusion which may be drawn from these figures is that the landholders and others deriving their income from landed property, constituted by far the largest proportion, ranging from 40 to 60 p. c. of the aggregate income tax-payers. Not only did they constitute by far the largest proportion, but they also contributed during the first three years of the currency of this tax one half, and during the last two years, more than half the aggregate receipts from income tax. This will be evident from the table given below.

Table II.

Year.	Total demand for Income Tax, Bengal.	Amount of tax paid by landholders and others deriving their income from landed property in Bengal.
	Rr.	Rs.
1860-61	46,39,536	23,17,839
1861-62	42,19,902	22,10,012
1862-63	32,41,320	18,31,687
1863-64	23,50,127	13,39,398
1864-65	20,72,892	13,09,830
Total during 1860-65	165,23,777	90,08,766

These receipts, of course, include the contributions from the cultivators. The figures available for 1860-65, do not enable us to specify what proportion of this amount came from this source, but it would not be incorrect to assume, in view of the more definite figures available for 1870, that this contribution

formed a small proportion of the total receipts. The Taxation Enquiry Committee has come to the conclusion that the tracing out of the share of the receipts of the intermediate holders of land is an impossible task. Obviously in those early days when the income tax was new to the country, and was regarded more or less as a fiscal innovation, the government did not find the administrative difficulties of assessment insuperable.

For the second time in the history of Indian finance agricultural incomes were brought under taxation during the period 1869-73. This period was one of "continuous trial and error." The rate of the tax as well as the taxable minimum were adjusted from year to year, as the government were trying to find out a rate and a taxable minimum which would cause as little hardship as possible, and would at the same time yield a substantial revenue. Thus during 1869-70, the tax rate was at first 1 p. c. under Act IX of 1869, but was subsequently raised to $1\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. under Act XXIII of the same year. The taxable minimum during this year was Rs. 500 a year. In 1871-72 the rate was fixed at 2 pies in the rupee, or at $1\frac{1}{4}$ p.c. and the taxable minimum was raised to Rs. 750 a year. In 1872-73 the minimum was still further raised to Rs. 1,000 a year.

The gross collection of income tax in Bengal during 1869-70 from all sources, agricultural and non-agricultural, amounted to Rs. 33,66,181, out of which the proprietors, sub-proprietors, tenants and cultivators of land contributed over Rs. 14,76,000. The assesseees including the landholders and cultivators were divided into 5 classes according to the amount of their income. The lowest class, Class I, consisted of those whose incomes ranged between Rs. 500-1,000 a year.

Class II between 1-2 thousand rupees

Class III " 2-10 " " "

Class IV " 10 thousand—1 lac.

Class V " 1 lac—upwards.

According to this classification (a) the proprietors and sub-proprietors, (b) tenants, and (c) cultivators were divided as follows in 1869-70.

Table III—showing the classification of zemindars, etc., according to the amount of their income, 1869-70.

	Class I.		Class II.		Class III.		Class IV.		Class V.	
	Number.	Amount of Tax paid.	Number.	Amount of Tax paid.	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.	Number.	Amount.
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
(a) Proprietors and Sub-Proprietors	15,744	1,50,786	4,783	1,01,936	4,123	2,50,154	783	2,75,045	50	1,62,162
(b) Tenants ...	11,351	1,05,510	1,528	29,226	574	29,788	10	4,987
(c) Cultivators	31,928	3,04,149	2,036	41,181	374	17,424	40	4,492

It will be noticed from this table that the proprietors, sub-proprietors, tenants and cultivators paying income tax on a minimum annual income of Rs. 500 a year, numbered 73,324 distributed as follow :—

Proprietors and Sub-proprietors	...	25,483
Tenants	...	13,463
• Cultivators	...	34,378
		<hr/> 73,324

Thus, of the class which derived their income from agriculture, the most numerous was the cultivators. But this class though numerically large, was not very important from the point of view of the yield of the tax, for this class contributed a sum of Rs. 3,67,246, out of a total contribution of Rs. 14,76,840.

It may at once be admitted that much of the unpopularity and harshness of the income tax administration of this period

were due to the attempt to tax the cultivators, and if the history of this period has any lesson for us at the present time, it is that the repetition of this attempt can only end in exciting bitter and hostile feelings against the government. A good deal of the harshness of the tax arose from the rough and ready method of arriving at the profits of cultivators. Thus, Rs. 5 was usually taken as the standard profit per bigha for rice cultivation. The Collector of Midnapur took Rs. 75-80 as the profits per bigha for mulberry, while the Collector of Malda took Rs. 814 per bigha, as the standard profits for mango-grafts. It is no wonder that oppression and tyranny resulted from a system like this. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal while reviewing the operation of income tax during 1869-70 observed, "I am therefore not surprised to find that in the Board's report of 18th July 1870, it is stated that the income tax falls with the greatest severity on the class of ryots and agriculturists.....that among them, more than others, a strong and bitter feeling has been excited by the tax, and that instances have been brought to the notice of a member of the Board in which cultivators threaten to migrate to Nepal where there is no income tax."

The Viceroy and Governor General in a note dated 20th January, 1872, expressed himself strongly about the need of relieving the cultivating classes from the effects of a system which he described as one of extreme tyranny and of downright robbery. To relieve the cultivators it was accordingly ordered by the Lieutenant-Governor, that those whose holdings did not exceed 50 acres should be exempted from income tax. This order, coupled with the raising of the exemption limit in 1871-72 and 1872-73, had the desired effect of relieving them from harassment.

In trying to form an estimate of the yield of the tax we should therefore deduct the contributions of cultivators. Deducting this amount we find, that the proprietors, sub-proprietors and tenants paid a sum of Rs. 11,09,000 as their

share of the tax. It will be recalled that the taxable minimum was fixed at Rs. 500 in 1869-70. The raising of this limit to Rs. 2,000 a year would have reduced this contribution to Rs. 7,22,000. This estimate is arrived at from the following figures taken from Table III given above.

				Rs.
• Class III	{	Proprietors	...	2,50,154
		Sub-proprietors	...	
		tenants	...	29,788
Class IV.		Do.	...	2,75,045
				4,987
Class V.		Proprietors	...	1,62,162
				<hr/>
				7,22,136

If the lowest rate of income tax existing to-day (*viz.*, 5 pies in the rupee) had been imposed uniformly in 1869-70, this yield would have increased to Rs. 12 lacs. With the application of the principle of graduation the yield would have been considerably larger.

It might be urged against this estimate that whatever might have been the state of affairs in 1870, owing to continued subinfeudation and partition, the number of zemindars with large incomes to-day is smaller than what it was in 1870 and, hence, the yield of the tax is likely to be considerably less. In support of this view it was urged before the Taxation Enquiry Committee that at the present time there are only 650 zemindars in Bengal who possess a minimum income of Rs. 12,000 a year. This figure is arrived at from an analysis of the voters' list of the Indian Legislative Assembly. Now on referring to Table III we find that in 1869-70, the number of proprietors, sub-proprietors and tenants with an income of Rs. 10,000 a year and above, was (783 + 10 + 50) 843. It must be remembered in this connection that Bengal of those days was larger in area. After making due allowance for

this difference in the area of the province, and also for difference in the basis of comparison (the basis of comparison being a minimum income of Rs. 10,000 in one case and Rs. 12,000 in another) it would appear, that roughly speaking, the distribution of agricultural income to-day is not materially different from what it was 50 years ago, so far as the higher reaches of incomes are concerned. As regards lower grades of income—incomes ranging between Rs. 2,000-10,000 a year, definite figures are not available to show what the existing distribution is, but we are aware of no evidence indicating that subinfeudation and partition have affected them in a greater degree than incomes higher up the scale. It is however possible to urge that as the size of the family varies inversely in proportion to income, the estates of the smaller proprietors have presumably been partitioned amongst a larger number of heirs. Admitting the truth of this contention, we must remember at the same time, that when the small traders and business men and salaried servants of limited means invest their savings in lands, they buy these smaller estates, having regard to the limited resources at their disposal. Simultaneously with the process of subdivision therefore, there is going on another process which unites many of these smaller estates into a larger whole.

The exemption of the landed proprietors dates from the year 1886. The circumstances which led to the establishment of this exemption are narrated in the Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee and need not be recapitulated here. The Report points out that there is nothing in the history of the case to justify this continued exemption. If to-day this exemption is discontinued, it would mean not the violation of the Regulation of the Permanent Settlement, for the P. S. has nothing whatsoever to do with the merits of the case, but simply a repeal of section 4, clause (3) of Act XI of 1922. The only argument in favour of the continuation of this exemption is that lands have been bought and sold on the

basis of this exemption and that the buyer has paid a higher price for land in consideration of this exemption. But it must be remembered that so far as a present buyer is concerned he will be compensated by the general development of the country before many years are over. Besides, no one has a right to claim that his position must be made secure against all changes in taxation, particularly when no promise express or implied was given that the exemption from taxation would be continued for all time to come.

In bringing this historical survey to a close, we may summarise the main conclusions which have been arrived at:—

(1) The verdict was against the Bengal zemindars on two occasions during 1860-65 and 1869-73 on the question of their liability to pay income tax.

(2) The verdict of the Secretary of State, as expressed in the despatch of the 12th May, 1870 was also against them.

(3) During a period of 5 years, 1860-65 the proprietors and cultivators contributed more than half the total yield of income tax in Bengal, *viz.*, Rs. 90 lacs out of a total of Rs. 165 lacs. Even if we leave out the contributions of cultivators, those of rent-receivers could not have fallen far short of Rs. 70 lacs in 5 years.

(4) During 1869-70 the proprietors and tenants with incomes of Rs. 500 a year and above, contributed Rs. 11 lacs out of a total income tax receipts from all sources amounting to Rs. 33 lacs.

(5) The attempt to tax farmers' profits resulted in oppression. The farmers were therefore exempted from income tax.

(6) Within a community average income does not determine taxable capacity. What determines it, is the distribution of income.

(7) From the figures available for 1869-70 indicating the distribution of agricultural income, it appears that there

were nearly 5,500 proprietors, sub-proprietors and tenants with a minimum annual income of Rs. 2,000.

(8) Complete figures are not available to indicate the existing distribution of agricultural income in Bengal. The meagre data available show that roughly speaking, this distribution is not materially different from that prevailing in 1870.¹

JITENDRAPRASAD NIYOGI

DISILLUSION

She thought that men and women all could read
The truths that lay behind her eyes of brown,
The child-like trust that took no timely heed
Of busy tongue or deprecating frown.

She thought that they could see into her heart
(Oh foolish fancy, born of innocence!)
They looked upon her as on one apart
Nor ever thought to speak in her defence.

She opened out her soul as does a flow'r
Unto the sun's all-searching, gilded ray
She had one blissful, golden, happy hour,
Then Disillusion stalked across her way.

She found her glitt'ring coin turned to dross
She woke at last to Life's realities,
And saw that most folk steer their boat across
A sea of petty trivialities.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

¹ Read before the Indian Economic Conference, Calcutta, January, 1927.

LOCAL TAXES IN THE RURAL AREAS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Local Boards which are the authorities entrusted with the administration of purely local affairs in the rural areas of the Madras Presidency get their revenue from three sources, viz., (1) Taxation, (2) Provincial grants, and (3) Miscellaneous including remunerative enterprises and fees. The relative position occupied by the income from these sources during the last half a century, is brought out by the following table of the average annual revenue from decade to decade since 1873-4.¹

Decade.	Tax-revenue.	Provincial grants.	Miscellaneous.
Years.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1873-4 to 1882-3.	38, 74, 707.	5, 27, 096.	18, 99, 341.
1883-4 to 1892-3.	51, 23, 154.	3, 54, 455.	10, 25, 183.
1893-4 to 1902-3.	63, 33, 538.	4, 02, 252.	15, 54, 033.
1903-4 to 1912-3.	80, 78, 456.	25, 49, 098.	25, 43, 210.
1913-4 to 1922-23.	103, 55, 172.	64, 94, 523.	46, 56, 636.
1923-24.	132, 65, 976.	98, 83, 000.	71, 56, 425.
1924-25.	130, 72, 898.	87, 85, 000.	73, 74, 393.

These figures indicate that the proportion of tax-revenue to the total receipts was high up to 1902-03 and that it has been falling since then, while the case in regard to provincial grants and the miscellaneous sources has been quite the reverse. In the decade 1873-4 to 1882-3 taxation contributed 65% of the total receipts and in the following three decades the percentage was 78·4, 76·8 and 61 respectively. During

¹ Taken from the Annual Reports on the administration of Local Boards. In this calculation contributions from one head to another and miscellaneous debt heads have been excluded.

the period 1913-14 to 1922-23 only 47·8 of the total receipts was due to taxation and the years 1923-4 and 1924-5 show a still further decline to 43·5 and 44·5. Though it can be inferred from this that local boards have at present to depend more on provincial grants than was the case twenty-five years ago, taxation still occupies the first place among the sources of revenue..

Before 1871 the only local tax in rural areas was the road cess. The Act of 1871 added two more taxes, viz., the house tax and tolls. These three continued to be the sources of tax revenue till 1920 although on two occasions—in 1884 and in 1900—the Local Boards Act underwent a change. The Act of 1920 under which local boards are working at present, introduced three new taxes—a profession tax, a tax on companies, and a pilgrim tax. But as the additional income which these have so far brought is comparatively small, it can be said with much justification that local boards depend in 1926 on the same sources of taxation as in 1871.

1. *Land cess.*

Of the taxes, land cess is by far the most productive as well as the oldest. Its importance can be seen from the following figures.

Decade.	Total Tax-revenue.	Land cess.	Percentage of (3) to (2).
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Years.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1883-4 to 1892-3	51, 23, 154	4, 401, 617	86·2
1893-4 to 1902-3	63, 33, 538	5, 116, 298	80·9
1903-4 to 1912-13	80, 78, 456	5, 750, 490	69·2
1913-14 to 1922-23	103, 55, 172	7, 247, 909	69·9
year 1923-24	132, 65, 976	8, 666, 647	65·1
„ 1924-25	130, 72, 891	8, 400, 230	64·6

A statutory cess on land was for the first time introduced under the village cess Act of 1864 which provided for the

collection of a cess not exceeding one anna in the rupee, of government assessment of land to be devoted towards the pay of the village establishment. In 1866 the District Road Cess Act authorised the collection of another six pies per rupee on the rental value of all occupied land on whatever tenure held. This act was repealed in 1871 and a fresh Local Funds Act was passed providing for a one anna cess. The Act of 1884 did not make any change in this respect, but when it was amended in 1900, a special clause was introduced permitting the collection of an extra cess at three pies per rupee to be spent entirely for the construction of railways and tramways. When the village cess act was repealed in 1905-6 the burden of the land cess became considerably lightened although its retention and diversion towards other objects of local expenditure would have been a sounder policy. Under the Act of 1920 which is now in force, the clause regarding the special railway cess was repealed. But the Elementary Education Act passed in the same year provided for a tax not exceeding 25% of the land cess to be used only for education. These are the main land-marks in the history of land cess.

Two or three questions regarding land cess deserve some consideration. The basis of assessment is one of them. The several statutes passed since 1866 have taken the annual rental value of occupied lands as the basis. Ordinarily this value is understood to mean the balance of gross income left after the expenses of production are deducted from it. If expenses are made to include the subsistence of the cultivator and the members of his family as well as the minimum profits of cultivation, the annual rental value may be regarded as an ideal basis of taxation, and it is looked at in that light by all students of finance. In practice however there is considerable difficulty in making a correct estimate of expenses and therefore of rental value also. A machinery consisting of experts in land valuation is necessary for this purpose, and in all countries of the world where land tax

constitutes an important source of the revenue of local bodies the greatest attention is being paid to this aspect of the matter.¹ Local Boards in this Presidency have not had the means to maintain a costly establishment for calculating the real rental values of land and government also thought it unnecessary to make any such elaborate calculation for purposes of local taxation. The position taken up by government is a reasonable one, as it has numerous experts in the body of settlement officers whose duty it is to fix the land revenue assessment on the basis of rental values. For the local boards to do again at a high cost all that the settlement officers were doing for the government, would have meant an unnecessary duplication of machinery and a waste of public funds. Consequently legislature has defined in the several acts the exact meaning of annual rental value. In the *ryotwari* lands it means the assessment payable to the government together with water rate charged for its irrigation. In *inam* lands it means the full assessment which such lands would bear if they were not inam, and in the *Zamindari* lands it means the actual rent paid to the Zamindar by the cultivator.²

This procedure has two decided advantages. The cultivator is familiar with the demand on account of land tax and a cess based on it is very easy for him to understand. The introduction of a new conception of rental value would have created doubt and confusion in the minds of the ryots, and caused practical difficulties in assessment and collection.³ A second advantage is that the actual burden of the cess is very much lighter than what it would have been if it had been based on real rental values. For, the land revenue assessment does not go beyond fifty per cent. of the rental and is in many cases much below this. Thus a one-anna cess

¹ G. F. Shirras, *The Science of Public Finance*. P. 449.

² Section 79 of the L. B. Act of 1920.

³ Madras Legislative Council Proceedings (M.L.C.P.) of 1870. Discussion on Local Funds Bill especially the speech of Mr. Ramaiyengar.

at the present day is really equivalent to or even less than a half anna cess. This was however not the view always entertained on the subject. There were some who thought, that even from the standpoint of the payer of the cess, the calculation of the true rental value would have been better. During the discussions in the Madras Legislature of the Local Funds Bill of 1870, it was pointed out that the land revenue assessment by settlement officers was arbitrary and that in many districts it was no true index of rental values.¹ In those days when the land revenue policy of the government did not possess that definiteness which it obtained after the issue in 1901, of the famous resolution by Lord Curzon's government, there was some justification for this attitude. But conditions are now entirely different and calculations have shown that, "the percentage of assessment to rental in the case of all classes of leases taken together varies from 10·7 to 29·0, the percentage in half the districts being less than 17·1."² There is therefore no denying that the present basis for calculating the land cess is of very great advantage to the cultivator.

This has however resulted in weakening the boards financially. At the rates fixed by the statutes a cess on actual rental value would have yielded a much larger income. It would also have made the income more elastic, growing every year with the prosperity of agricultural industry. Land revenue assessment is liable to be revised once in thirty years, and till such a revision is effected the proceeds from land cess cannot show a substantial increase. This inelasticity has to some extent been responsible for the failure of the boards to respond adequately to demands made on them for additional expenditure on public health or education.

Even under this system, a certain amount of elasticity could have been secured, if the legislature had not laid down

¹ Report of the Select Committee; and Macfayden's note.

² Report of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1926, (I.T.E.B). P. 77.

the maximum rate at which it was competent for the boards to levy the cess. But a quite different policy has been pursued by the government in this respect. One anna per rupee of land assessment was the rate permitted by the acts of 1871, 1884 and 1920. Under no circumstances could this rate be exceeded according to the act of 1871. The corresponding clause in the act of 1884 was equally rigid,¹ and when it was amended in 1900 there was provision made for a special railway cess of three pies per rupee. The maximum rate for general purposes continued to be one anna. In all these acts an exceptional treatment was accorded to Malabar, where a two-anna rate was permitted owing to the low rate of land assessment in that district. Experience however showed that the one anna rate was too low to enable the boards to get adequate resources for their requirements. Government also realised this in course of time, and showed its willingness to raise the rate to two annas in all the districts. To create public opinion in favour of the higher rate it undertook to distribute the provincial subsidies at a more favourable rate to boards agreeing to the higher rate of cess.² Accordingly the original draft of the Local Boards Bill of 1920, fixed the maximum limit of land cess at two annas per rupee, and provided also for its further enhancement with the special sanction of the government in cases of real necessity. This was a move in the right direction, as it not only had the possibility of immediately securing to the boards a larger income but also provided for its expansion under special circumstances. At the same time the necessity for the previous sanction of the government, for any rate higher than two annas, was a real safeguard against undue oppression. But this clause was dropped by the Select Committee and the

¹ The minute of dissent of Mr. H. B. Grigg to the report of the (Madras) Local Self-Government Committee, (L.S.G.C.) of 1882. P. 123-6.

² Madras G. O. No. 1275 L of 4th August, 1913.

Madras Budget Memorandum 1914-15 (Para. 17).

rigidity of the old rule was reintroduced. Under the existing act an one-anna cess for general purposes is obligatory in every district; and in addition to this, discretion is given to levy a three pies cess for District Board purposes alone, and a similar one for Taluk Board purposes. The maximum rate, therefore is one anna six pies and it is impossible to enhance the rate under any circumstances.

Freedom of local bodies to vary the rates of taxation according to their requirements is now recognised as a sound principle so far as Municipalities in the Presidency are concerned. It is unfortunate that this concession is not extended to local boards. It cannot be argued that the needs of the boards are fewer or less urgent than those of Municipalities, or that there is a greater danger of power being abused by them. They are everywhere under the control of representatives of landholders and the rate of cess will not be raised by them unless the need for it is clear. The fear that a high rate of land cess will adversely affect the growth of land revenue which constitutes a large proportion of the income of provincial government is groundless, especially in view of the proposals for the standardisation of land revenue assessment at a low rate.¹ The analogy of the adverse effects of a surcharge on income tax does not hold good in this case. It is thus desirable that local boards shall be given freedom to vary the rates of land cess.

Another serious defect of land cess is that it is not in proportion to ability to pay—the poorest land holder being called upon to pay at the same rate as the richest. There is a strong case for progression in the ryotwari areas and a change in the principle of distribution of the burden in the Zamindari areas. A higher rate may be imposed on cultivators paying an assessment of one hundred rupees, the rate rising progressively on assessments of Rs. 250, Rs. 500 and

¹ I. T. E. C. report, p. 86.

Rs. 1,000. This will not add to the cost of assessment or collection. It will not lead to any breaking up of large estates and agricultural holdings becoming more uneconomical as land cess forms only a small part of the total tax-burden. It will also bring incidentally an additional income to the boards.

Under existing arrangements land cess in Zamindari areas is collected partly from the zamindar and partly from his tenants, while in ryotwari tracts the whole cess is paid by the land holder. Much of the economic backwardness of the tenants in Zamindaris is due to the peculiarities of their land tenure and the larger rents they have to pay. No special benefits are conferred by the Zamindar on them. It is just that he is asked to contribute at a higher rate towards the income of local boards and thus help the spread of education, medical relief and health among the tenants. It will be reasonable if while the tenant pays half anna per rupee the Zamindar is made to pay one anna. The force of ancient tradition which made it incumbent on a Zamindar to spend a substantial portion of his income on the improvement of the inhabitants in the Zamindari has now become very weak; and the imposition of a higher rate of cess will go to some extent in making up this defect. Taxing them through a local rate is much better than imposing an income tax on them for imperial purposes.

It may be thought that the removal of the existing statutory limit to the rate of land cess coupled with the proposal to double the rate on Zamindars may lead to a possible confiscation of much of their incomes. But this is not likely to be the case. For, the proposal is not to completely exempt the tenant from liability to pay the cess. He will share it in the proportion of one to two instead of equally, so that any decision by a local board to collect more from the Zamindar will mean the enhancement of the tenant's share by fifty per cent. of it. This liability of the tenants will serve

as a check on the rashness of the boards in their attempts to raise the rates too very high.

With modifications like these the land cess will constitute an ideal tax for local purposes. For it has already all the other merits of a good tax. It is economically collected and assessed. It has the characteristic of certainty from the point of view of the payers as well as of the boards. The fact that in 1924-25, it contributed to nearly sixty-five per cent. of the tax revenue shows that it is also highly productive. In any reformed scheme of local taxation it is bound to retain its importance and will have no powerful rival or substitute.

2. *House tax.*

The position of the House-tax in the finances of local boards is best explained by the following table which records for different periods the average annual income from it and the percentage borne by it to the tax revenue and the total receipts of the boards.

Period (1)	Average annual income from House tax (2)	Percentage of (2) to Tax revenue (3)	Percentage of (2) to Total receipt. (4)
1886-7	Rs. 36359	7.3	6.0
1886-7 to 1892-3	146624	2.7	2.1
1893-4 to 1902-3	423962	6.6	5.1
1903-4 to 1912-13	655322	8.1	4.2
1913-14 to 1922-23	982005	9.4	4.5
1923-24	1289697	9.7	4.2
1924-25	1315466	10.06	4.4

One characteristic of the house-tax which distinguishes it from the other taxes levied by the boards is that it has always

been imposed only in particular localities. The act of 1871 laid down that "it shall not be imposed except in villages, or groups of villages, or townships, in which a school supported by a government grant-in-aid already exists, or in which the inhabitants are prepared to establish a school under such rules as may, at the time, be in force in respect of educational grants-in-aid, or in which the government shall determine to establish a school." In accordance with this section it was extended by 1874 to only 271 villages. When after a period of abeyance it was revived by the Local Boards Act of 1884 provision was made for its levy only in *unions*—a new administrative unit consisting of a single village or group of villages. This feature has remained in operation until the present day. In 1924-25 the tax was levied in an area containing a population of only 3,696, 729 which constitutes a little less than a tenth of the total population under the jurisdiction of local boards. The low productivity of the house tax is accounted for by this.

In this policy the government was guided in early days by two factors. One was the dislike of a multiplicity of taxes. A single tax fairly productive and touching the large majority of the people of the Presidency was thought to be much better than a number of small imposts of a vexatious character.¹ The land cess fulfilled this criterion to a very great extent and as it was decided to impose it, it appeared unnecessary to burden *all* the inhabitants with any other tax. It may however be argued that even from this standpoint a house tax would have been superior to even the land less. For, while the latter affects only the holders of lands and gives exemption to non-agricultural classes, the house tax falls equally on all. But there were two possible objections to a universal tax on houses. One was the difficulty involved in assessing the value of houses by a Central body like the

¹ Minute of the Governor, dated 23rd Nov., 1868, (published in papers relating to the Towns' Improvement Bill of 1870).

District Board (or even the Taluk Board) with jurisdiction over a large area. The other was that in rural parts a house should not be regarded as a correct index of a man's ability to pay taxes, there being little difference in many cases between the house of a rich man and that of a member of the middle class. It was also contended that in several cases impoverished families occupied spacious houses inherited from rich ancestors and that it would be unjust to tax them on the basis of the value of such houses. It was therefore concluded that as a general tax land cess was better than house tax, and that the latter should be levied only when a distinct benefit was conferred on any locality.

Between 1871 and 1874 it was confined to villages in which there was a grant-in-aid school, and was therefore practically a sort of education tax. But this association of the tax with education made both of them unpopular as there were several who thought that sanitation had better claims on it than education. The Government therefore put it into abeyance in 1874.¹ On the recommendation of the Local Self Government Committee of 1882 it was revived in the act of 1884 and confined to 'unions' which were mainly administrative areas organised for sanitary purposes. It took therefore the form of a sanitary rate. Every village is not a union. At present there are only 495 unions and the tax is confined to them. Villages outside the union areas are nearly eight times in number.

Economic theory regards the house tax as an ideal one for purely local purposes. For it is mostly the owners of house property that are benefited from local expenditure on sanitation, lighting and other improvement. It is also a tax with which the inhabitants in the Presidency were familiar before it was incorporated into the act of 1871.² But there was one difference between the old and the new in regard to the

¹ Madras Administration Report, 1873-74, L.S.G.C. report also.

² Statement of objects and reasons re L. T. Bill of 1870.

method of assessment. Under the indigenous methods it was more or less like a poll-tax on householder. In its present form it is a tax on houses, and is based upon a regular classification of them on the basis of their value.

Detailed rules were not laid down in the earlier acts regarding the assessment of the house-tax. Under the acts of 1871 and 1884 houses were divided roughly into six classes and the rate of the tax varied from Rs. 5 to annas 4 per year. In 1900 the number of classes was increased to nine and the rate on the highest class was raised to Rs. 10. The current act deals in greater detail with the methods of assessment.¹ It is left to the discretion of each union board to divide the houses into any number of classes—provided that it is not less than six. It therefore ensures a fairly good gradation. The principle of assessment is that of valuation, it being left to the union to proceed on the basis of either capital value or annual value. This is a sound provision as houses in rural areas are occupied mostly by the owners and it is not consequently possible to estimate their annual rental values. It is therefore safer to proceed on the basis of capital value which it is easy for the authorities of the union with their local knowledge to estimate correctly. It is obligatory upon every union board to revise the valuation once in five years and this gives opportunity to get increased income from time to time. No maximum rates are laid down in the act which is a healthy departure. There is also provision for a progressive rate of taxation and in both these respects it differs from land cess.

In the actual administration of the tax three difficulties have so far been experienced. (1) One is in respect of exemptions. All the acts have recognised the need for exemption on the ground of the poverty of owners. This power was however abused in earlier years by the boards.² Twenty five

¹ Schedule IX. Sections 12 to 25.

² Annual Administration report, 1890-1, 1891-92.

per cent. of the houses were left unassessed in many places and in some nearly fifty per cent. It must be noted that villages that are constituted into unions are generally prosperous and are in the position of miniature towns which may grow in course of time into municipalities. The exemption of such a large percentage of houses is rather suspicious. To prevent it the act of 1920 laid down that ordinarily "houses valued at a greater capital value than Rs. 240 or a greater annual value than Rs. 20 shall not be exempted in any union." (2) A second defect was slackness in the collection of the tax which was mostly due to the indifference or incompetence of the union executives and the lack of proper supervision by higher authorities.¹ (3) In several cases provision regarding the quinquennial revision was disregarded. These defects can be removed in time with the growth of civic consciousness. A cautious experiment may also be made by way of "surcharging" the union board in case of gross neglect.

The future of the house tax is closely bound up with the policy of government in regard to the extension of unions. Public opinion is not in favour of these administrative units.² They are highly artificial in character. The constitution of Village Panchayats is preferred to them. The taxes levied in Panchayat areas have not yet been reduced to any uniformity and it remains to be seen what place the house tax will occupy among them. The peculiar economic conditions of the rural areas indicate that it is more suited to urban centres and experience confirms this opinion to a great extent.

3. Tolls.

Next to land cess, tolls form a most productive source of the revenue of local boards and they have been occupying this

¹ Annual Administration report, 1888-90.

² M. L. C. P., 23rd November, 1913, 2nd April, 1919 and also G. O., 1410 L of 1915.

place continuously for the last fifty years. In 1882-83 the yield amounted to Rs. 3,86,662 and the progress made since then is illustrated by the following table.

Period. (1)	Average annual Income from Tolls. (2)	Percentage of (2) to total tax revenue. (3)	Percentage of (2) to total receipts. (4)
	Rs.		
1882-3	386662	8.4	6.9
1883-4 to 1892-3	618901	12.8	9.5
1893-4 to 1902-3	776446	12.2	9.3
1903-4 to 1912-13	1110154	13.7	8.4
1913-14 to 1922-23	2156725	20.8	10.02
1923-24	3155000	23.7	10.4
1924-25	3183000	24.3	10.8

A comparison of this with the table on pages 2 and 10 will make clear the relative position occupied by land cess, house tax and tolls in local taxation in the past and at the present day. In spite of the objections occasionally raised against tolls they have been contributing more and more to the tax income and in contrast to income from land cess and house tax, the proportion the income from them bears to the total receipts, has also been on the increase. While the revenue from land cess increased by 4.7%, 15.9%, 11.7%, and 26.3% respectively in the decades from 1882-3, that from tolls increased by 60.1%, 25.5%, 43%, and 94.2% thus indicating the more rapid rate of its growth. All these features have to be borne in mind in examining the proposals made now and then for the abolition of tolls.

The growth in the income from tolls is due mostly to an increase in the number of toll-gates or places where tolls are

collected and partly to the adoption of higher rates of taxation. In the earlier years government was very cautious in granting permission to open new gates¹ but as the need for extending means of communication and keeping them in proper condition came to be felt more and more the strictness of the original policy was relaxed. In 1885-86 there were only 191 gates or one gate on an average for 111 miles of road maintained; the corresponding figures for subsequent years are as follows :—

Year.	No. of toll gates.	No. of miles per gate.
1885-86	191	111
1895-96	277	97·5
1905-06	307	91·7
1915-16	425	65·7
1924-25	430	62·1

Under the Local Boards Acts the maximum rates at which tolls may be levied under different heads—Motor Vehicles, Bicycles, Carts, etc.—are laid down and the boards are empowered to fix in accordance with local conditions the actual rates which may vary from time to time and from district to district. In this respect boards have shown in recent times a disposition to fix the rates as near the maxima as possible. For instance in 1885-86 tolls were levied at the maximum rates in 78 gates and at half the maximum in the remaining 113. The changes

¹ Madras Govt. resolution on 'Finances,' Fort St. George Gate the Supplement March 26, 1876.

made in the subsequent years are shown in the following table :

Year.	Maximum rates.	$\frac{2}{3}$ of the Max. rates.	$\frac{1}{3}$ of the Max.
1895-96	99	...	178
1905-06	141	7	159
1915-16	233	86	106

Information regarding 1924-25 is not precise ; but even then maximum rates prevailed in all except eight districts, and even in these eight the rates were below the maxima only at certain gates and for certain classes of vehicles.¹

This revenue consists partly of the proceeds of tolls levied in gates maintained by the Local Boards and partly of contributions paid by Municipalities. The latter owes its origin to an executive order of the Madras Government issued in 1875-76.² It was the outcome of a controversy in regard to the legitimacy of tolls levied by Municipalities on 'through' as distinct from 'local' traffic. Under the Towns' Improvement Acts of 1865 and 1871 municipal councils were authorised to collect tolls on vehicles and animals entering towns and making use—by implication—of the roads and other amenities provided by Town authorities. This power was however abused,³ no distinction being drawn between vehicles passing by accident as it were through the town on their way to other places and those whose destination was the town itself. Tolls collected by municipalities under these circumstances operated as a sort of transit duty falling not on the

¹ Annual Administration Report, 1924-25. p. 8.

² Madras Administration Report, 1875-76 ; also L. S. G. C. report, p. 27.

³ A vigorous indictment of municipal tolls is found in Mr. Robinson's Minute published in the Volume in " Papers relating to the Jaina improvement bill of 1870 " ; the Volume is indispensable for a study of " tolls " in the Madras Presidency.

town populations benefited by municipal expenditure but on the general public of the surrounding country. Besides this, the roads on which the 'through' traffic passed were maintained by the local boards and to them belonged of right any tolls levied on such traffic. It was therefore felt that the municipalities were not entitled to enjoy all the revenue they collected from tolls and that it was but just that they should pay back to the boards that part of their revenue which might be regarded as contributed by the 'through' traffic passing along the towns. Rough calculations of this share were made and municipalities were ordered to part with it.

Even at the present day many municipal councils refuse to pay their contributions and disputes often arise between them and the concerned boards. They are generally referred to Joint Committees and in some cases are amicably settled by them. But there arise occasions when governmental intervention becomes necessary and disputes are prolonged. One way to avoid them is to put a stop to all municipal contributions. In defence of this it may be argued that after all the amount paid by municipalities is not very much. Taking the years from 1904-05 it is found that the proportion which it bears to the total tolls—income of the boards has been steadily going down. In 1904-05 it formed 16·9 per cent. of this income; it fell to 12 per cent. in 1914-15 and 7·6 per cent. in 1924-25. While there is force in this argument it may be pointed out that justice is on the side of the boards. So long as they maintain the main lines of traffic tolls ought to go to them and not to municipalities. A better solution is the abolition of municipal tolls and devise a better method—and such methods are available—of taxing the purely local traffic entering the municipal areas.

As a method of taxation tolls are open to the criticism that "they are undoubtedly an impediment to through traffic," There is however some exaggeration in this view and they are not really so objectionable as they appear to be at

first sight. (a) The imposition of this tax and its administration have always been based on the principle that those who make use of roads should as far as possible be made to pay for their maintenance. Regarded therefore as the price paid for the use of roads they do not appear to be unreasonable. (b) The most common mode of conveyance on roads is the "Cart" and the toll which it is liable to pay is annas three only. The tendency is to have not more than one gate for every twenty miles and in many cases the distance is longer. When the capacity of a cart is considered three annas is not such a high rate as to interfere with traffic. Statistics are not available to give an idea of the volume of traffic passing along the roads but it may be stated that the tolls to which the traffic is subject do not make any appreciable addition to its cost. The collection does not lead to annoyance or delay as necessary precautions are taken for the purposes, and as the speed of the carts is generally very low. The boards cannot raise the rates indefinitely as the maxima are specified by the legislature itself. People have become habituated to this method of taxation and there is no specific complaint against it except the general one that is made against all taxes.

(c) It is the increase in motor traffic that is responsible for the present opposition to tolls. The remedy is not the abolition of tolls but the exemption of motor vehicles from them, and subject them to some other kind of tax. (d) Tolls contribute nearly a fourth of the tax income of the boards; and their abolition will lead to the bankruptcy of many of them. The conclusion therefore follows that tolls have to be retained in the scheme of local taxation.

(4) Other taxes.

(a) The Pilgrim tax does not possess any great importance. It is confined to only such pilgrim centres as can be reached

by rail and all the income derived from it has to be spent on the development of the particular centre in respect of which the tax is levied.

(b) Profession tax. The introduction of the Profession tax by the act of 1920 may be regarded as an epoch making event in the history of local taxation in rural areas. Up till then the burden of taxation fell mostly on the holders of land and all non-agricultural classes were practically exempt. This was a serious defect, for, these classes had been sharing the benefit of local expenditure on education, roads, public health organisation etc., without contributing anything towards it. Equity required the taxation of such classes and this was accomplished by the act of 1920.

As in the case of all other taxes discretion is given to the district board to levy the tax or not in any local area. But when the levy is decided upon, 'every person exercising a profession, art, trade, or calling, or is in receipt of any income from money-lending or any source other than lands and houses' is liable to pay the tax. The amount of the tax depends on a rough estimate of income 'based on the nature and reputed value of business, the size and rental of residential and business premises, the quantity of articles dealt with, the number of persons employed and the income tax paid to government.' The rate varies from one rupee per year on incomes between twenty-five and forty-nine to two hundred and twenty rupees on incomes of not less than two thousand rupees. These are the maximum rates allowed by the act but it is open to the local boards to levy the tax at these or at any lower rates. Nearly thirty per cent. of the inhabitants in rural areas belong to the non-agricultural classes, and if properly assessed and collected the tax is bound to bring an appreciable income to local authorities.

At present the tax suffers from two defects. One is that it cannot be extended to persons holding appointments, 'public or private, or are in receipt of any pension or income

from investments.' In defence of this it was argued that appointments etc., do not come under the category of professions. This seems a strange interpretation and is inconsistent with the corresponding clauses in the District Municipalities Act where holders of appointments are as much liable to the tax as others. It was also stated in defence of the present position that the imposition of profession tax on the 'exempted' classes will adversely affect the imperial income tax.¹ All holders of appointments do not fall in the category of income tax payers; and as it is not possible for them to conceal their income it is not known how their assessment to profession will affect the yield from income tax.

A second and a more serious defect is in respect of the assessment and collection of profession tax. Each local board exercises jurisdiction over a large area consisting of a number of scattered villages; and officers appointed by the board cannot be expected to possess the local knowledge necessary for making an estimate of the income of people and classifying them on the basis of the income. For the tax is based on a sort of rough guess work regarding incomes and the act does not empower the boards to call for the accounts of the assessees. None except the residents of villages will be able to do this work. Consequently the boards at present depend upon the village officer for preparing the assessment registers and making the collection of the tax. These officers however are not the direct subordinates of the boards and are not therefore subject to their control. They do the work indifferently and are slack in making the collections.

Any attempt to replace them by agents of their own will add very much to the expenditure of local boards. It is circumstances like these that have deterred many boards from resorting to the tax, and a few that originally levied it have subsequently given it up.

¹ M. L. C. P., 26th Sept. 1920. Discussion on L. B. bill.

The remedy for this is not the abolition of profession tax. As has already been shown it is necessary in the interests of equity. What ought to be done is to create smaller and more compact administrative areas than the present Taluk Boards. Each village must form an administrative unit by itself and to the village Panchayat should be made over the assessment and the collection of profession tax. Some of the functions of the boards may be transferred to the village Panchayats. Thus the success of the tax depends on further decentralisation.¹

In 1923-24 the tax was levied by 51 out of 126 taluk boards and in 1924-25 the number went up to 57. The yield was Rs. 1,23,752 and Rs. 2,86,547 respectively in those two years. It is mostly the boards in Malabar, S. Canara and Ramnad that have levied it.

(c) The tax on companies. This is a necessary counterpart to the profession tax. But the yield from it is comparatively small owing to the existence of very few companies in rural areas. The basis of assessment is ordinarily the paid up capital of the Company; but in the case of a company the head office or a branch or principal office of which is not in the local board area the gross income obtained by it in the area is to be taken as the basis. In the case of a company which has only a branch office in the area the first method of assessment is applied at present; but this is objectionable as it is not possible to determine the share of the paid up capital of the company to be credited to the branch. The Local Boards Act amending bill of 1923 proposed to levy the tax on the business turn over of the company in the local area and this will be a fairer basis.²

M. VENKATARANGAIYA

¹ I. T. E. C. report. Para. 445.

Read before the Indian Economic Conference, Calcutta, January, 1927.

THE HUMAN CHILD

I love the human child,
Whose happy careless mind
Draws breath in heaven's air,
And wanders unconfined:

It knows the stars by sight,
And launches fancy-bolts
To conquer planet-realms
And stride o'er sun-revolts.

It lords it over time,
And makes each moment yield
Fun, laughter, sport and joy,
And wishes all fulfilled.

Though future's ample folds
Dark care and sorrow hide,
The infant grasps the world
And rolls it side to side.

Would it were ever so,
The freshness of the prime
With gods had shared its hopes
And crowned the fields of time.

But magic colours change,—
The lore of hope and faith
Is learnt in other skies
And spelt through grief and death.

REFLECTIONS OF A WAYFARER

مرا علاج زبان مشکل است میدانم
 که هرچه بوسر من آمد از زبان منست
Arif.

THE RHYTHM OF LIFE

That freedom leads to unity and unity to freedom is a proposition which hardly admits of doubt. But the freedom meant here is not merely political freedom, but freedom in a larger and broader sense. By freedom I mean freedom from the thralldom of ignorance, fanaticism, misunderstanding and folly. How is that freedom attained? For we must seek and secure it before we can reasonably hope for the other kind of freedom—freedom of the motherland from foreign fetters and foreign rule.

Freedom from the thralldom of ignorance and fanaticism is an indispensable stepping-stone to India's political freedom; for nothing great or noble or enduring can be built except upon liberal foundations.

• We are told, often and often, and with varying shades of emphasis, that the East is essentially religious, characteristically spiritual in its mental constitution. That may have been true of the past. Is it true of the present? I am inclined to doubt it. The essence of religion—be it what it may—is love not hatred, inward purity, piety, charity and not outward show or spectacular demonstration.

In the wave of materialism that has swept over it, the East has seemingly lost its deep religious sense. And with it she has abandoned her traditions; forsaken her literatures; forgotten her ideals.

¹ The first part appeared in the December number 1926 of *The Muslim Review*.

In the play of unedifying passion religion is fostered to-day ; in hate and violence she is nursed and nurtured.

Imagine the fire and fury over the slaughter of cows at the Baqrid ! Ponder upon the dissipation of energy and zeal upon the question of music before mosques. But we are seriously told, these are the mandates of Islam—mandates as conceived by pious divines, mandates as interpreted by fugitive politicians intent upon success in the political arena.

This is religion ! And with this view of religion we hope for peace, prosperity, political progress, liberty and freedom ! Religion is naught but a dividing sword—cutting at the very roots of Progress and Nationality.

Is the religion of Islam, then, hide-bound, impervious to light and love ? Should it stand in the way of one National India ? Islam's history is reassuring. Her literature holds out the brightest hope. Did not Islam accept Hellenism as the starting-point of her culture ? Did she not incorporate it—make it her very own ! What is Islamic civilization but a blend of old civilizations which Islam had subdued and absorbed into her own new system ? What are Islamic theology and dogmatics but the gift of the Aramæic people—Christian converts to Islam. What is the theory of the Islamic state but the Persian theory transplanted to Islamic soil ?

And does not Sufism owe its origin mainly to the school of Indian Philosophy known as the Vedanta School ? The external resemblances between the two systems—those of the Vedanta and the Arab and Persian mysticism—obtain a further confirmation by their remarkable internal similarities. (Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 108-114). Islam, as we know it, to-day, is a mosaic work, made up of many sources. Would that our co-religionists realized this truth ? It has changed with the changing times. The realisation of this fact will be of incalculable importance to the future politics of Islam.

Nor must we forget that two Pundits enriched the literature of the Caliphate with the treasures of Hindu learning. But if history is helpful; no less is literature in the understanding of this problem. Where in the literature of the world is there that spirit of liberalism and toleration such as we find in Islamic literature. I do not confine myself to any particular literature but to all literatures that bear the stamp of Islamic civilization. Turn to Arabic, Persian, Hindustani—turn wheresoever you will—the one note that strikes you is the note of liberalism and toleration.

Motannabbi and Abul Ala thrill you with their passion for liberalism. The long array of Persian Poets—what else is their work but hymns and poems on toleration and liberalism? Nor is our motherland behindhand, on this score. Who can read Mir Taqi without realizing the enormous influence of Hinduism on his poetry? Who can read Momin, Zawq, Ghalib without feeling that they have gloriously kept the torch of toleration alight—the glorious gift of their forbears.

Islam has never stood in the way of unity and freedom. Does it stand in the way of unity and freedom out here in India? I emphatically think, not. And yet, why then is this ugly Hindu-Mohamedan question—so distracting, so disturbing, so subversive of progress and friendship? "Because, in the past, the uniting bond was the bond of culture. That bond has now been snapped, destroyed and with the destruction of that bond the ties of amity, good-will, concord have loosened and fallen. Politics has taken its place and what, after all, is Indian Politics but a scramble for a few Government posts?

Who ever thought of Hindu-Muslim unity a quarter of a century ago? No argument was needed to impress its importance! No plea to justify its necessity. It was assumed to exist. But with the process of the sun, things have altered and the line of cleavage has deepened. And, now, we

have the Hindu-Mohamedan controversy with all its venom and bitterness ?

Should we allow religion to turn into a curse and a blight upon this fair land of ours ? Brothers we all are, and as brothers we should feel and act. Of one common stock, with one common language in each province, with domestic tradition and practices not unlike each other—what is it that divides us ?

The false theory of a foreign people, settled in a foreign land, propounded by a half-baked historian—not very long ago, is now rejected with scorn by all sane thinking Muslims.

What then is the need of the hour ? Freedom and unity—freedom from religious fanaticism ; for that alone will enable us to distinguish between the real and imaginary—the true and the counterfeit service of God. Nay, it will help us on to that great conception of the unity of mankind, which transcending all barriers—sectional and territorial—regard all mankind as workers in one common cause ; as worshippers at one altar—the altar of Righteousness. Fanaticism, then we must crush and conquer. And, to be sure, fanaticism will be conquered neither by Science nor by Arts but by religion itself. Once we realize the loving and merciful character of God whom we are bidden to worship, violence and intolerance will assuredly cease. Could we use weapons distasteful and hateful to Him in His cause and unto His service ? • True religion will chase fanaticism away.

With freedom from fanaticism secured, with Hindu-Muslim friendship renewed and brotherhood cemented, who can or will resist India's onward march ? This golden prize is well within our reach. Shall we take it ? Shall we let others reap the fruit of our division and strife ?

Let religion teach charity—Let politics show honesty of purpose, singleness of aim. Freedom and Unity—let these be our watchwords, our beckoning guides. In the language of Havelock Ellis : “ We cannot have freedom in any triumphant

degree unless we have restraint. In the making of New Freedoms and New Restraints lies the rhythm of life."

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

"Pessimism and optimism are labels flung about by the frivolous or the ignorant. To be obsessed either by gloom or by hope, without knowledge of facts, is equally wrong. Humanity is ever encircled with tremendous difficulties; it is endowed with incalculable powers of recuperation. The ignorant do not see the dangers; the poor-hearted do not feel the hope. The wise man is often full of anxiety for the immediate future; he never loses faith in ultimate victory. He is always at once pessimist and optimist; for he never under-rates the practical difficulties which obstruct the path of progress. But all the time he knows that progress must in the end prevail. And in the darkest hour he awaits the certain dawn of light."

Thus wrote Frederic Harrison. And does it not cheer the weary, revive the fainting, stir the languid pulses of man? Yes, in the darkest hour we must patiently await the certain dawn of light. But the expectation of the certain dawn must be based on realities and not on illusions, on facts, not on fantasies or fakes. The best and the only way to conquer a difficulty is to measure its force and to overcome it by a still greater force. In dealing with the Hindu-Muslim question—more than any other question of the day—we should not search for diplomatic formula which antagonises nobody, commits nobody, and means nothing. Nor need we place much reliance on fasts and prayers and tears. They are good in their own way but the materialistic world is not much influenced by those things—certainly is not moved by them. They neither solve the problem nor usher in an era of universal brotherhood. What we want is a frank statement, and an equally frank solution of the problem. The first

question, therefore, which we must ask ourselves is "Have we prepared the way for an assault on those formidable entrenchments which suspicion, hatred and ignorance so tenaciously defend?" What then are those formidable entrenchments defended by vested interests, suspicion, hatred and ignorance? First and foremost is the belief universally held by the Mohamedans that they are an alien race, transplanted into an alien soil. This belief—historically untenable—is so ineradicably rooted in my co-religionists—that they cannot—so long as it continues—cherish, much less respond to, the idea of unity—political or social. It is a mischievous belief; for it assumes that we are a foreign people wholly different from the Hindus. And this assumption has raised a dividing wall apparently unscalable for the present, and has implanted an idea that the Muslims are, and must for ever remain, a distinct people, always on the alert to safeguard their interests and to battle against any invasion of their rights. Needless to say, this idea cannot be reconciled with any possible or potential unity. Coupled with this is the religious fanaticism which is so acute and so far-reaching that it stands hopelessly in the way of adjustment of disputes and differences. I do not for one moment suggest that Islam is a religion of fanaticism. I have always maintained, and still maintain, that there is no religion which is or has been more just and generous to other religions than Islam has been throughout its historic career. But I do assert that Islam has never appeared, to its best advantage, in India. Here Muslims have always shown an impenetrable ignorance of its true spirit, and a reckless defiance of its genuine precepts. But I will be wrong and unjust to my co-religionists if I lay all the blame on them. If they are and have been ignorant and fanatical—the Hindus are and have been no less. The first and the most terrible obstacle, therefore, to a true unity is our religion. And not without good reason has the poet sung:—

"I loathe the church, the temple, and the mosque—I loathe them all—for are they not unyielding barriers, dividing walls? Break them down, O beauteous spirit of Truth, and in thy fold unite us all."

But if we cannot yet realise, the dream of the poet—can we not, at least, infuse a more liberal and tolerant spirit into our countrymen, and teach them that while beef-eating and cow-killing are not integral parts of Islam—shedding of blood, on flimsy pretexts, is not quite in accord with the peaceful spirit and sweet reasonableness of true Hinduism. Toleration then must be the first item on any programme which hopes to usher in unity between the two great communities in India. For toleration alone will enable them to see that the differences, which are alleged to divide them, are false and unreal, and that their true interests are one and the same. Then and then only, will the glory of India be our common aim—the attainment of freedom—our one supreme goal. But with differences and division, clash of arms and conflicting passions—can we ever hope to advance one step beyond where we are to-day? And instead of helping forward the great consummation—to which all right-minded Indians longingly look forward—we, by culpable folly, hinder and thwart that end. Religion, instead of bringing peace, brings a sword. Politics, instead of uniting, divides us. We are riven by petty jealousies, torn by domestic strife. Is this an atmosphere congenial to peace, progress, trust and esteem? Can we really hope for Hindu-Muslim unity amid such surroundings and among such peoples? If we do—it is naught else but an idle vision of an empty day. But we must not despond. Unity, true unity, we shall some day have. We shall have it when the mist of suspicion and distrust has lifted, and lift it must; when religion will be a blessing and not a curse; when politics will be a noble pursuit, and not a sordid game; when love of India will not be a lip-profession but a sacred, burning faith.

I refuse to believe that a cause to which a Gandhi has dedicated his life—a cause to which a Mohamed Ali once sacrificed his freedom—can ever be a lost cause. In its ultimate success I have not the least doubt. Sure is its success, sure by right divine. Then will harsh times mellow into peace—then will life evolve the three-fold romance of goodness, truth and beauty. Then religion will be cleansed of its impurities, and love be enthroned in its kingdom. That day—like a dim horizon to the sea-weary sailors—is not so far off as it seems. Its realisation rests with ourselves. It depends upon our own efforts, earnestness, honesty, good-will. Can we not rise to the occasion? Realise this dream? Realise ourselves.

Discontent in India.

If anarchy and revolution are mere figments of the brain—can we disguise the fact that there is a wide and wide-spreading discontent in India. What is the cause of this discontent? Is it the form of Government? Assuredly not! No one who speaks the truth or judges aright will deny that in theory this is the best government India has ever had. But alas! “in theory” only. We have the most elaborate system of law ever devised by the genius of man, but ask practising lawyers what they think of our administration of criminal justice and you will soon be disillusioned. We have a wonderful police—shining helmets, silver buttons; terror-inspiring red *Pagrees*; serjeants gravely pacing up and down with revolvers; mounted police in spotless uniforms. How all this delights my weary eyes—delights—because are they not custodians of order; suppressors of real or imaginary anarchy; cherishers of the poor; foes of oppression; terror of the criminal; upholders of justice; pillars of the State?

But pierce beneath the surface and find out, for yourself, the truth of things. We have had—what our fathers never dreamed in their wildest dreams—we have had Indians with

English secretaries as their subordinates but, in spite of the confidential assurances of some of our countrymen, we are not quite sure who bosses the show—the Indian chief or his English subordinate.

What is wanted is the real thing, not Sham—substantial not shadowy power; virtue, not its counterfeit; justice, not its mockery; liberal spirit, not mere make-believe. India has no longer any use for sham and pretentious catch-words; for India claims and calls for her indefeasible right—the right to govern herself. Sham, then, must be ended if the augmenting wave of discontent is to be effectively checked. This is not all. “Personal and friendly contact,” says *The Times*, “counts for much more in the East than good government.” These are words of sound wisdom and ripe experience, and should be heard and followed. The problem which confronts British Statesman to-day is the very same which confronted Omayyad Statesmen a thousand years ago—the relation between the rulers and the ruled—the revolt of the latter against the arrogance of the former. The Omayyads failed to solve it. Will British Statesmanship be more successful? I shall not repeat what I have already said on the subject in my paper on the “Shuubiyyah movement” (Essays; Indian and Islamic: Probsthain, London). We must not forget that fine passage in Alexandre Dumas:—“the most beautiful rose lasts one day; the smallest thorn lasts all through life.” This is no new point I am making. Thoughtful Europeans and Indians have always felt and regretted it and in “The Nation and the Athenaeum” (September 13, 1924) Mr. Alfred Zimmern has once more called attention to it in frank and forceful language.

“We must strive,” says he, “to understand and overcome the strange medley of shyness and condescension which characterizes our attitude towards our coloured fellow-citizens; for without racial equality and free-play for the innate self-respect of its peoples, the commonwealth will assuredly fly

asunder leaving the world without its safest bulwark against inter-racial conflict. We ought to make it a definite item of our post-war imperial programme, independent of party, to combat the idea that there is any inferiority attaching to this or that form of pigmentation. But ideas, it will be said, cannot be combated by the programmes of statesmen and parties. The answer is that in this case they can; for both at home and overseas, arguments are constantly used, and policies advanced, which are based upon an unspoken assumption of the superiority of the White peoples and 'their' civilization. Plumb these processes of reasoning to the bottom, exhibit them in their true character,...and draw the consequences. Nothing is worse than to profess one philosophy and to practise another. An open conflict of interests the coloured peoples can appreciate; it need cause no more resentment than the conflicts of interest which are constantly occurring between the White people themselves. *It is the combination of cant with contempt, of high-sounding phrases with the conqueror's condescension which is kindling the fires of racial hatred.*" This is plain-speaking.

I put then the deepening and widening discontent down to "sham" which is here with us a substitute for the real thing, and to superciliousness on the part of the Whiteman, which envenoms and embitters the Eastern against him. It is not immediate revolution which the Government is called upon to face and to stem—it is this deepening and widening discontent which is its imperative duty to soften, to allay, to check, to end. But hearts are never won by the sword nor is loyalty secured by indiscriminate arrests or the methods of the Star Chamber.

If my countrymen need the advice of Tolstoi; namely, "that mere aspirations are insufficient. The practical sense must be added and application and self-control learnt"—the Government equally need the advice of Prof. Gilbert Murray namely, "the chains of the mind are not broken by any form

of ignorance. The chains of the mind are broken by understanding. But understanding involves a way of peace and co-operation. It means a doctrine of love instead of a Gospel of hate. It means an enquiry into ugly and repulsive things, not a shrinking from them. Fear is the foe of reason and the foes of reason are the enemies of freedom."

حافظ وظیفہ تو دعا گفتن است و بس

در بند آن مباش کہ نشنید یا شنید

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA AND SIAM

(*Court of Admiralty Judge's Despatch to King James II.*)

There are numerous accounts by agents of the East India Company as well as by the early European travellers which throw considerable light on the history of the Mughal period and more particularly on the reign of the Emperor Aurangzib. Although these accounts are generally scanty and sometimes derived from a third person or from the current gossip of the day, their value has still some pertinent significance. It is the duty of every historical student to make publicly accessible any contemporary evidence that he may have the good fortune to discover. Thus the labours of each investigator will swell the volume of results obtained by all his fellow-workers. In this manner, with time and patience granted, it may be possible by a strenuous process of comparison and correction to form a just estimate of events and their causes hitherto misapprehended or misjudged for lack of information by the most serious and weighty historians. This is my excuse and reason for exhuming the narrative of Dr. John St. John.

While engaged in searching the East India Company's records at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the present writer found by accident, in Mr. Macray's description of the *Rawlinson MS. A. 171*, a reference to an "original copy of a representation from Dr. St. John to the king, on the affairs of Hindostan and of the East India Company, 18th July, 1688, fol. 52."¹ The MS. appeared to be of more than ordinary interest, for it contained some facts which would contribute to the knowledge of a stormy period of Aurangzib's reign. As far as the present writer is aware this document has never been published nor is there mention of it in any record except

¹ The MS. itself consists of about 19 folios clearly written.

the catalogue mentioned above. It was sent through Samuel Pepys, the famous diarist, at that time Secretary to the Admiralty, to King James II. It has evidently escaped the notice of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, who published an account of the "Sources for the History of British India in the Seventeenth Century" from the records preserved at the British Museum, Bodleian Library and other archives in his *Journal of Indian History*, (Vol. I, Parts I, II).

It is first necessary to make a short retrospect of the circumstances under which Dr. St. John was appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty and his subsequent career in India. The establishment of such a Court had been long contemplated by the authorities at home, owing to the aggressive conduct of interlopers who sent ships to the East Indies for their own trading purposes, a practice which was detrimental to the interests of the East India Company. In letters patent dated the 9th August, 1683, Charles II empowered the Governor and Company of Merchants to search for and seize any merchandize brought or carried by interlopers to and from any place within their jurisdiction. They were also authorised to govern their own territory, to declare peace or war and to raise the necessary military forces to quell disorders committed by Englishmen and other foreigners. With these ends in view the King had determined to institute a Court of Judicature in India and commanded that it should consist of "one person learned in the Civill Lawes and two merchantes." This Court was empowered to adjudicate mercantile and shipping cases according to the "rules of equity and good conscience and according to the laws and customes of merchantes."¹

At a Court of the Company held on November 7, 1683, it was resolved to elect Dr. John St. John, as Judge of the

¹ See *Patent Roll 3237* (35 Chas. II, pt. 3), Public Record Office; also p. 130 of *The English in Western India*, by Philip Anderson.

Court of Judicature at a salary of £200 a year.¹ In a subsequent Commission dated 6th February, 1683-84, the King, on the nomination of the Governor and Company of Merchants formally appointed Dr. St. John to the post, trusting "in his learning, honesty, fidelity and discretion."² At the time of his receiving the Royal Commission, Lord Rochester presented him to the Duke of York, whose hand Dr. St. John kissed. The Company also gave him a separate Commission, dated the 7th of April, 1684.³ The same day the Court of Directors sent instructions to their agents in India regarding his appointment and accommodation, especially emphasising the point that all the judicial proceedings should be conducted in English and not in Latin; and further that the Judge should transmit reports of his Court to the Council of Bombay.⁴

It may be mentioned here that, previous to this appointment, the Council at Bombay had appointed a Captain Henry Gary, of Irish nationality, to conduct their judicial affairs. This, however, proved only a temporary arrangement and he was succeeded by Dr. St. John. The new Judge was a member of the Middle Temple⁵ but had no English University qualifications, but received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Leyden, where many Englishmen studied law in the seventeenth century, and he obtained a similar degree from Archbishop William Sancroft on the 19th of January, 1680. The Archbishop also recommended him for admission as an Advocate of Doctors Commons; but there was some difficulty about this, as two senior advocates objected

¹ See *Court Book*, Vol. 33, p. 198, India Office.

² See *Patent Roll 3245* (36 Chas. II, pt. 5), Public Record Office. Two copies of this Commission are preserved in the Record Department, India Office. See Vol. IV, pp. 319-20, *Home Misc. Series*; and also p. 315 of *Letter Book 7*.

³ See pp. 315-16 of *Letter Book 7*; and also Vol. IV, pp. 321-22 of *Home Misc. Series*, India Office.

⁴ See p. 284 of *Letter Book 7*.

⁵ He was admitted June 30, 1679, as second son of Thomas St. John Esq. of Melchburne, Bedford.

to this privilege because he had no English University qualifications.¹

Dr. St. John found in Sancroft both a friend and a patron. This is corroborated in his correspondence. After returning from his travels on the continent St. John wrote to the Archbishop on July 12, 1679, that he brought with him some ancient Arabic MSS. which he proposed to offer to the Canterbury Cathedral Library, and as a personal present to the Archbishop an original MS. "relating to the Council of Trent." He had not only collected these MSS., but had also acquired an intimate knowledge of the Court of Rome. He stayed, on his return home, with the Earl of Bolingbroke, who promised to assist him in finding some employment.²

Next year he presented Sancroft with the remainder of the oriental books purchased during his travels, as a mark of respect. At the same time he requested his patron to "nominate and create" him as an advocate, reminding him that it was within the Archbishop's power to grant the privilege without "circuits, delay or charges." He supported his claim by saying that he had made great progress in his "argum on Mr. Cottington and the Italian Gallina's marriage" consisting of 15 sheets which he proposed to dedicate to the Archbishop.³ Dr. St. John subsequently went to live at Doctors' Commons and on November 18, 1681 he once more presented the Archbishop with a MS. "together with this piece of Bartoli, wch in my judgmt is very diverting." In fact, he lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Archbishop and on the occasion of a visit of the "Greate Duke's Resident" [Tuscany] in London, he proposed taking the latter to call at Lambeth Palace, and assured the Archbishop that the Resident would send him every year "the same quantity of Florence wine." Dr. St. John also proposed

¹ See *MS. Tanner 39*, fol. 169, Bodleian. •

² See *MS. Tanner 38*, fol. 54.

³ See *Ms. Tanner 37*, fol. 188.

to show his Grace his own history of Henry VII. In a letter dated 5th January, 1681 [168 $\frac{1}{2}$], he requested the Archbishop to nominate him as a Surrogate, which would be an advantage to him. He wrote to the Archbishop, during his voyage to India from St. Jago on April 28, 1684, expressing his regret that owing to pressure of business he had not even twenty-four hours at his disposal, prior to his leaving England, in which to call upon his Grace. It is evident from this letter that he had experienced some difficulties and he was anxious that Lord Rochester should exert his influence with the Court of the Company on his behalf.¹

Dr. St. John arrived at Bombay on September 3, 1684, but owing to Keigwin's rebellion he was unable to take up his residence in the Fort. Accordingly he sailed for Surat and arrived at Swally on September 14, where he was received with all honour by President John Child and his Council. Shortly afterwards the King's Commission was read at a formal meeting of the Council in the presence of a large number of Europeans. On September 20, Dr. St. John sent a long letter to the King reviewing the present position of affairs in Bombay. In this letter he stated that Captain Richard Keigwin had violated his Majesty's prerogative and rights and had alienated his subjects by using the King's name to advance his own designs. He was convinced that the rebellion was promoted by the interlopers, whose piratical and murderous actions on the Coast of India and the Gulf of Persia were preventing the merchants from dealing any further with the English. In consequence the whole of the East India trade was in danger. The actions of the Dutch and the Portuguese were, in the writer's opinion, equally alarming; and if strong measures were not forthcoming against the interlopers and those two nations, it was possible that the existence of the English in India would cease within

¹ See *Ms. Tanner 82*, fol. 44.

four years. He described Keigwin as "the now Oliver of the Rebels and Protector of Bombay." He commended President Child to the King as a "truly loyall and honest Subject," whose experience, ability and judgment he appreciated. He further suggested to the King that Child should not be removed from India as the rights and properties of the English nation so largely depended upon him, and recommended that he should be created the Lord Admiral of India in order to deal with more authority with the interlopers and other pirates.¹ John Bruce, who gives a resumé of this letter in his *Annals*, considers it "a very able report," which opinion is repudiated by the joint authors of *Keigwin's Rebellion*. Dr. St. John sent another long report to the King on September 23, in which he further vindicated the actions of President Child and of his Commissioners. He found the rebels guilty of high treason and as usual condemned the actions of the Portuguese and the Dutch against the East India Company.

But this time the new judge was engaged in his duties, by bringing the interlopers and pirates to justice and reporting to President Child at stated intervals concerning his judicial proceedings.²

In the meantime, Sir Thomas Grantham, Vice-Admiral, reached Surat on October 16, 1684. At the time of his leaving England he was unaware of Keigwin's rebellion and in fact he was sent out for a different mission. When Grantham reached Bombay during the following month, he received the submission of Keigwin in the presence of Dr. St. John and other Commissioners. On November 20, a formal reception was held at the Courthouse at Bombay, when Grantham ordered the Commission to be read, declaring that Dr. St. John was the judge appointed by the King, and

¹ See fols. 225-232 of *Home Misc. Series 52*, Vol. V, India Office. William Hedges in his *Diary*, Vol. II, quotes this letter in *extenso*.

² See Vol. 91, pp. 221-231 of *Surat Factory Records*.

placed him in the "Chair of Justice." The occasion was also marked by a public dinner held at the Marshal's house. In spite of Dr. St. John's heavy responsibilities he did not omit to acknowledge to the King, in a letter dated 27th January, 1686, the services rendered by Sir Thomas Grantham, "who," in his opinion, "deported himselfe here to the immortal honour of the whole English Nation," in bringing about the submission of the rebels in Bombay. He also wrote to the Duke of York on February 5 1686, to the same effect.

It was not till after the lapse of many months that Dr. St. John found his position difficult. 'President Child, with whom he had been on friendly terms and about whom he wrote so flatteringly to the King, had soon become dissatisfied, and wrote a letter dated 17th March, 1684, to Charles Zinzan, relating his differences with the Judge.¹ These were caused by the latter's indifference as to the prosecution of interlopers, and the carrying out of the President's wishes. In consequence John Vaux had been appointed as Assistant or Civil Judge to St. John's great chagrin, for he considered that Vaux had little or no legal knowledge. This action of Child at once evoked a protest from Dr. St. John, in a letter dated 10th May, 1685, to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, in which he appealed for protection against the President, who had deprived him of his office as Judge of Bombay.² He also wrote to other influential men in England stating his grievances, but in vain. The Court sent a despatch, dated March 26, 1686, to the General and Council in Bombay, in which they wrote :

Dr. St. John's letters to great and worthy men here, will do him no good, whilst he is naught himself ; for persons of honour and worth, will never patronize the evill actions of any man."³

¹ See Vol. 92, fols. 54-5 of *Surat Factory Records*.

² See Vol. VI, pp. 16-17 of *Home Series Misc.* 53.

³ See Vol. 8, p. 116, of *Letter Book*, India Office.

The Court in London had now practically decided to remove Dr. St. John from his post and wrote to that effect to the Council at Bombay. They considered that Dr. St. John was not carrying out the instructions given him by the President John Child and that this irregularity could not be overlooked. At the same time they desired that his salary should be paid to the date of his dismissal. The Court washed their hands entirely of any further responsibility regarding him and left it to the President and Council either to keep him or to dismiss him altogether from the Company's service.¹

Dr. St. John was thus unable to continue his stay in India, his connection with President Child and his Council having become more and more intolerable. Although he held a commission from the King as well as from the Company, his position entirely depended upon the attitude of Child towards him. There was no other course now open to him than to leave for England with all possible despatch. He sailed from Bombay on January 12, $\frac{1687}{1688}$, on board the ship *Success*. Before his departure Sir John Wyborne, Deputy Governor of Bombay, sent St. John a confidential letter wishing him a safe voyage to England and advised him on no account to land at St. Helena or at any other place during his voyage home, lest his safety should be endangered. He also advised him to lose no time in arranging for an audience with the King; and he consigned to Dr. St. John's care a packet addressed to Samuel Pepys.²

He arrived in the English Channel on July 18, 1688, and wrote that day to Pepys, telling him of the packet from Sir John Wyborne specially entrusted to his care; at the same time he strongly condemned President Child's dealings with Sir John and stated his own experiences, saying that

¹ See Vol. 8, pp. 186, 193, 499 of *Letter Book*, India Office.

² See fol. 275 of *MS. Rawlinson, A. 170*, Bodleian.

"Since General Child was invested with this dispoticall Sovereigne power (as they call it) it was impossible for me to execute yt Commission, unless I yielded to have him & his Council first to determine all matters in Council, then receive their directions how to proceed & determine matters in Courte agt my owne judgem^t & conscience wth out and against all Lawes, weh refusing to doe, ye Generall superseded my Commission from his Matie, and gave me my discharge in writeing ye nineth 7ber last."

He goes on to state that while in India, he kept the King informed about all matters of importance either through the medium of the Archbishop of Canterbury or of Lord Dartmouth; and now asks Pepys to lose no time in delivering despatch to the King, which is of

"great importe considering ye Sundry Sound advices of all India and ye newes of Syam, weh comes very fresh, out of a French man of Warr, weh I mett att S. Helena wth a French Embassadour on bord, ye newes will divert & surprize his Matie in regard of ye greate varieties therein..."¹

Dr. St. John arrived in England after a "tedious & hazardous" voyage and spent a short time in Kent with his relations in order to recuperate himself. He directed his correspondence to be sent to the care of Justice Payne, Otterden, near Faversham in Kent.

It appears that notwithstanding Dr. St. John's attempts at self-vindication and his complaints to the King and other influential men at home, the Court of Directors were in no way perturbed by his actions, as in a letter dated August 27, 1688, they wrote to the Council at Bombay:

"We have not seen Doctor St. John nor trouble ourselves about him, he is a poor inconsiderate & weak man, & signifies no more than a cypher here, here, as usually all such kind of people do which make the greatest bluster with you in India."²

¹ See fol. 273 of MS. *Rawlinson A. 170*, Bodleian.

² See p. 546 of *Letter Book 8*, India Office.

It is not necessary for us to accept the Court's unfavourable opinion of Dr. St. John conveyed in this letter to the Bombay Council. His return to England synchronised with a great political upheaval which could not but affect his fortunes adversely, and would also make those persons or bodies, such as the East India Company itself, who were bent on currying favour with the new coming powers disclaim any connection or sympathy with him as an ardent Jacobite. The Duke of York, whose interest in naval and colonial matters was well known, had been his patron before he sailed for India, and now that he had succeeded to the throne as James II it was from His Majesty's favour that Dr. St. John expected any chance appointment to come his way. Except for such an act of grace he could have no hope whatever for he was hopelessly embroiled with the Company, and he could expect no consideration in that quarter so long at least as the Child influence remained supreme in its Councils.

His despatch to the King about the affairs of India and Siam written at sea in July 1688 on the eve of his arrival in England was the conclusion of a correspondence which had been commenced and continued with the express idea of keeping his name in the King's mind through the good offices of Samuel Pepys, as already mentioned. This despatch was written before Dr. St. John had any opportunity of becoming acquainted with the true situation at home and whilst he was still fully persuaded that the King was the arbiter of all things including his own somewhat uncertain future. He certainly had no inkling that he was attached to a lost cause, nor could he be expected to know that the days when James II could help anyone except to enforced exile were nearing their end.

In August, 1688, it was already well known throughout England that William of Orange, having formed the League of Augsburg, was making preparations to invade the country as a friend and deliverer, and to dispossess his uncle and

father-in-law of his throne. It was also no longer dubious that intrigue was rife to support the Prince when he came as the proclaimed champion of the Protestant Church and Succession. In those critical days men looked askance at one another in doubt as to the side to which they would attach themselves, but, on the whole, religious prejudices were so strong and the outcry against the Papacy so pronounced that there could be little or no doubt that the current of popular favour was flowing strongly for the Dutch Prince.

Dr. St. John was fixed by his former associations, as well as by his personal bias, to the losing side, and very shortly after his arrival the Stuart cause was lost beyond all reasonable hope of recovery. These circumstances will make it easier to understand how it was that he incurred the almost contemptuous censure and complete neglect of the East India Company. He was of no importance in their estimation, "no more than a cypher," and thus it is not surprising that he should have passed into complete oblivion, from which no one attempted to revive him.

The following is the full text of Dr. St. John's despatch :—

May it please your most Sacred Matie.

As I constantly discharged all care & endeavours in remitting to you Matie ye best Intelligence I could by his Grace of Canterbury his conveyance (as enjoined by his late Matie of everblessed mémory) so finding to my greate griefe how things frame backward & vntoward through ye il managery of those att ye helme there, I held it now my bounden duty, rather to discharge ye reputation of my discretion, then not faithfully your Sacred Person wth some impartiall intimation thereof, in, wch I have ye more bestowed my paines att this time because I am very well assured, your Matie will find it as different from what may be represented by ye East India Compa, as true in substance, and every individuall, as I doe in all submissive humbleness leave wth ye depth your Royall judgemt & consideration, & when I shall have ye honour to satisfie your Matie wth ye advantages I had in drawing on ye best Intelligence before any other of your subjects in India, I humbly conceive,

it will not onely prove of entire satisfaction, but also of as pregnant conviction agt all suggestions to the contrary.

The Eldest Prince Sha Alum¹ sonne to Orangsha² being arrived wth a formidable Army Sombajee Raja³ by ye same Princes brother Sultan Eckbar's⁴ advice, and perswasions, struck up a peace with ye Portuguese, as dreading ye Mogull's Forces wch were approached so neare him, & already entred his Countrey, but kept not his word longer then til Sha Alum had ascended the Gaat⁵ againe, ye season of the yeare not permitting so vyst an Army to stay any longer in Concan for want of water & forrage, wch caused a greate mortallity among ye souldiers, horses, Elephants & oxen; The Mogull his father observeing & finding by Experience that he could not doe any good upon Sombajee untill he reduced his Confederates to obedience (like a sound Politician & experienced Warriour) resolved to march to Visapore & besiege it, wch he successfully compassed, & after he had spent two yeares and halfe before it, wth a greate loss of his Men, haveing so farr exhausted his treasure, yt he melted downe all his Vessells of gold & silver to pay his Army, tooke it December 86 [1686]⁶ it being and is held to be the strongest and best fortified citt⁷ of all India, he being a *Shai* by Religion different to ye Mogulls, he being a Sunny,⁸ it's King Sicandersha⁹ falling also into his hands, together with all his vast treasure; He haveing found good Success here after he had settled all matters in ye safest posture and manner he could in yt Kingdome of Deccan (tho' made no perfect conquest thereof) in regard that Serja Can¹⁰

¹ Prince Muazzam, better known as Shāh Alam.

² Aurangzib.

³ Rājā Sambhājī, son of Shivājī, who was executed by the order of Aurangzib in 1689.

⁴ Prince Akbar, third surviving son of Aurangzib, who revolted against his father and was friendly both with Shivaji and Sambhājī. See Vol. I, p. 245, of *A New Account of the East Indies*, by Captain Alexander Hamilton.

⁵ Ghaut or range of hills.

⁶ According to Vincent Smith Bijapur was surrendered in October 1686 (see p. 442 of *Oxford History of India*); Professor Sarkar puts it September 12, 1686 (see Vol. VI, p. 324 of *History of Aurangzib*). They all differ as to the month but agree about the year. The latter author gives a vivid account of the fall of Bijapur (see *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 327-8).

⁷ See p. 197 of Bernier's *Travels* (Oxford edition).

⁸ The King of Bijapur belonged to the *Shi'ah* sect, who believed that Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, should have succeeded him, and not Abu Bekr; whereas Aurangzib was a *Sunni*, who believed that Abu Bekr was the rightful successor of the Prophet.

⁹ Sikandar was taken a prisoner and the famous Adil Shahi dynasty became extinct.

¹⁰ Sharzah Khan, General of the King of Bijapur, subsequently taken into Aurangzib's service, when he was created "6 hazaris."

& other Omraus¹ held out still, and would not come in to yield & submit to him) leaving considerable forces at Visapore, marched away with the rest of his army towards Hyderabad, & straightly besieged the Castle of Goleundah, where at first he found such strong resistance by the besieged, as obliged him to retreat above twelve Courses & leave all his Artillery behind him, which was taken & carried into the Castle, together with three Eminent Omraus, who had command of three distinct batteries which they raised against the Castle, who thus made Prisoners of War, were notwithstanding most honourably and civilly used by the King Abdull Mohzensha,² who commanded his principal Ministers & Officers to shew them his stores of provisions, powder, shot, ammunition etc. he had for enduring a long siege, who judged might last and hold out eight years, if it should be continued so long, & having given them (like a Noble Enemy) their liberty and to each a rich Serpas³ & horse desired of them that when they arrived at Court to present the Mogull their Master his most humble service, & make manifest to him how desirous he was to submit to any thing in reason his Imperiall Majesty should require of him, so that he would be pleased to let him live in peace and Amity with him, & that if they found him averse thereunto, then to give him an account how he was provided with all manner of necessaries for a valiant and long siege; But this did so far exasperate the Mogull, as that he immediately gave order for the cutting off of half their Muntzab or pay, & sent them to Bengala (which is looked by such as are in the Mogull's service no better than exile) and resolved to return to Goleundah and besiege it anew, so soon as he recruited his army sending his sonne *Shah Alum* in the interim with such troops as he had under his command as a forerunner of the Army, who being arrived there instead of using hostility against that King (blinded with greater presents & self interest as most of the Mahometan Princes are) concluded (without any Commission from his father for the same) a peace with him, which the Mogull his father had no sooner notice of then he caused him & all his four sons to be apprehended & secured under very close & rigorous confinement, & so continueth to this time for any thing I know to the contrary.

Orangsha the Mogull being thus enraged against Abdull Mozensha, and yet rather because he is a *Shai* in Religion & not *Sunny*, prosecuted yet

¹ Omrahs, dignitaries or Lords of the Mogul Court.

² Dr. St. John certainly meant King Abu-l Hasan, the last of the Kutb Shahi dynasty.

³ Robe of honour.

warr more vigorously, that he never rested till he became conqueror both of that King & Kingdome, he entring that Castle on the 24th of the Mahometan moone Zulkhad weh was ye 2d of our October 1687¹ and found in one Vault onely of ready money no less then 50 Corors of Pagodoes of rupees $4\frac{1}{4}$ each, weh makes ster £252112000 (two hundred fivety two millions one hundred twelve thousand five hundred pounds) & still finds out more daily under ground particular treasure accumulated by ye greate and famous Prince Ram Raja² (who kept his Courte in Narsinga) & other successive Princes of yt Empire of diamonds, Jewells, & other precious stones so many and such a vast Quantity as the Persians very properly call it Beh-bah that is to say, inestimable .& not to be vallued.

This Victorious Prince ever since he made himselfe Master of this Castle busied himselfe mostly in sending away ye treasure and acquisition made to Agra and Dilly to secure all in his impregnable & strong holds there. By late Letters & Intelligence there I vnderstand that he had sent thither 5,000 Camells loaden wth gold & silver weh hath enabled him to make warr wth all ye Rajahs & Princes of India that will not buckle & bend to him submissively and subjugate them, especially those who are not of his owne superstitious Mahometan Religion.

His yearly Revenue of Hyndostan before he conquered these two Kingdomes of Deccan & Golconda amounted unto 44 Corors of rupees, (rupee is ster. 2s. 3d.) and now, is guessed and calculated, to importe verry neare 100, weh is sterling £112500000 one hundred twelve millions five hundred thousand pounds. Tis credibly reported yt he sent a very potent army agt ye Queen of Cynara, whome if he subdueth will prove of very bad consequence not onely to the Portuguese but us also, in regard it will deprive both of being supply'd wth rice, Goa cannot subsist without Barcelor and Mangalore weh is our case also, Bombay being so small t'is

¹ The month and year of the above date coincide with that given by Vincent Smith (see p 443 of *Oxford History of India*); Professor Sarkar gives the date of the surrender of Golconda as the 21st of September, 1687 (see Vol. IV, p. 382 of *History of Aurangzib*); Manuchi was evidently wrong in saying that Aurangzib deprived Sultan Abul Hasan of his throne in 1686. (See Vol. III, pp. 233-4 of *Storia Do Mogor*, Edited by William Irvine).

² The famous King of Vijaynagar, who was beheaded by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar in 1565 after the former's defeat at the battle of Talikota. Dr. Sewell in his book, *A Forgotten Empire*, gives a succint account of the vast revenue of Ram Raja, and also of the destruction of the magnificent temples and palaces by the Mohammedans. These buildings, if they had been spared, would have borne remarkable testimony to Hindu genius. (See pp. 198, 207-8.)

not att all able to subsist of it selfe, and without Territories annexed to it, is no better then an insignificant Cypher.

That this Mogull Orangsha is a capitall Enemy to all Christians and others, who are not Mahometan Votaries, is most certaine & obviouse; and t'is very observable how politiquely he labourerth to extirpate & shoulder them out of all India, especially Hyndostan; for haveing conquered Canara, is resolved to send another Army and reduce under his obedience all ye Malabars Countrey along as farr as Ramser to weh wee commonly give ye appellation of Cape Comorine, he, being already Master of all ye inward Countrey of Carnateek, & coast of Cormandell as farr as Jaggernatt and Ballasore, weh confineth wth his greate & vast Province of Bengala (formerly divided into severall Kingdomes). In what condition our English att Forte St. George are for want of good Intelligence cannot informe, I feare the English in ye Bay of Bengala (of whome t'is reported to have made peace with Shaesta¹ Can¹ ye Mogulls Vnckle) that t'is not att all honourable as it should be, for in ye judgemt of those vnderstanding experienced persons I discoursed with, it had been much better, and farr more adviceable to have delay'd it for a time, rather then to have concluded it so inconsistent wth yor Maties honour and prejudice to ye publique weale of ye English Nation, but as long as it may consist with some present convenience or interest of the Company (weh never regard futurity, or present improvement vpon expence) t'is not att all strange to me that yor Maties honnour be forgott, when I can my selfe instance wherein I argued ye pointe wth true honesty and Integrity viz your Maties honnour agt ye Generall and Councell of Suratt, and the answer made by Genll Child was; this is ye King's honnour and this is my Right Honble Masters interest, whose bread I eate, and theire interest shall preceeds now & take place, as in effect it did, and in my judgement most most [sic] disgracefully.

In this Coast of India there are some hopes affoorded of better at least more reputable success, if ye newes be true that arrived lately before my departure, the Mogull is inclined to be kind to ye English, he haveing declared when he was inform'd that they had deserted their Factory in Suratt for the ill usage they had from ye severall Governrs of that place, and plenary restitution should be made them for what had been taken from them by any injust and indirect meanes, and that they should enjoy the same liberties, priuiledges, and Immunities that were granted them by

¹ Shaista Khān, Amir-ul-Umarā, maternal uncle of Aurangzib, Governor of Bengal, with headquarters at Dacca. He died in 1694.

his father Sha Jehan and his Auncestours, and for many yeares after he himselfe was settled on ye present Throne enjoyeed, he having sent a greate Omraw Muctier Can,¹ whose daughter was given in marriage to his youngest sonne Caine Bux) haft Hazarye of 7000 horse who is going to be Suba of Ahmahdavad, haveing Cambaia, Boroach, and Suratt vnder his Jurisdiction to examine & compose those differences & distractions, wch argueth some probability because of its consonaney wth all ye Suratt merchants wishes and desires, the principallest of them being gon to Courte to make their complaints knowne to the King against ye Governours through whose prodigious avarice the Porte is reduced to the present miserable circumstances t'is now involved.

Before ye merchants resolved to goe, they consulted seriously of whome to complaine, of the English or the Governours, and concluded all unanimously (Seid Idrons being their Oratour & chiefest of them) by all meanes of ye former Governours, viz. Cartulub Can, Salabat Can,² & Muttamer Can for they considered that if they complained of the English, (who lately seized on most of their ships) it might so farr incense and exasperate ye Mogull agt us, as that might cause him to send a strong Army to Bombay, and if he should take it (wch he might easily doe) considering how ill t'is fortified, and the paucity of men wee have to defend it (there haveing been a greate mortallty of late among them) and English afarr off to be recruited vpon occasion, yet it would no way benefitt them, but rather to ye contrary prejudice them, as they could never expect to have any free commerce nor their ships to navigate ye Indian Seas but ours would reprove them.

The Mogull is now upon his march towards Ahmudanagger a very strong place on an eminency, wch he tooke some yeares since from a Princes called Chan Bibbie³ much celebrated by these Orientall Nations for defending her castle and Person wth silver bullets and balls instead of iron & leaden ones, and takeing off of a cup of poyson rather then fall into ye hands of her Enemy allive, it lieth not above ten daies off of Bombay where he intends to make his rendezvous, till he hath an absolute conquest [of] Concan &ca Sombajee Rajah his countries, and captivated him alsoe wch will be easily compassed now, haveing already reduced his confederates to obedience, all whome he will without all doubt send to

¹ Mukhtar Khan, a nobleman, was Governor of Surat.

² Salābat Khān, foudjar of Surat (1684). He succeeded Kār Tulab Khān.

³ It was Akbar who, after an unsuccessful attempt in 1596, conquered Ahmednagar in 1600. Chānd Bibi, the heroic Queen, "defended the city" as Vincent Smith tells us, "with valour equal to that shown by Rani Durgavati."

Goalier weh will be theire vltimate habitation in this World, where that mortall and intoxicateing drinke of *Post* will be given them, if not beheaded.

While Orangsha was busie with ye siedge of Golcundah his third sonne Sultan Eckbar imbarqued himselfe in Aprill last att Rajapore for Mascatt where he arrived safely; This Prince had not long rested there before the Emon¹ of yt Portę of Arabia (ultan Benell Arab) shewed himselfe a second Prusias King of Bythinia who betray'd Hanniball to ye Romans haveing sought his protection; This perfidious Prince ye Arab haveing secretly bargained wth ye Mogull Orangsha to deliver him up hīs sonne for five lacks* of rupees, weh ye young Prince haveing notice of, adviced immediately Sha Soliman² Emperour of Persia thereof, who presently vpon receipt of his letter dispatched a *Can* to the Arab Prince with menacing missives, that if he offered the sd Prince the least disgust, and did not permitt him to come freely and wthout ye least molestation, he would certainly send an Army over to destroy him & his Countrey, weh proved of so greate a terrour and influence, as to suffer him departe peaceably; he arrived and disembarqued att Mino neare vnto vnto [*sic*] Assine, where he was so honourably receaved by the *Can* and *Shabunder*³ who by the King of Persia theire Masters express commaunds, both walked on foote by him takeing hoid of ye Stirrups till he was brought to ye garden doore where he lighted from whence to the roome yt was prepared for his reception ye ground was spread wth rich Zerbaf⁴, (a cloth of all gold or silver) on weh he and all yt followed him treaded, after he had refreshed himselfe a while there, he was attended to Gombroone, where was sett before him twenty five thousand Tomans of gold, (a Persian Taman is sterling 3£ 6s. 8d.) fourteen stately horses wth gold trappings all sett wth precious stones to be lead in state, 300 horses besides & 1500 Georgian and Sircassian slaves for service & for his accommodation on the way to *Spahan* ye Royall City of that Empire, the rich Tent weh was *Sha Tamas*, and vsed afterwards by *Sha Abbas* weh is allwaies kept in the Cassana or Treasury appointed him, haveing reposed some few daies here, where he was complemented by the English, French, & Dutch, he marched away for Lvar where he was mett & welcommed att suitable state and respect by divers *Cans* & 15000 Cuzelbashes⁴ all horsemen &

¹ Imaum—guardian.

² Sulaimān Shāh (1667-1694), son of Shāh Abbās. It was he who gave asyllum to Prince Akbar, when he fled to Persia.

³ Harbour-master.

⁴ Kizilbāsh.

some *Cans* of the prime ranke, wth in a few daies after removed thence to Shiraz where he was expected & receaved also wth no less state then before by as many greate Personages & Cuzelbashes who conductel & waited vpon him to Spahan, where & how he was received & cushamudied or welcomed, your Matie may guess by the Persians naturall propension to magnificence & greatness, he never lighted off his horse to goe into any garden all the way he went and travelled vp to Spahan, but zerbafts were spread for him to tread vpon, he is so much honoured and esteemed by Sha[•] Soliman as that t'is verily believed that he will give a considerable succoure to enter into Hyndostan, wch he may easily doe by way of Kandechar, and arrive to sett on the Throne of that vast Empire, all ye Raseputts¹ and many angry discontented Omraws being for him.

The Portugueses, after yt Don Manoel Lobo de Sylviera was displaced for his ill conduct of warr wth Sombajee Rajah, and Joseph de Melo de Castro chose in his roome of Capt Generall of the North, soone retooke Cavenjah and beate and out ye Enemy, they also mett with good success on the Coast of Melinda the last Montzoone, makeing themselves masters of *Patlee*, whither they sent four frigotts and a Galiote wth severall Famillies to repeople it, and aboute two moneths since they repossessed themselves of the strong Eminency of Asserine, wch they did partly thrô confederacy, partely by force of Armes and stratagems it being a place not to be taken by force onely, forty vigilant men in it, being enough to defend and keepe it against 40,000. This has so farr enraged Sombajee Rajah, as that he threatneth to lay siedge to Chaule and Baccaine, but the Rajah is so full freighted with carefull thoughts now that Orangsha hath subjugated his confederates and is marching against him, that he is not in a capacitie hardly to defend himselfe, much less warr vpon an Enemy.

When I wrote thus farr a letter was brought me to peruse lately brought me from ye Mogull's camp of the beginning of December last by one Bowanidas a Nagger Brahmen, directed to Volubvenidas late Farmer of ye Island Bombay, who adviceth that the Mogull is resolved to take Sambajee Rajah alive, and because he should not escape him by flying to the Portuguese Countrey for protection, he would lay siedge and take theire Countrey first; makeing himselfe (like a subtile Politician) ignorant of the greate enmity between them, wch evidently manifesteth his implacable adversion to all Christians, thô ye Portuguese did from their first

¹ Rajputs.

Establishment in India most seriously and industriously courte the Mogull's amitie never giving, but alwaies avoideing ye least offence of theire parte, and if they have suffered of late, and lessed a greate parte of theire Countrey wch Sombajee Rajah tooke and destroyed, it was out of respect and pleasure to serve and gratified ye Mogull by suffering his Army to pass through it when it marched to Calian where Renmust Can¹ his Generall intrenched himself and kept his rendevous till his Master commaunded him away againe, besides they well knowing what a potent and formidable Prince in Asia he is, theire chiefest study was alwaies to preserve a faire and amicable correspondence wth him which was no vnadvised policy.

The said Nāgger Brahmen being a very intimate friend of Volub-venidas heartily wisheth and beseecheth him not to stay any longer on Bombay, but gett himselfe and his Family off of the Island, and secure what ever he hath in Suratt or some other place, for the Mogull was much incensed agt the English, for seizeing his subjects ships, and committing many exorbitances in Bengala, so that unless ye merchts who are gon to Courte doe appease him, wee must expect that he will send greate power agt us and besiege very straitely both by land and sea, his navall Armada being in a readiness to sett out expecting a very considerable Fleete of Arabs of Mascatt consisting of 15 sailer some very stoute ships wth good Europe Artillery supply'd by the Interlopers, and very full of men very dextrous att small shott, wch I have reason to suspect may joyne with the Mogulls, either by confederacy, taken vp vpon service or vpon hire.

Matters standing thus between vs and so potent a Monarch (the greatest that ever wore a Diadem of Hyndostan since ye reigne of Tamerlen, whence all the Mogulls are lineally descended, and England att so vast a distance for present succour, it behooveth those who have ye management of those weighty and Nationall affaires (to whom I heartily wish' a happy progress and conclusion) to peice ye Fox's taile to the Lyons skin, and avoide haveing too many irons in the fire att once, because Generall Child already hath disoblged ye Portuguese, French, and Dutch, since this rupture wth ye Mogull as your Matie shall vnderstand att leasure, more particularly from ye King of Portugall. I doe in all submissive humbleness crave leave to be silent in all occurrences relateing to the East India Company and theire servants till I have the honour of attending your Matie personally, to satisfie yow in your Princely wisdom with all such matters in my bounden duty as fell within the compass of mv charge, and

¹ Ranmast Khān, commander of 5,000 horse, was killed in 1690-1.

with the manner of their vsage and carriage to my selfe in the quality of your Judge by a Speciall Commission vnder the greate seale of England wch they presumed to supersede the ninth of September last to the amazement of all European and Easterne Nations, givinge me a discharge in writeing, and telling me I must be maintained from that day by your Matie or my selfe, if I tarried any longer then the first conveyance presented for Europe, Sr John Child already alleadging a new dispoticall Sovereigne power invested in him over all your Maties Subjects in India, with whome, in sundry weighty occurences I could not runn beyond my Commission, judgemt, and conscience, as a toole to serve turne against his late Maties Royall and righteous commaunds and directions att.ye bare will and arbitrary pleasur of Sr John Child without and agt all lawes, wch wth all circumstances will be layd open to your Sacred Matie by Persons of approved integritie neare your Royall Person wth wch I shall not presume to burthen att^e present, thus openly, that I had patiently borne wth all extreamities and pressures of my owne in that painefull, hazardous, and ingratefull service, till I receaved your Maties express directions, wch out of imploy and meanes among strangers nay my avow'd Enemies was altogether impossible for me to accomplish, and if true devotion to your Maties service and my ever bounden duty had suffered my inclinations to come to a resolution, I had chose rather to undergoe the greatest extremitie in this world, then strugle any longer to preserve the inestimable peace of conscience under the unconditionate, vnbounded authoritie of the said Company and their Servants, as exercised and practical by them, wch I was vnder most impulsive necessities to observe with tears, in my last yeares dispatches to his Grace of Canterbury, vnder ye title of yor Maties ¹ Prerogative offended defended, but since they proceeded a malo ad peius, and I have cause to thanke God to be thus delivered from their warr and strife, as well as their vnnaturall animosities among themselves who cannot endure any concurrent jurisdiction from your Matie but what solely invested in themselves, wittness the inhuman vsages of Capt John Tyrrell, Sr John Wyborne, and my selfe, whom I despaire not God will save from the striveing of vnruely People, whose mouth speaketh proud words and their right hand is a right hand of Iniquitie.

In case the Mogull be mollified or influenced by the solicitations of the merchants they are gon to petition him, it will be happy, and if not, wee must expect never to enjoy any peace, quietness, or any manner of commerce in India so long as he liveth, this is clearly my

opinion, for whither there be any trade in his Countrey or no brought in by Sea, he valueth it not, for, what is 20 or 25 lacks of rupees to him, wch the customes of Suratt, Bengala, & Boroach and Cambaja may importe to yearely, a matter very inconsiderable to his vast Revenue, and there will not be Armenians, Turks, & other Merchants wanting that will find out waies (as formerly) to supply the trade by land, I say little of the Politique Dutch who att this while sitt still lookeing on how the game is played, who, I dare say are not a little joyfull to see these distractions, who time will manifest, will in ye conclusion carry all away before them to their no small interest and convenience, and supply Europe sufficiently wth all these Countrey Commodities, as for the French, they are not so considerable, tho it may animate them much to increase their Commerce, the last letters wch came from Pondicherry (where their principall Factory is now) advice that there were six Frigatts. men of warr arrived att Syam of their Kings with an Embassadour & vpwords 1,000 men wth greate quantity of powder, urmes, Artillery small and greate, mortar peices, granados etca ammunition, what their designe is, as yett is not certainly knowne, but suspected that they intend to goe and possess themselves of Tennassry and settle there, wch if the [*sic*] compass, will prove of very bad consequence to other Nations, especially those that inhabit the Coast of Cormandell, who are alwaies supplied wth rice from thence, besides t'is a Countrey yielding plenty of most excellent straite masts and timber for building of ships, and in all seasons of the yeare a Second Bay of Bombay, the situation of the place is so strong by Nature that wth a little arte added to it, there may be erected inexpugnable fortifications but t'is believed the politique Dutch will be vigilant enough over them to overthrow their designe.

On the 29th December last arrived in Bombay roade a small ship belonging to Generall Child, called ye Caesar, from Forte St. George wch brought newes of a greate tempest that hapned on that Coaste wherein were vpwards of 40 ships lossed, that, whereof young Goodlad was commander being also shipwrecked, this escaped by letting it's cable slip and putting to sea, yet nevertheless was forced to cutt his maine mast by the bord.

The *Resolution* arrived safe there three daies after the storme all the Portuguese who lived vnder the English att Forte St. George are removed thence to St. Thome, apprehensive that the Mogull will send an Army downe to besiege it, there hath been a greate mortallity in Bengala and ye Coast of Cormandell among the English, French, Portuguese, and

Dutch, besides the Countrey-People, among whome a violent Famine still continueth, wch will be our case also on this Coaste if there is not an accommodation concluded on between vs and Orangsha, for all manner of provisions are not onely scarce, but most excessive deare already.

There arrived 2 Messus, or foote mee-engers from Suratt wth letters to ye Generall from Mr. Harris and Annesley att Suratt wch advice the new Govr Muetier Can haveing shewed himselfe very civill to them wth many promises to intercede wth his master very effectually, for the English, and att theire takeing Congee of him he presented Mr. Harris the Chiefe wth a horse and a rich Serpa, and to the Company's Brokers Kisso and Vittall Parracke each a Serpa, he did much insist on the Generall's returne to Suratt wch is what ye Moores aime att, but he will avoide that Snare, for in my opinion it will not be safe for him to approach yt place againe without the Mogull's Firman secureing him and the Company's effects & affaires from all violences whatsoever, and also theire former priviledges, immunities, and stipulations wch they enjoyed in Sha Jehana Reigne reconfirmed, But, I looke on those proceedings for no better then neere formalities, neither indeed shall wee really know what to depend vpon, or trust vnto, till the Merchants that are gon to Courte have theire vltimate answer from the King.

In a vessell that was lately brought into Bombay harbour lately re-prized att Suratt rivers mouth by our ships that have block'd up that Porte was ye successour to an Embassadour who was sent from Sha Soliman to the King of Syam, and inquireing what ye importe of his Embassy was, could not gather from my informers that it was to any other end then to maintaine a firme and amicable correspondence wth each other.

In a paper inclosed your Matie shall find an exact accompt of ye yearly Revenue of yor Island Bombay as farmed in 86, not farmed out since, in regard the Compa inhanced the customes from 3 to 5 per cent, and keepe them in theire owne hands, the Company still complaine of theire charges, but your Matie may discern the truth wch walked in the darke hitherto.

Thus farr I proceeded in my Intelligence in Bombay wch I had ready to be forwarded in the ship I intended to imbarque in for Europe, in case ye Generall would att ye last lay some impediment in my way, wch he most industriously laboured to doe after his wonted sinister practices, the 12th of January being imbarqued in the good ship *Success* wee tooke our departure from that Porte, and the 20th Aprill following

arrived att St Helena roade where I receaved this following Intelligence from a French man of warr.

The last of Aprill Ld Admirall of ye French Squadron Monsr du Quesne in a frigatt of 600 Tunn called the flying bird wth 50 peices of brass ordinance came to anchor att St Helena Roade, when he came a shore himselfe, and the difference aboute saluteing the Forte was after some dispute accommodated, my selfe being Interpreter between our Govr. and him, he told me he was Capt. of that ship in ye French Kings immediate service, and commounded ye Squadron that went last yeare to Syam three greate flyboates, and another stoute frigatt all wch he left behind him, and told me that he had his Maties Embassadour on board on his returne from ye King of Syam and some other Persons of quality who were in his Campa. I asked him whence he came, he answered that the 12th of February last he tooke his departure from Pundicherry the French Factory on the Coast of Cormandell very neare Forte St George, he not speakeing franckly ye Portuguese tongue, asked me if I spoke Italian, in which haveing gratified him, he addressed himselfe to me in that tongue, and informed me wth sundry passages occurred att Syam, wch, would be infinite to inserte here, but must not forbear to observe to yor Matie how that att last the French forcees landed & garri-soned the three best places in Syam viz., Tenassery, Bancoack, & Mergy, where he left them well settled, that in 7ber last 57 English were killed outright & suddainely in Tenassery, six thousd Syamers settt in armes agt them by that King's order, who was thus enraged agt the poore English because a small ship of ye East India Compa's seized two of his in his owne harbours, Mr. Burnaby Shabunder of Tenassery one of the Companies revolted servants & formerly hopefull Chiefe of their Factory in Syam was killed, Mr. Samuell White a rich free Trader made his Escape by Swimming on bord a Vessel in wch he sayled & in a greate consternation arrived in ye Dutch Colony att Cape bona Esperanca or of good hope, where this French man mett & left him, he informed me with some particulars concerning that man wch I will disclose to no body before I see your Matie. I endeauoured as much as modesty and discretion would permitt me to vnderstand the importe of ye French Embassadours negociation, but finding him very cautelous and reserved in yt particular could onely wring from him some generall heads as touching the splendid reception of the sd Embassadour, and the sumptuous presents made him and the Admirall, that the presents sent the French King were vallued att six hundred thousd dollars, that

ye French Forces were left vnder ye commaund of two principall officers termed by him in Italian Maestri di campo, that a French Jesuite was very much in favour wth the King, and overuled ye Lord Phalcon in all matters, that the King would vpon ye cosecration of a new church profess and embrace ye Catholique Religion, yt firme amity and commerce was settled between both Kings, wth some extraordinary priuiledges and additional grants to ye French Company, whose servants were settled by the Embassadour to their ample contentation there and att Pundicherry and a new Factory erected att Hughly in Bengala; ye French Company finding their stocke too small for ye management of the trade of India made an addition of twelve millions of Livers and yt the Embassador disposed of all things to the dignitie of his Master and generall satisfaction yt nation, discourseing of ye warr between vs and ye King of Syam, he told me that it was managed by ye Company's Servants with no credit or advantage; that ye King of Syam clamoureth much agt the East Inda Campa and their servants giueing out he sent them fivety thousand dollars for their Masters vse, wch they never repayed, wth many other loud outeries and aggravations, neither did the French Admirall himselfe want as many agt the proceedings of those att Forte St George and Bombay for some trespasses agt ye French, of all wch he say'd, the Embassadour on bord had a particular accompt for the French King his Master, the maine thing vrged by him was our takeing of ships vnder French colours and commaunders, discourseing of affaires in Bengala, he confirmed the Mogulls conquest of the King and Kingdome Galeundah, that the English for want of men in Bengala were in greate distress, that the English Souldiers and Companys servants discorded very much, yt ye Mogulls Army was in sight of Forte St George the English ill provided there, and vnder a greate consternation, yt Mr Yaite new President att Forte St George sent one Mr Hodges as an Embassadour to treat for peace wth ye King of Syam, wch to the French seemed very ridiculous. Mr Hodges as soone as he arrived there, full of discontents from ye Compa deserted their trust, and entred into ye King of Syam's service.

One of his passengers was a Kt of Maltha and was left by first French Embassadour, as chiefe Officer over all the Christian Forces in ye Kingdome of Syam, but having some disgusts wth ye Lord Phalcon deserted his charge vnder ye French protection, and goeth home to complaine of Phalcon to his King, ye French Admirall being not onely reserved but vnwilling to vnfold himselfe to me in my inquiry of ye cause and manner of killing the 57 English, ye Kt of Maltha dealt somewhat more inwardly

and told me as a greate secret, that there was too mnch knavery in killing ye English, and of yt nature, yt he did not care to speake thereof, meaning ye East Inda Compa and theire head servent's orders wch is too true in fact.

This Person of honour seemed to me very well acquainted wth ye affaires of India, among other matters told me yt Constant Phalcon would spare no charge in makeing yor Matie acquainted wth yt King and his owne complaints agt ye East Inda Company and theire servants, and yt six thousand dollars were allready disbursed towards yt affaire.

The Admirall was very backward in informing me wth ye manner of theire settlement in Syam, wch they reckoñ now theire owne, and I consider it as a second Bantam bvsiness by nature (if these be true reports they made me) the I am very fully satisfied that Constant Phalcon (a Native Grecian bred from his minority among the English, and inclined to serve ym before all Europe Nations), by inclination and affection would rather have yor Matie and yor subjects gratified there before ye French or any other Europe Nation but his rupture wth ye Compa and theire Servants as well as theire warring and hostility agt yt state obliged him to make vse of all shifts, and seeke after ye French Protection and Succour, feareing a miscarriage in his Siute to yor Matie thrò the prevalency of ye Compa att home ; the complaints are greate and many on both sides, time and province may affoord yor Matie means by impariall informations to rectifie and reforme these and many other obliquities in India.

The French Embassadr being a Civilian and in a verv splendid equipage sent me a very kind invitation to a Supper on bord of him by his Sonne, a verry accomplished young Gent. and expressed a very greate desire to see me, but our Govr did not thinke it convenient, however I had made bold to kiss his hand, was I not prevented by a suddaine disgust ye Admirall tooke att ye Compa's Depty Govr wth a blew apron in refusing to take French or Spanish gold, wherevpon he went on bord att six of ye cloeke and sayled immediately after two daies and one nights stay.

The French Embassadour told me that as he went through ye Streets of Malacca, ye Dutch were extreamey concerned to see a French man of Warr yt way, that 14 sayle of Dutch were gon towards Suratt, to carry all ye Moore Merchants goods on freight all India over, wch is probable, to supplant vs, wch thò contrary to ye Articles between both Company's (as I am informed) yet I remember wee gave a precedent of ye like in my time, when ye Dutch were att open rupture with the King of Persia, wth a stoute Fleete in that Gulph, our President Sr John Child imploy'd ye Company's ships in ye Moore and countrey mercts Service

vpon ffreight, and carried theire goods to Persia, Bussora, and all parts to ye then greate annoyance of ye Dutch, who could not help themselves and now t'is to be feared they will serve vs in ye same kind.

He likewise informed how he mett wth 16 sayle of Dutch in ye Cape, ten home bound, and six outward, yt 200 families arrived there lately out of Holland, to improve and settle vpon that place, and that they hourelly expected sixteen ships more out of Holland.

I must not omitt to observe to yor. Matie what I found very observable in this French Admirall, who outward bound as he came to ye latitude of Cape of good hope in obedience to some private orders bore away directly for Bantam, where he was no sooner arrived and dropped anchor, but ye Dutch sent him word immediately to weigh anchor, and be gon, for, ye King of Bantam would suffer no other Nation but ye Dutch to harbour, trade, or refresh there, yt he was wellcome to refresh att Batavia, but must expect nothing att Bantam but fire and led, herevpon the French man desired leave to water wch being peremptorily denied him he weighed and made ye best of his way to Syam, he haveing commented much on this passage, and telling how the Emba-sadr would represent it to ye French King, I held fitt to observe it to yor. Matie.

Thus I have in all submissive humbleness and duty made bold to represent those occurrences to your Sacred Matie wth as much perspicuity, integritie, and candour, as my weake vnderstanding would serve me, presuming on yor Maties knowne Zeale for ye true welfare of your Subjects and gracious disposition towards him who in his bounden duty, fidelity, and best endeavours shall ever be zealous and ready to approve himselfe.

From bord ship Success
in ye Channell 18
July, 1688. S. V.

Yor most Sacred Maties
Most humble, obedt. and faithful

subject and servant

Dr. St. Johns J. St. J.

[*Endorsed July 18, 1688.*

HARIHAR DAS

Note.—The writer of this article is very much indebted to the Librarian of the Bodleian Library, for his permission to publish this despatch from the Rawlinson MS.; and also to Sir William Foster, who kindly facilitated the consultation of Dr. St. John's letters preserved in the Record Department, India Office; and also to Dr. Claude Jenkins of Lambeth Palace Library and Mr. Arthur Ellis of the British Museum for their kind assistance. -

H. D.

WORD, MIND AND HEART :

I

With word of mouth I worship Thee,
 My mind is far away,
 The word springs forth from habit pure
 Whilst mind has gone astray.
 No passion has imprison'd me,
 Of passion I know the way.
 The passion's but a fleeting gust,
 A moment breaks its sway.
 But little things of daily life—
 Their peeps are hard to bear,
 Like flies they buzz all round the mind,
 One chased, the more are there.
 O Love, sway hard Thy broom called Fear,
 O, use it hard and never spare.

II

With word of mouth I worship Thee,
 My heart is far away,
 My heart's in prison of what I see
 That are and turn to clay,
 O Love, with piercing ray
 Of heart-night make bright day,
 Transfix me to the joy Thou art
 And kill this base and rebel heart.
 O, take away this heart's desire
 And make me pure with joy that's fire !
 Or since this heart from Thee has life
 Now call it back and end this strife.
 All—all I feel and all I be
 Are shadows faint of joy from Thee.
 A happy prisoner I
 In Thee, O Love, to lie !

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE DESTINY OF MAN

(An Anthropological Study)

I

Man has a hoary antiquity ; to use the happy expression of Professor Thompson of Aberdeen, he is not so young as he looks. Sir Arthur Keith, after carefully examining the skeletal remains of various types of man of the Pleistocene age which had the duration of not less than half a million years, very cautiously remarks : " From what we know and from what we must infer, of the ancestry of Eoanthropus, of Neanderthal and of modern man we have reasonable grounds for presuming that man had reached the human standard in size of brain, approximately 1000 c. c., by the commencement of the Pliocene period." The total of Pleistocene and Pliocene ages is one million years at the lowest estimate. If we confine ourselves to the consideration of modern man whose varieties populate our globe to-day, we will have to admit ungrudgingly that this modern man or rather the common ancestor of all human varieties of to-day commenced to dominate the world at least half a million years ago. This ancestor of ours—this *ĀDI MANU*, has been rightly presumed by Sir Arthur Keith to have been almost wholly similar to Australian man ' who has apparently retained the characters of the common ancestors of African and European to a greater degree than any other living race.'

What is most noteworthy and amazing is that man has retained specific unity to the fullest extent these five lacs of years, though sharply divided into many seemingly dissimilar varieties or races in different regions of the world. Not a single variety or race has developed, either on account of its special *milieu* or on account of its long-standing culture of varying grades, any characteristic which is in the least calculated to

have the effect of differentiating it from another as a species or sub-species. Unlike what has been observed in the case of man, it has been observed in some cases in the plant world that one particular plant nurtured in a new region under different conditions starts a new species by ceasing to have any relation of unity with the parent stock. Some plants as well as some lower animals have disclosed their latent capacity to run into different species but the case with man has been essentially different. The Negro who is farthest away from the European becomes European most thoroughly by virtue of change of *milieu* and culture as has been well demonstrated in America. The character of the hair, the colour of the skin, the form of the head, of the eyes, of the nose, of the lips, the shape of the facial angle and so forth are but fleeting shows while what passes the show is one and the same in the physical structure of man of all regions. The character of the hair, the colour of the skin, the shape of the head and so forth are liable to change under changing conditions of environment of food and clothing and of culture. I take the liberty to quote liberally from the writings of Felix von Lushan in this connexion. Writes the German savant :

“ We now know that colour of skin and hair is only the effect of environment, and that we are fair only because our ancestors lived for thousands, or probably tens of thousands of years in sunless and foggy countries. Fairness is nothing else but lack of pigment because they did not need it. Just as the *Proteus sanguineus* and certain beetles became blind in caves, where their eyes were useless, so we poor fair people have to wear dark glasses and gloves when walking on a glacier, and get our skin burned when we expose it unduly to the light of the sun. It is therefore only natural that certain Indian races and the Singhalese are dark; but it would be absurd to call them ‘savage’ on that account, as they have an ancient civilisation, and had a noble and refined religion at a time when our own ancestors had a very low standard of life.”

For these as well as for other good reasons classification of mankind by races with reference to the above-named physical characteristics becomes misleading and useless; nay more, as the races of mankind determined by cultural and physical characteristics, are numerous, and as numerous blends have originated owing to incessant miscegenation of blood through countless ages, the very attempt at classification is not favoured by many anthropologists. Touching this question I approvingly quote the following humorous utterance of F. von Lushan: "The question of the number of human races has quite lost its *raison d'être* and has become a subject rather of philosophical speculation than of scientific research. It is of no more importance now to know how many human races there are than to know how many angels can dance on the point of a needle."

Be their culture high or low, the descendants of modern man have now populated the whole globe by immensely multiplying their number and by dominating with some success the forces which are destructive of life. The modern man has not only outlived the storm and stress of half a million years but has gone on from his very beginning till now to multiply immensely his number. This signifies that on the whole he has followed all along the method of living which conduces to individual welfare simultaneously with the welfare of the community; that is to say, his life history discloses right living or moral existence prompted wholly by his natural inclinations. Only during a few hundred (or say, thousand) latest years of this vast time some *Avatārs* claiming direct knowledge of unknowable heavenly affairs have taught some men to pursue the right path by avoiding *sinful ways*. Man thrived well and was happy previous to the advent or nativity of the heaven-born *Avatārs* and his history does not show that he was conceived or born in sin and was glorifying the triumph of the Evil One. How the very tendencies and motion of the substance of life made for and have been

making for righteousness without waiting for revelation through the *Avatārs* in the matter of right sort of living will be tried to be shown later on; in this thesis it has been undertaken to show that the very substance which constitutes life, shapes and determines the destiny of Man.

Discussion relating to the destiny of man will not have any reference to the problem of the existence of individual life after it has shuffled off its mortal coils—after its disintegration on this earth at death. Man's destiny on this earth as a human being is the subject-matter of this thesis.

The question relating to human soul as a non-material entity does not arise, for if even it is conceded, what the spiritualists like Sir Oliver Lodge would have us believe, that a spiritual substance of unknown character existing in the ethereal region is mixed up in the composition of human body at the time of its earliest formation, the elements of the body alone being known to us can be taken into account to explain human functions, bodily, mental, or moral, and an unknown quantity cannot with good logic be postulated to explain any phenomenon. If our body as it is, fails really to explain what we seek to explain, we should simply admit our inability but should not offer such an explanation which cannot be verified in facts. We should work up from the known to the unknown and should not follow the reverse course. What we are constituted of and what the functions of the constituting elements are, should be first looked to for ascertaining the causes of all life-phenomena, no matter whether they are mental or moral.

II

We are such stuff as the germ-plasm is made of. In the tempest of our struggle for existence, in the drama of our life, this is what we should learn as an undeniable truth to ascertain the nature and character of all our life phenomena and to guide ourselves as well in all our actions. Know

thyself, said Socrates to those who were eager to attain moral excellence, and that is what biology asks us to do to-day to attain the desired-for end. It is a sure step in aid of progress to know that all living organisms inclusive of man are chemical machines consisting essentially of colloidal materials which possess the peculiarity of automatically developing, preserving and reproducing themselves. How the constituent elements of our life, by virtue of their innate and essential tendencies or tropisms, rule or shape or determine our destiny, should be learnt to know ourselves.

Just at the dawn of the nineteenth century, in the year 1802, Treviranus published his celebrated work, *Biology or the Philosophy of Living Nature*, to demonstrate that the living organisms in all their actions are subject to the very laws which govern the so-called material objects. Seven years thence in 1809 Lamarck formulated in his *Zoological Philosophy*, spontaneous generation of living beings from inorganic matter to give a new direction to the biological research, even though his proposition then rested upon insufficient experiments. Men of science devoted themselves during the whole of the nineteenth century to work out those problems and the early years of the twentieth century have become quite ripe to declare that the sum of all life phenomena including our moral actions can be unequivocally expressed in physico-chemical terms. It has been a great achievement of science to establish to our edification that our social and ethical life is based upon the inherent tendencies of our life material constituted essentially of colloidal substance. By realising the full significance of this truth revealed by science that the germ-plasm we are made of shapes our destiny, our rules of conduct will have to be brought into harmony with the results of scientific biology.

That our life-phenomena of all classes are due to some natural activities or tropisms of the constituent elements of life will be tried to be made clear in this thesis; but before

plunging into my subject I should say a few words to those who very unjustly regard the proposition now suggested as atheistic and unholy and on that account do not care to discuss the proposition.

Is not the mechanistic conception of life atheistic?—asks the Pilate of scepticism with a smile and does not wait for an answer. No, it is not,—is the answer which is to be given to the questioner in no uncertain sound. It is not and cannot be a standing reproach with the Giver of life for having made the life itself its own store-house for the supply of everything needed for its all-round progress. We read this thought in the heart of this impatient and derisive question that the proposition put forward by biology takes away from man in the first place his sense of responsibility which is the foundation of moral actions, and in the second place it teaches man that all human efforts to improve the condition of mankind are unavailing since a machine works out its own destiny by virtue of its inherent tendencies. That like other phenomena of life man is bound to possess a sense of responsibility will be abundantly clear when the essential tendencies of our life properties will be attempted to be analysed; it is necessary, however, to state, a bit apologetically at this preliminary stage to dispel the bias of some readers, that the mechanistic conception of life does not imply that human efforts at reform are of no avail. Take the case of those moths which burn their wings to cause death to themselves in consequence of the organic tendency called helio-tropism. This tendency to rush in the direction of light is generated in the moths because of the presence of some chemical elements in the wings. The wings of many of these moths have been treated by some eminent scientists with such chemicals as have the effect of removing the tendency in question and it has been found that the moths so treated, lose wholly the tendency to immolate themselves by rushing to a light and the change caused in the wings, does not in any way interfere

with the lives of the moths. We know that many men despite the warning given to them of imminent danger involved in their action, rush on to self-destruction ; this may be due to inadequate education and bad discipline, or may be the result of some chemical change in the organism, or a particular endocrine gland may be responsible for it, but it is possible for man to effect a cure in this matter by ascertaining the cause aright.

How many plants and animals have improved by being domesticated, we all know more or less from our personal experience. The fruit *Āmra* which is a but variant of the word *Ālma*, was once typical for its taste and the word for what is sour, was supplied by it ; how by culture this *āmra* which is still unbearably sour in the hilly wilderness of Sambalpur, has become the sweet mango of Alphonso, or Nāngra variety, is known to us all. We also know what wonderful improvements have been effected in the breed of many useful animals. I need hardly say that these achievements have been due to scientific study of the laws to which the plants and animals are subject.

Mechanistic conception of life is generated by knowledge regarding the constitution of the organism and consequently this conception far from making a man inactive, makes him alert with his knowledge to become helpful to others. Directing our attention to man we have not only to study with perfect accuracy the unalterable tendencies or tropisms which our flesh is heir to, but should take stock of facts disclosed by human societies of high and low culture alike, to determine aright what laws have been operative under what circumstances in evolving various classes of social, religious or political institutions and in confirming men in various habits of life in different geographical areas. To effect any reform involves the responsible task of leading men from point to point by following that silent process of nature which has been at work in upbuilding what the reformers want to demolish or alter or modify.

To show up obscurantism is very much needed to help the growth of clearness of thought, but I do not undertake immediately to pass in review all the revolutionary measures which some enthusiasts in their ill-directed zeal have either propounded or adopted to do more harm than good to the suffering humanity. Just a word or two will do at this stage to suggest merely that if the world is out of joint to-day, it will not be set right at the point of the sword of a Lenin, or by the coercive measures of the strongly armed friends of freedom.

Take the case of a man suffering from some disease groaning loudly with tossing wakefulness and restlessness on his bed, where his only companion in the room is only coolly observing what is passing on. Now if a feeling heart, a member of some social service society, rushes into the room and curses the cool attendant and extends his arms to give relief to the wretched sufferer, the cool man who is a doctor, will lose all patience with the intruder and will have to ask the intruder strongly to give riddance to the room.

Halt and hands off—are what we have to utter very firmly to those who by creating an uproar promise to the excited multitude a kingdom of heaven in about a year or so. However saintly the character of a man may be, he cannot give us by launching a noisy scheme what is accomplished in repose and what is too great for haste and too high for rivalry.

A Nordeaux may acquire the popularity of a hero by fearlessly declaring that the principles regulating our social systems including the institution of marriage and God Himself of our various religious systems are so many conventional lies, or a Marx of commendable altruistic feelings may attribute the growth of capitalism to our wickedness, but the anthropologists know that man has evolved all his institutions in a natural way impelled by some organic natural tendencies, and that if our institutions have become

offensive, they may be purged of their defects by adopting suitable measures, but the principles underlying them or imbedded in the natural tendencies can never be demolished by taking in hand a cudgel manufactured by communism. Though it is too early to state here that the feeling of man to possess property individually has been quite in agreement with his real nature, a suggestion in this direction is just thrown out to make the enthusiasts cautious. To take into consideration the very phenomenon that all living organisms are so many individuated forms, is to admit that acquisition of private property is an organic necessity for individual existence; it will be seen that this natural tendency to acquire something for one's self, far from standing in the way of the members of a species to live together in co-operation, helps co-operation and progress to the fullest extent. I adduce here one suggestive example in this connexion.

By virtue of the germinal tendency to expand, that is to say, to live happily in a state of independence with unlimited future prospects, that is to say, to acquire ease and fullest freedom, a man exerts his best for acquisition and permanent possession of what is called wealth. He acquires not to throw away his fruits of labour to those who cannot and do not earn, but to make himself secure in independence and to secure independence for those whom he brings upon the earth in consequence of his living the natural life of a man. Now, if in pursuance of a communistic programme, the wealth of the man toiling for freedom be allowed to be shared by those who are not capable of acquiring it, slaves will be given in the name of liberation of the world to tread real freedom under their feet. This sort of arrangement, one may say however, may help the camel-like well-fed body of the wealthy man to become enough thin to pass through the eye of a needle, but I am not concerned with the happy prospect of the journey of a man to that world from the bourne of which no traveller returns.

Capitalism has its defects and the institution of marriage and other human institutions have many serious shortcomings, but if, to remove some of these defects owing to the suffering of some, the very natural basic principle underlying the human institutions be sought to be demolished, the action of the philanthropist will be deleterious in effect. To strain at a gnat and to swallow a camel has been the procedure of many a patriotic liberator of the world.

Not knowing what tendencies of man should be allowed to have a free play, and not knowing how by studying the laws of evolution of society, works of reform should be pursued silently, the men of feeling and of ideal dreams drown the world in a senseless uproar and wear out their energy to the benefit of none in the mad attempt to achieve immediately what is too great for haste and too high for rivalry. These ideal dreams of our men of action are pleasing to many, I know, but the science of anthropology asks us to realise that we are not such stuff as dreams are made of, but we are such stuff as the germ-plasm is made of.

B. C. MAZUMDAR

JAPANESE LOVE STORIES

The other day an editor asked me to write a Japanese love story "in the genuine Japanese way," for his magazine.

"That will be very difficult," I replied. "Indeed, I am afraid it is impossible."

"You surely cannot mean that you do not have love stories in Japan?"

I assured him that there are plenty of love stories—in reality, in books, and on the stage. Human nature is the same on both sides of the world, but Japanese people possess the oriental sensitiveness which comprehends unspoken thought, and therefore words weigh less with them than with people of the West. Their manner of expressing feeling differs from the American way as greatly as the Japanese language differs from English.

Probably many Americans can understand how a bow may cause a heart quiver in Japan as surely as a kiss may thrill a heart in America, but very few can recognize its deep significance in scenes on the stage or in a novel. Centuries of training have made the Japanese an undemonstrative people, but the repression of the appearance of deep feeling deceives no one, even on the stage. The expressiveness of repression is an art in Japan. For this reason our love stories often suggest the feelings of the heart without direct words or action on the part of the hero and heroine. A Japanese reader, because he is familiar with his own people, understands, but it would be extremely difficult to write of an almost wordless scene in a manner that would appeal to an American reader.

Another up-American trait in the Japanese writer of love stories is his ingenuity in bringing his characters to a pause at exactly the point where the reader can take up the tale and finish it by the aid of his own imagination. This is a skill which is much admired.

Today I saw in a Japanese magazine the story of a humble romance. The hero was a farmer youth, an ex-soldier and extremely poor. The heroine was his neighbour, a gentle, simple hearted maiden. They worked in adjoining rice patches, and although they never spoke, it chanced that they occasionally met face to face. The author does not describe their love making, except in his roundabout way: "When walking along the narrow path between the two rice patches, the youth kicked off a small stone with sharp edges." This tells a satisfactory story to a Japanese. It was the path used in common by both youth and maid, and the influence

is that the youth removed the stone in order to protect the feet of the maiden; else why say the stone had a ragged edge? But the writer does not insult the imagination of his readers by explaining the motive.

The only incident in the tale which to American readers might be called a love scene, was this: "One late afternoon, about the time when the swishing of washing rice and the rising of smoke above the thatched roofs of the village told that it was the hour for the evening meal, the maiden, her slender shoulders bending under the weight of a bundle of dried branches she had gathered on the mountain, was on her homeward way. A sudden breeze lifted the narrow, blue and white towel which covered her hair, and sent it fluttering over the rice patch. The youth, returning from his work, looked with pleasure at her ruddy cheeks and modest face. The cheeks reddened still more when he brought the towel and handed it to her, saying: "Your burden seems too heavy for a maiden but your filial piety penetrates my heart."

That is what he *said*. What he meant—and what she understood—was this: "I know that a dutiful daughter like you will make a good wife for me." That is the climax of the story—and the end.

If I should send a tale like that to the average American editor, I know it would be returned without even regrets. His readers would find it absurd and tiresome. Peoples have imagination, but it is no enjoyment for them to use it in completing an author's unfinished work.

Of course this is a simple tale, with no puzzling situations, but it is a fair sample of a love story written in the "genuine Japanese way." That is why it is next to impossible to reproduce satisfactorily Japanese emotional stories. If one should rewrite entirely, keeping only the author's ideas, and putting on the stage a new set of characters Japanese in appearance but talking and acting like Westerners, the plot might be interesting but all the power and beauty of the original would be lost. And in the eyes of a Japanese the story would be hopelessly ruined. Even in translating Japanese books, the tale of pure love is generally avoided.

I believe a Japanese love story can be re-told only by a person who is strongly in sympathy with the Japanese heart, who is wise in knowledge of the peculiar mental capacity of his American readers, and whose pen is wonderfully skilful in putting Japanese heart-throbs into English words. Of such there have been only a few.¹

ETSU INAGAKI SUGIMOTO

A PROGRAMME FOR THE INDIAN NATIONALISTS

One of the greatest political thinkers of the nineteenth century once said, "the worst of all political sins is the hesitation between wishing and not wishing to do a thing." I am inclined to think that the art of evasion practised by Indian (particularly Hindu) politicians shows their weakness. They show by their actions that they do not know what they want and certainly they have no far-sighted programme. They are inclined to pursue a policy of adventure or leave things to chance. Indian nationalists to-day need a simple and workable programme.

Guizot, the French Foreign Minister, in 1841, while trying to save France from isolation and attempting to regain French entrance to the concert of Europe regarding the Near Eastern Question, wrote to Count Sainte Aulaire, the French Ambassador to the Court of St. James, to the following effect :

"We have been fond of the appearance rather than reality. I am convinced that in order to re-establish and extend our influence in Europe, it is necessary to follow the opposite method. I am determined everywhere and on all occasions to sacrifice *le bruit au fait*, the appearance to reality, the first moment to the last..."

The above idea of following the reality should be the guiding principle in formulating a programme of action for the Indian Nationalists.

I.—Responsive Co-operation.

I am for Indian Independence and firmly believe that in time, *through the efforts of far-sighted organized minority of Indians, possessing world vision*, India will be free and independent. The independence of India will be achieved either through the same process as the United States of America,

Italy, Poland, Serbia, Poland and other countries had to adopt, *i.e.*, through revolution or through the path followed by Canada, South Africa, Australia, Ireland, which is a form of responsive co-operation. So far as I know, none of the Indian leaders is willing to follow the path of revolution. There are some who are willing to bluff, but not willing to take the risk of adopting a "Revolutionary Programme"; some others advocate organization of secret societies. Let me emphasise the fact that no country can ever achieve its independence through the activities of secret societies. To me, between the path of Revolution and Responsive Co-operation there is no middle course for India. I believe that all Indian Nationalists who are not willing to unfurl the banner of revolution, should adopt the programme of responsive co-operation, in the sense the late Lokmanya Tilak coined the term, *i.e.*, co-operate with the Government whenever it responds to the will and need of the people and oppose all and every measure which is against Indian national interest. It seems to me that all Indian patriots, irrespective of party affiliations, who are not mere worshippers of phrases and have sense of reality, can present a united front, with the programme of responsive co-operation to extract concessions from the Government and build up national strength which will be able to uphold the ideal of Indian Freedom.

II.—India First and No Communalism.

To-day, political opportunists of various colour, are pleading that, to secure the support of the Moslems of India, they (Moslems) be endowed with all forms of special privileges such as communal representation and reservation of large number of public offices, irrespective of their ability to fulfil them. The support of any section of Indian population which is to be secured by granting unreasonable concessions is not worth while to bargain for; because they may withdraw

their support, if they can secure better concessions from the British Government. This is not an imagination, on the contrary, the political history of India in recent years has ample evidence of such tactics on the part of almost all the Moslem leaders. Thus without any reservation and with all the emphasis I can command, I oppose all forms of communalism, from the standpoint of practical politics, as well as an ideal.

If India is to be free and independent and to have a place among the foremost members of the independent nations, then the people of India, particularly the Indian nationalists, who are to direct the destiny of the nation, must have vision and they should adopt the creed of *India First*. Nationalist India must be governed by "the wisest and the best" of Indians, irrespective of class and creed. Thus all forms of communal, provincial (including the Native States) and class interests must be subordinated to the supreme ideal of the promotion of the well-being of the Indian people at large. There cannot be any true national unity on the basis of communalism or religious fanaticism, be that of the Hindus, Moslems, Christians or Parsees. There shall be no special privilege for any individual or any community; and a single standard of "efficiency" should be the guiding principle. *India First and No Communalism* should be the watch-words for all far-sighted Indian Nationalists.

III.—Racial Equality.

To me the goal of Indian nationalism is to raise the status of the people of India, politically, economically and socially, so that they will be able to give the fullest expression of their manhood and womanhood without any hinderance or discrimination against them in any part of the world. There cannot be any question that all Indians who have any self-respect for themselves and their people should be advocates of racial equality for Indians in the broadest sense of the

expression. Racial equality for Indians in India, in all parts of the British Empire and all parts of the world. I fully believe that, in the programme of Racial Equality lies the fundamental principle for a sound foreign policy for India of to-day and the future. In this connection it is well to note what Baron Makino, the Japanese Delegate to the Paris Peace Conference of 1918-19, had to say when he advocated racial equality, as a fundamental principle, to be incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all nations, nationals of States, members of the League, equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction either in law or in fact on account of their race or nationality."

He further added

"I feel it my duty to declare clearly on this occasion that the Japanese Government and people feel poignant regret at the failure of the Commission to approve of their just demand for laying down a principle aiming at the adjustment of the long standing grievance, the demand that is based upon a deep-rooted natural conviction. They will continue in their insistence for the adoption of this principle by the League in future."

The principle of racial equality should be the ideal which should direct the course of Indian statesmanship in dealing with such problems as the Indians in South Africa, Kenya, Australia, Canada and the United States of America. There cannot be any compromise on this issue. Here it is necessary to emphasise that India must adopt a policy of co-operation with Japan, China, Turkey and other nations which will be willing to adopt the programme of racial equality for the people of Asia.

Thus to sum up the cardinal points of a programme for the Indian Nationalists, I advocate—(1) Responsive Co-operation leading to ultimate independence of India, (2) for national solidarity, I advocate India First and No Communalism and

(3) for a far-sighted foreign policy, in dealing with the states which are members of the British Empire and other nations, the policy of securing Racial Equality and " Favoured Nation " treatment should be the guide.

I am quite prepared that many of the Indian politicians will regard the simple programme as impractical or too uncompromising and discard it, and only a minority will be willing to consider it with seriousness and accept it, as a part of their programme for the emancipation of India. However, I feel that the minority, which will have the courage to adopt such a programme now, will through their organized efforts, lead the Indian Nationalist Movement to its ultimate victory—Freedom.

TARAKNATH DAS

AN ALASKAN TRIP

We left New York on May 17, 1926, with the usual flurry of travellers leaving for a long journey and with an added zest because of the excitement that is the order of the day for persons leaving that metropolis. Last minute farewells were made in cool Grand Central Station, and then the heavy iron door clanged, we were jostled down the incline to the train and in another moment were riding along the Hudson River on our way to the Adirondacks, Vermont, and smoky Montreal. It was sunset when we crossed unforgettable Lake Champlain, and early evening when we crossed the St. Lawrence River and entered the station of this French-English city that is so unlike any other in North America.

A trans-Atlantic liner had just discharged its quota of passengers and many of these were to take the train into the interior of Canada. As we waited our turn in the long line before the ticket inspectors' desk, crowds of immigrants moved and jostled restlessly about, filled with eager curiosity regarding the land to which they were going—for most of them were immigrants and prospective settlers, third class passengers for the most part who were to be distributed over the land like grains of sugar through a funnel.

One couple stood very near us and we wondered what the sad expression of their faces meant. We thought at the time that the two must be man and wife and that the woman was going on while her husband remained behind. But this was not the case. It happened later that we became acquainted with her on the train, and she told us, with eyes lit with interest, that the gentleman had been an Austrian of very high birth and that he and his wife had gone from Austria to London and had crossed with her to Montreal. They had known little English when they started out and were very

lonely on the voyage. The woman with whom we talked had taken an interest in them and both the man and his wife had come to depend upon her as a means of communication with their fellow passengers. The grief shown in the man's face was because of the separation that was taking place. It was grief mingled with a feeling of strangeness, part hope and part wonderment. This man and his wife, with their culture and sensitiveness, were coming to the new world to be farmers. One could not help wondering what was going to happen to them. Mankind is so strange, conditions so trying in a new country, particularly for people with such a background as theirs obviously was, that the future for them—anyone could feel—was not to be one of roses.

The next point of interest was Hudson, Ontario. Hudson is a mining town with only one train line running through, the Canadian National Railways, and as it is the gateway to the new section of Ontario where gold has been discovered in large quantities, each train passing through brings many miners and prospectors to the district. Hudson had the appearance of having sprung up overnight. The boards of new frame houses were so new that the sap seemed to be oozing from them. Over one of the stores was the caption in firm but crude strokes, "No. 11 Main Street!"

As the engine slowed, men sprang from the train in every direction. They came from the pullman cars, from the standard coaches, from the day coaches—the comfort of the trip they had determined by their circumstances; but one and all were quivering with excitement and eager for the venture into the gold fields. They were dressed, almost without exception, in heavy leather boots extending to their knees, wide brimmed khaki-coloured hats, khaki shirts, and plaid lumber jackets. All had new packs which they carried on their backs or slung by a strap to the ground as the train stopped. One eager man thought his pack had been left behind, and as the train started on he ran after it, shouting

and trying to get the attention of someone. Finally, the porter saw him and when he understood what was wanted pointed to the spot where he had deposited the pack a few moments before. The man subsided, but the feeling of excitement remained about the train for a long time.

The distance from Hudson to the mines is not a short one. It is one hundred and forty-five miles and must be traversed by chance, with six difficult portages. We noticed a number of dogs—huskies and malanutes—tethered to the trees near the station. These dogs, we were informed, were selling for \$100 and up, against a customary price of \$60. We were told, too, that coloured glasses selling in the city at 10 a pair, were being sold in Hudson at \$1.45. The scene, indeed, was typical of a Jack London story or a story by Rex Beach... there was even the blond woman sitting carelessly on the steps of a freight car drawn up at the siding.

From Hudson to Winnipeg one passes through many mining towns, and across miles and miles of fire-devastated territory. Farmers were busy everywhere trying to clear the land, and one read with interest the announcement in the dining car that the Canadian National Railways (owned by the government, of course) would advance money to responsible and deserving people and companies for this purpose. Everywhere throughout Canada an effort on the part of the government to improve the land was apparent.

We spent the evenings in the parlour car trying to be patient while a radio operator strove unsuccessfully to bring sounds out of silence. But not a sound could he obtain. At last, however, he succeeded. Smiles began to break out on the listeners' faces, and then there followed a single agonizing moment... the looks turned to disgust and despair. The radio was announcing that the next item would be election returns in Pittsburg. This for people in Canada who knew nothing about the elections in Pennsylvania, and Senator Pepper.

Although it was the end of May, we found snow in Winnipeg. Flurries had been scudding past the windows all day, but by nightfall had become a steady downpour. We found Winnipeg still in the grip of a business depression, the worst that has ever occurred in the story of the city. But crops in Canada this year promise to be good, and with their harvesting the people are hoping that prosperity will return.

We stayed in Winnipeg but a day, and then went to that lovely paradise, Jasper National Park. The train stopped an hour in Edmonton on the way, and there an interesting event took place. The porter of our car had been in a state of excitement all day. It was so obvious that we wondered at the cause. It was eleven-thirty at night, however, when we drew up to the Edmonton platform and we had almost forgotten the porter. Suddenly a great sound of giggling and laughter and running was heard outside and three coloured misses came wildly up beside us. The porter, standing near the steps, looked at them with widening eyes. One could see nothing but their whites, and then he singled one of the young ladies and threw his arms about her. She was his sister whom he had not seen since she was three years old, and now she must have been a maid of seventeen. Some family had taken her to Edmonton and there she had remained. Her brother has been a porter during those years but this was his first service with the Canadian National and his first trip through Edmonton. Thus did we witness a reunited family.

Jasper National Park is one of the most beautiful spots in America. We were there on opening day and a car met the guests at the depot of the little town of Jasper, as nearly like a Swiss village as one will find in America. The Inn lies a mile or two from the village on the shore of an emerald lake where in quiet hours one will often see beavers and bears. We drove along a forest road the next day and saw two soft eyes peering at us from between trees, and then another pair, and then a soft sound...two deer had just passed. The road

led on up a mountain side until we thought we were in the clouds, and never had we seen such a view. Gigantic peaks, snow-covered the year around, here and there and everywhere. Then these were lost to view, we went around a precipitous curve and the car stopped. We were told to get out and walk along the trail that continued to the left of where the car halted, and that if we walked long enough we should come to Edith Cavell Glacier. Climbed would have been a better word. We walked and walked, my friend and I, an English gentleman who, with his wife, later invited us to spend a night at his farm in Victoria, and an Irishman, a very cultured man who proved to be the port engineer of Dublin and whose wife remained behind in the car, waiting. After something like half an hour we came within sight of the glacier, and then were stopped in our tracks by a great booming sound. We looked but could see nothing, until a few moments later a great cloud of snowdust rose in the distance ahead of us, on the left of the glacier.

The Englishman who had travelled a great deal, in the Himalayas and elsewhere, exclaimed, "An avalanche," and that was what it was. He went no farther but after watching the last upward melting trail of snow, retraced our steps along the path which lay beside a glacial lake whose green was the green of the emerald with the sheen of Paris-green combined, to the waiting automobile. That night the English couple invited us to their room in the cabin which we shared and asked us if we could not stop over with them in Victoria, a day or so at least. This we promised and that day was very fortunate for us for the visit with them in Victoria was one of the most delightful experiences it has ever been my fortune to have.

From Jasper we rode on a narrow gauge line to Prince Rupert, a distance of many hundreds of miles, consuming two days and a night. It was by far the most beautiful part of our journey through Canada. The train was small, with

one coach that served for dinner and pullman. The dinner had two tables on each side, that was all, and in the pullman section of the car were four sections. We became acquainted with a Mr. and Mrs. MacAwley who lived in Prince Rupert and were of the genuine type of northwesterner so characteristic of the country, whole-hearted and whole-souled. Mr. MacAwley was in the employ of the Canadian National Railways and so it was with delight that I listened to the words his wife whispered in my ear, "Let us go up and try to get in the engine ..perhaps we can." The next stop was at a watering station, and while the engine was refreshed we ran alongside the train which had many day coaches until we reached the spot where the engineer and fireman stood. Mrs. MacAwley asked the handsome engineer with a smile, "Do you want to do me a favour, Mr.....?" "Yes," he said, "climb up," and pointed to the step from which we were to bound into the engine. She sat on the side with the handsome engineer and pulled the whistle as we rounded innumerable turns. I bounced up and down in a rickety seat on the fireman's side, with a towel about my head to keep the cinders from completely ruining my hair. The fireman opened the partly-closed window on our side and I could hang out as much as I liked, as we were on the outer side and nothing but the Frazer river to obstruct us. Here and there he would raise his voice above the noise of the quivering engine and the rattling coaches behind, and say, "Here is where a freight train went over the bank three years ago," or "Here is where No. 3 was derailed at one time." After five hours of bouncing we were glad to return to the pullman which before this adventure we thought as dizzying as the heeling of a ship but now was like the rocking of the gentlest cradle.

For once, it was not raining in Prince Rupert. We arrived on a sunny day and mounted the wood-stairs and walked up the elevated wood-path to the only brick-hotel

in town, whose owner was an interesting man and was making money because he employed all Japanese help. His rival in the hotel business in town was a woman known as Klondike Kate who owned the hotel nearby, and who appeared each morning at breakfast loaded with diamonds whose value might be estimated at anywhere from \$5,000 to \$10,000—so we were told by those who roomed there. We had a reunion in the hotel with a young man from Massachusetts who had been on our train from Montreal as far as Winnipeg. He was a mighty homesick young man for he had come out to Prince Rupert with many misgivings to take the place of a very capable young American Vice-Consul who had been transferred from Prince Rupert to India. He had arrived in Prince Rupert in a driving rain and had spoken to no one for almost two days, had written home that if he stayed a week it would be a wonder.

When we arrived it was like greeting folks from home. But he was not the only homesick person. There was a little miss of seventeen, Miss Molly Butcher, who had travelled from Jamaica in the West Indies to London, and then to Montreal on the same steamer that had brought the immigrants, the sensitive Hungarian couple, and the kindly lady, from England. She had missed the train in Montreal that was to take her to Prince Rupert in time to get the boat that was to carry her to Skagway, where she was to live for a year with an uncle, and so she had a number of days to wait in Prince Rupert before another steamer would come along. She was as homesick, if not more so, than the vice-consul, and when we four gathered together that night for dinner it was a merry festival. Molly Butcher had had many ventures on the train, and travelling alone is not always the pleasure for young girls that it is said to be. We arranged later that she was to come with us to Ketchikan, Alaska, and there wait for a steamer to Skagway.

Our means of transportation from Prince Rupert to

Ketchikan was a problem. There is an international ruling that Canadian vessels cannot take Americans from Canada to States territory, and that American vessels cannot take Canadians from States territory to Canada. So since Prince Rupert was in Canadian territory and we were Americans some means must be found other than the usual to get us to Ketchikan. It was arranged eventually that the coast guard revenue cutter would take us up, and so after several days of waiting,—days that we spent going through the refrigerating plant where we saw halibut that we would probably be eating in New York in 1928, or playing bridge with hospitable Prince Rupertians, we found ourselves on board a sleek gray cutter. The Captain was a perfect host and gave us a long lesson in navigation before the journey of nine-five miles was complete. He allowed Miss Butcher to come along, at the request of the American Consul, and there was one other “passenger” on board, Allen Carpe, mountain climber. We did not know just how much of a mountain climber he was until he referred to Mount Robson and other peaks near Jasper as mere trifles and foothills. Then we asked what he called a mountain and he answered, “Mt. Logan.” He had been one of the six to reach the top of Mt. Logan in the national Geographic Logan Expedition of last year—see the National Geographic of June this year for an account. He was on his way this summer to Juneau, where with two other young men, he was to prepare for the ascent and exploration of Mount Fairweather, a peak some 14,000 feet and more in height whose ascent had never been accomplished by white men. The entrance to Fairweather is through Latuya Bay, an entrance that is an impassable whirlpool during all but the highest tides. We passed Fairweather later and wondered whether they would succeed in making the top. The first plans were the chartering of a ship for a week to take supplies in from Juneau over this Scyllian whirlpool. One looking at him would never

guess his mountain-climbing proclivities, but we were to learn later that gentle bearing, sensitive mien, hands so beautiful and delicate that they looked incapable of anything but the finest work, meant little in determining the aspect of an explorer. We met several explorers before the trip was over, and all had this appearance. The mettle of an explorer is an inner fire.

When dinner time came on the revenue cutter we descended a ladder into the galley. There a meal was served fit for a king and his retinue. We ate ravenously and then the Captain gave up his cabin to the lady members of the party and we "turned in." My companion had a soft, matted hammock for her bunk. We fell asleep to the gentle rocking of the ship as it made its way up the inland passage, and knew no more until at one-thirty in the morning we docked at Ketchikan.

And Ketchikan! I was there in 1900 when my father had almost the only mill around there. At that time there was nothing but desolation and rain and loneliness. To-day Ketchikan is a thriving city of 4,500, a city built along narrow streets made of planks laid across stilts, with here and there a concrete road where there is enough ground space to permit. There are buildings two and three stories in height, there is a large school and there is a modern hospital. The roads of the city extend eight miles in one direction to a new \$100,000 road house and the town of Wacker that stands on the once-forlorn site of my father's mill: in the other direction the road extends two miles to "old-town," the sections where the Indians live and the milling ground of missionaries. These ten miles of good road were built at a frightful cost, more than \$100,000 a mile. But they serve as the touring ground of automobiles, and more than 400 automobiles have been brought to drive over the road. Owning an automobile in Alaska is one way of showing that one has money.

Ketchikan never sleeps. It is a compulsory port of call for all vessels trading in northern waters, and for that reason the number of tourists pouring into the city in the summer is legion. Shops do not close their doors night or day and although when we arrived, the end of May, twilight extended into the hours of ten and eleven at night, and as dawn began as early as three-thirty or four the citizens with unconscious humour had set their clocks ahead an hour for daylight savings time. The school has a role of 562 children, and they are splendid children, healthy and well bred, as fine looking as one will see anywhere. Ketchikan has two or three banks, any number of canneries, refrigerating and reduction plants, and a multitude of fishing docks. It is a thriving town, and it is possible that prohibition has had something to do with its wealth.

We waited five days in Ketchikan for the S. S. *Yokon*. It was like a white swan of the sea when it came along, immaculate and roomy. But we were soon to learn that, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National steamers plying between Vancouver and Skagway, passengers are a mere detail to freight in the coastwise trade. But the *Yokon* was a good steamer, notwithstanding, and her commander, Captain Glasscock, a remarkable man.

We passed through Wrangell Narrows at 3-30 in the morning but it was so light that I arose and went on deck, thinking that it must be nearly breakfast time and that I would watch the scenery through a strait so narrow that one could almost touch the spruce-covered shores, until the gong rang for the first sitting. I had not looked at my watch and after more than an hour of waiting went downstairs to find that it was only five minutes to five. Later that day I talked with some persons who had been in the Pilot House with the Captain before the hour at which I arose, and they said that a deer had been swimming across the Narrows. When the Captain saw that he must strike it

if something was not done, he stopped the engines and the deer was allowed to swim on, but, alas, he was too frightened. He turned and swam back to the shore, probably to be devoured by wolves from whom he was undoubtedly fleeing. This was but one instance of Captain Glasscock's kindness. There were many others and his patience in naming the inhabitants of the sea for us was unlimited. At one time we saw whales, at another lazy mud sharks, at another seals swimming north to the rookeries, at another porpoises' whose speed rivalled that of the ship and whose playfulness was like that of children, at other times we saw sea parrots, and guineas, and myriads of sea gulls followed the ship from Wrangell to Juneau, and from Cordova to Seward.

We stopped for an hour before the face of Columbia Glacier. It was a most imposing sight, and the flakes of ice dropping off fell with a boom into the water. On one flake of ice near the glacier's frontier a bald-eagle rested, on others there were gulls and other birds. The Captain ordered a blast of the ship's whistle to be given, the sound that followed lingered in the air, trembling, and then in its wake came the fall of several pieces of loose ice. The blast had sent forth a vibration sufficiently strong to affect the loosening of pieces of ice from the glacier. These dropped with splashes and booming thuds into the water. The colours of the glacier were remarkable—greens and blues and iridescent rose.

The first stop after Juneau was Cordova, a city of some 1,500 inhabitants, across the Gulf of Alaska from Juneau. It is when crossing this Gulf that one sees Mt. Fairweather and Mt. St. Elias. We were not to see the latter until the return trip, when it rose a rose-tinted peak above the clouds in a midnight sunset.

Cordova is the gateway to the copper country of Alaska and it was in this section that Rex Beach laid the plot of *The Iron Trail*, the iron trail being the roadbed of the Kannecott Copper Company railroad, extending several hundred

miles into the interior from Cordova. The copper here runs 85% pure, and from \$800,000 to \$1,000,000 worth a month is shipped. On the return trip we stopped to load 55 carloads of crushed, sacked ore into the ship's hold. While in Cordova we called on the forest supervisor, in charge of one of the government's mammoth preserves. This supervisor has over five and a quarter million acres of forests in his control and under his supervision. Distances and acreages in Alaska are so enormous that one ceases to think in hundreds or thousands, or even hundreds of thousands. The unit of measurements is millions. This forest supervisor was a very interesting man. He told us many interesting details of his experiences in Alaska. He talked for a while about fox-farming and the fox-farm islands near Cordova and farther to the west. He showed us the photograph of a wolf-skin that measured over seven feet from end of tail to tip of snout. He showed us photographs of trails he had built, and then he told us of the most unusual experience he had ever had. He had been on a trip to the Kennecott glacier, and had been present on the edge when the waters beneath the glacier had risen and burst through the top in a myriad of spouts, boiling and raging, and thrusting themselves into the Kennecott River to raise it to flood level and above in the course of twenty-four hours. He had barely escaped with his life, and so had many others when the raging torrent swept out the railroad bridge and all obstructions along its way. Every few years an event of this kind takes place, but it is only once in a generation that a man is privileged to witness it.

At Seward we came to the journey's end as far as the outgoing trip was concerned. We wished that we were going on to Fairbanks and that we had planned to go from Fairbanks by way of the Tenana River to the Yukon and from the Yukon to St. Michael, thence to Nome, and by ocean steamer to Seattle. We heard many interesting stories of Fairbanks and were told again and again that we had not

seen Alaska without a glimpse of this city. In the spring it is the centre of great betting activity, "pools" being formed at a \$1.00 a bet on the second, minute, hour, day and month on which the ice in the Yukon will first move. Last year a pool of \$25,000 was raised and was divided between three men, two of whom had bet on five minutes after four of a certain day of May and one of whom bet on three minutes after four of the same day. The ice moved at four minutes after. Smaller pools are arranged between different groups of people and these are called "minute pools." One need not bet on the day or the month or the hour—only on the minute, and the winner has \$60 when the minute is known.

One of the discoveries of this trip was the use to which aeroplanes are being put in Alaska. They are in use there much more extensively, environment considered, than they are in the United States. The Road Commissioner of Alaska was on board *The Yokon* and while it had taken him fifteen days of difficult travel to make the trip from Fairbanks to Wiseman over the trail, it had taken but three hours to make the return journey by aeroplane. Some one asked him why aeroplanes were not used to carry mails. He said there was a demand for that, but it was his belief the mails should be carried in the future as they are now because it is only by this means certain sections of the country are kept open. The carrying of the mails provides a livelihood for certain people. Not only that, trails must be maintained, and it was his belief that only in the maintenance of trails and the construction of roads could the future of Alaska be assured.

It was in Seward that we first had daylight during the entire twenty-four hours. The sun set at midnight but rose again at twelve-thirty. The intervening half hour was as light as though the sun had not set at all. It gave one an uncanny feeling at first to have no hours of darkness, but the feeling soon disappeared and in its place came wonderment

that hours of darkness could exist. The story is told of Fair-banks that they cannot raise chickens there because it is day-light all summer, and that the baseball games are played at midnight when it is cool. The last year in Alaska was an exceptionally mild one. The usual downfall of snow in Fair-banks is several feet. Last year it was but three inches. Years were taken off the life of glaciers in Alaska by this last mild winter, and the Captain of *The Yukon* expressed the belief that in another century the glaciers would be few and far between.

One is appalled by the grandeur of Alaska. The unique features are the utter primitiveness of the settlements, the feeling of newness, the sense of uncultivation, the realization that the settlers are the pioneers in a land that has a great future, a land that is already being touched by the magic wand of a changing climate. Settlers have gone in, many more are going. Many are the tourists who travel the world but few are they who know the beauties of this land.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

INFERIORITY COMPLEX¹

In all social organisation it is a problem as to who should lead and who should be led, for the stability and growth of society depends very much upon a correct gradation of social components. It is an experience with every society that certain persons are unfit to be leaders temperamentally whatever be the opportunities given to such individuals. The etiology of such incapacity must be sought in the mental make-up of such individuals and not in the kind of people with whom they have to deal.

Even among children there are broadly speaking two classes—the sensory children who are fit for contemplation and criticism and the motor children who are fidgety and irrepressible and who are for ever thoughtless and impetuous. The motor children easily take the lead in the class and the play-field and the problem of the teacher with such children is how to keep them in the background and to allow other children to have their share in the game. The sensory children will not come to the front and with them the problem is how to push them into positions of responsibility so that energetic action might check the tendency towards introversion and moodiness. The task of the teacher and the father is to provide opportunities for self-expression so that it might be correctly diagnosed as to how far the deficiency is due to constitution and how far it is due to want of opportunity. But, as has been remarked above, some children will not come forward in spite of opportunities given and will try to sink back into a position of inferiority to escape the hard task of leadership. When they grow up, habit becomes second nature and they never think of assuming the role of heroes in social ventures and remain content with being humble camp-followers of more ambitious

¹ Read before the Psychology section of the Indian Science Congress, Lahore, 1927.

men. Their aspirations never rise high and even though they dream of deeds achieved and positions won, their dreams never come to fruition owing to the lack of dynamic efficiency. They find pleasure in imagining themselves as great in fact and in potency, but the reality-principle they shirk with all their might and leave the task of achieving success in the field of their dreams to others with less thought but more action. *

If it had been left to the choice of the individuals concerned whether they should or should not lead, matters might have been so arranged that they got the position they wanted for themselves. But it so happens that minor leaderships are inevitable to every person who lives out his own span of existence. Thus, while it is open to persons whether they should or should not be managers or generals (let us suppose that promotion is automatic in their professions), it is not always open to them to refuse the headship of their own family or the control of their servants (if they choose to have a family and an establishment). If such persons suffer from a sense of their own inferiority it is evident that they will fail to adjust themselves properly even to these situations and show themselves up within a short time and encourage their subordinates to take advantage of their own weakness. We may recount some of the domestic facts with which most people are familiar. There are some who abdicate the leadership of their family to their wives and retire altogether from domestic management. It is not the shrew that always gets the upper hand in domestic control, for even wives of retiring disposition sometimes find themselves in the superior position in family organisation owing to the refusal of the husband to take his legitimate place in the family. Such persons prefer ordering servants through their wives, and threats are administered through the same channel. Wages are, of course, paid through them and deductions, if any, are made also by them. When they have to order personally they avoid

looking at the servant direct in the face. Lest they should be suspected of weakness they very often assume an attitude of dignified reserve in dealing with their servants, exchanging as few words with them as possible. In the alternative, they assume from the very beginning an attitude of peremptory command and abrupt speech and leave the presence of their servants or dismiss them as soon as the words of command have been uttered. If the servants delay or disobey, they are always prepared to find excuses for their default and thus encourage them to repeat it. They cannot enforce normal obedience and their method of dealing with unruly servants is the drastic one of dismissal with or without previous assault. A temporary hysteria possesses such masters who have been defied and as they are unable to control through sweet reasonableness they fly into a paroxysm of rage, and their conduct is strong then because it is not in keeping with their normal personality. The normal social dealings with servants is impossible for such masters, for they constantly fear that their servants will take advantage of familiarity and defy their authority. A clever servant makes out in no time the true nature of his master and does not fail to exploit his weakness. He avoids him as much as he can and makes representations to his mistress which are always likely to be effective. The bold ones make direct approach and because the master is conscious of his own inferiority and is not prepared to run the risk of losing one servant and finding out another whose nature is not known, he very often yields to his servant's demands. This weakness he covers by an attitude of benevolence and sympathy through a process of rationalisation. Servants of such masters have very seldom to repay their loans, for the master is incapable of dunning and will get rid of the uncomfortable position of a creditor by making a gift of the sum advanced as reward for imaginary services rendered (or in consideration of poverty). Even temporary services rendered do not go without reward from

such persons. They are the best tip-givers at railway stations and hotels (just as at a hotel or restaurant a poor man suffering from a sense of pecuniary inferiority will almost invariably pay more tips than a rich man in order to hide his poverty), and the slightest attention paid to them is sure to meet with a liberal reward. It is not generosity that prompts the gift, for in other fields such persons will be found to be ordinary, if not abstemious.

So much for dealings with servants. Suppose such a person goes out for shopping. If he has to hail a cab, he will almost invariably choose one of which the driver is either quite young or very old. He is shy of calling a strong man or one who is accompanied by other persons. He is bad at bargaining and will either put forth his own figures for the ride before he gets into the carriage or will pay what is asked. He will very often prefer walking on foot to avoid dealing with drivers. If there are services for which the rates are fixed (though higher than these of another kind of service) he will rather pay the higher figure than go forward to settle terms for the other less expensive type of service. He will thus prefer a taxi-cab to a coach although the former costs more. The writer knows of a gentleman who gets down quite a long distance away from the destination in order to avoid bickerings before other persons.

Now, when the person suffering from the inferiority complex arrives at his destination he looks into the various shops and if the number of buyers or sellers be great in any shop, he will avoid such a shop and enter one which is small or which is without a crowd. As before, he will prefer one where the rates are fixed. He will not have the courage to call for a large number or variety to choose from. He will feel a great delicacy in coming away without purchasing even though the articles be not entirely to his liking. He will choose the best of a bad lot rather than come away without some purchase. He will at least make a small

purchase (although he was not in urgent need of the thing in question at that time) if he can summon enough courage not to purchase the thing he went for because of its badness. If on returning home he finds a defect in the article he will rather keep it than face another ordeal of purchase. He will welcome the company of a friend when he goes out shopping, for that will save him the trouble of bargaining and choice.

When such a person goes into a gathering he will almost invariably choose a back seat even though his official position entitles him to greater prominence. He prefers being mixed up with a lot because that renders him less exposed to public gaze. Others probably interpret this as admirable humility and commend his conduct, but the real reason is that he is incapable of being in the front. If he be chosen as one of the speakers in a public meeting he generally likes to come after some others have spoken and to oppose rather than to propose a resolution (or to second a resolution rather than to be the principal speaker). He is not always a sufferer from stage-fright (although that also may be a symptom in some cases) or agoraphobia; but in case he is, he naturally prefers to read out a written speech rather than deliver an extempore one. To distract himself he develops mannerisms while speaking and plays with the watch-chain or the button or the stick-handle or draws figures on paper if he is speaking, sitting. Shuttering is one of the symptoms, or, in the alternative, very fluent speech as if he is drowning thoughts of inferiority by hysterical outbursts. Speech delivered under such abnormal condition is soon forgotten or remembered only with effort later on.

As is to be expected, such a person is incapable of pushing himself to the front. He prefers waiting to have his turn to jostling for immediate attention. He makes way for others more pushing, and assumes an attitude of benevolence when he is thus superseded. He thus makes a virtue of necessity and hides his inferiority under the garb of social

consideration. He cannot offer bribes not because he is morally incapable of stooping low but because he fails to summon enough courage to do the dirty job. He never makes a good canvasser because at every step he is haunted by a sense of his own inferiority and cannot put a case well in order to persuade. He chooses by preference a profession where the work is regular and the occasions of interchanging talk with a senior are few. He seeks the lower level in companionship and as such prefers the company of junior men and subordinates where the inferiority sense is less felt.

His relation with women is also peculiar. Girls, widows and old women he can engage much sooner than grown-up ladies and house-wives.* His conduct is, therefore, rather frigid in social company and he longs for a turn of events to something where the need of talk is less, *e.g.*, song, music, dance, etc. He is easily upset when he has to play the host, for then he is to summon some courage to meet and entertain his guests. The title role in entertainment he leaves to others, if not to his wife then to somebody else. He has some difficulty in getting a wife and very often falls a prey to a masterful woman specially if he happens to be financially well off or otherwise desirable as a husband. In extreme cases he resigns himself to be a cuckold for he has not the courage to oppose his wife and dreads the ordeal of a fresh wooing and of public exposure if the matter be dragged to a court of law. His finances are of course managed by his wife and he lives on an alimony from his own income much as a dependant of his wife. If by chance he manages to get a good wife or one who is younger and docile, his attitude very often veers to the opposite extreme and he assumes a domineering aspect as a compensation for the weakness he shows to others. He makes up for his cringing abroad by a show of authority at home and is very often a domestic tyrant. Such persons sometimes suffer from the sense that they have an abnormally small genital or that they are impotent.

Sometimes they fear an attack of consumption and spit out to examine whether the dreaded malady is or is not come.

It is one of the characteristics of persons suffering from an inferiority complex that they show strength only by correspondence. They are incapable of contradicting people in their faces; but if they feel that they ought to dissent, then they choose the post for expressing their difference of opinion. As such, their letters may be pretty strongly worded: but the greater the difference between their verbal submissiveness and their epistolary strength the surer is the fact that they suffer from the malady of inferiority. If they happen to be official superiors they prefer passing orders in writing, and when the effect of the order is likely to operate harmfully on the subordinate concerned they pass a last-moment order so that the chance of making protests or representations may not be had. It sometimes happens that they cannot summon enough courage to pass an order which will have effect during their own tenure of office: in such cases they leave secret orders that will have effect as soon as they themselves depart either for good or for a temporary period. It is thus that they dispose of unruly, disobedient or powerful subordinates. Such persons, when accused of injustice will sometimes make a scape-goat of their subordinates to escape the reproach of official vindictiveness: it is dangerous to serve such masters for they will tell a lie to save their own skin and sacrifice a subordinate when the occasion so demands. Popular agitation has a great effect upon such masters for, of it they are greatly afraid and the good they say of a dead subordinate whom they could not control when alive is a mixture of the feelings of relief and complacent benevolence.

Suffering constantly from a sense of their own inferiority they are extremely touchy on matters connected with their dignity and always fear that people will not show proper respect to their person and position. They like to surround

themselves with the spectacular and the awe-inspiring to extort the obedience and respect which their naked personality will not draw. They prefer to talk of themselves in terms of their dignified office which they poorly fill and do not let go the slightest opportunity to make others feel that they are incumbents of high posts. They are thus veritable asses in lions' skins. But it is as lions that they want to appear to others and so they show a frigid and repellent exterior lest their weakness should be exposed to public gaze. They thus show a defence reaction and are unduly severe in their dealings with their erring subordinates. Of them it might be truly said that 'a tyrant is but a slave turned inside out.' They talk constantly of discipline and law and order, for it is not a personal obedience that they can command—they can only administer an impersonal principle of social and institutional organisation. It is as administrators and not as rulers that they want to pose, for they wish to enjoy the authority without the responsibility of personal command. They are therefore more feared than loved and that fear even is not of the persons themselves but of the instruments of authority and oppression which they wield.

The above study is based upon the writer's personal experience of about half a dozen people, most of whom are curiously enough philosophers. It is not improbable that these people have taken to speculation because of their inferiority complex. But the reader will be able to find out easily that the failing is not limited to philosophers only. In the social, industrial and political fields the sufferers from this malady are not small in number nor even in the educational and other fields of occupation. It is not often that all the traits are present in one and the same individual and the reader will be surprised to find that he himself perhaps suffers from some of the symptoms described above. The etiology of the malady is obscure and multifarious: but, broadly speaking, initial poverty, weak health and dyspepsia,

failure and disappointment, organic inferiority and low social status are potent causes of this malady. To give way constantly to this weakness only predisposes the individual more to it and the best treatment is to practise mastery with a will to overcome nervousness and to cultivate a habit of reasoned thinking in all matters. Dreams and day-dreams of superiority should be replaced by actual achievements and small beginnings must be made of utilising opportunities of command to gain confidence in one's own powers. If you are shy of sending your writings to the press, begin with papers that are least likely to refuse your contributions and feel that you are inferior to none in matters of composition. Make tentative efforts to push yourself to the front and follow up success with early repetition. Cultivate the magnanimity of the strong and not the benevolence of the weak. Cast your lot in favour of direct action and swift decision. Let the tiger in you live and the ape in you die.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

POEMS

THE STIRRUP-CUP.

Ho ! Bring me a stirrup-cup fair maid,
Ere I ride upon my way...
'The long, long way of the open road—
There's no one to say me nay.
My only mate is my good, true sword,
We are free as the wind in the sky—
We laugh at death and the world defy,—
My stallion, my sword and I !

I blow the foam from my stirrup-cup,
And laugh in the Sun's bright face ;
He's starting out with his horses twain,
And daring me to a race !
Give me a kiss from your lips, I pray,
Sweet stirrup-maid, ere I take the road ;
You've a wealth of hair and can afford
One tress to my good, broad sword !

Ho ! the wine is sweet, my bonnie maid,
But your lips are sweeter far !
I only kiss as I ride away—
For no maid my life shall mar !
The Road is holding its arms out wide—
We are free as the wind in the sky,
We laugh at death, and the world defy—
My stallion, my sword and I !

The Sun drinks a stirrup-cup of dew,
And kisses the lips of Dawn—
We laugh, Ho, Ho ! for the joy of life
Is poured forth anew each morn.
Ready for all things—for peace of strife,
We are ready to do or die—
We laugh at death and the world defy,
My stallion, my sword and I !

WHEN I WAS A YOUNG SYLVANUS.

When I was a young Sylvanus,
And you were a Dryad fair,
We used to steal through the forest,
And lure god Pan from his lair,
To play for us on his syrinx,
As Diana silvered the air.

Ah, you were a cypress Dryad,
A slender, beautiful thing !—
I used to lie 'neath your shadow,
Where bubbled a sylvan spring
And there in my sun-veiled temple,
To you of love I would sing.

But when the forest lay dreaming,
And the song of the hermit thrush
Flowed forth in muted melody,
Together we'd come with a rush !
I, with my heart all afire,
And you, with your cheeks aflush,

Away we'd speed through the forest,—
The nymphs and fauns would be there,
Waiting the god of the pipers,
As he crept from his grottoed lair.
To me, e'en the deepest shadows,
Were alight with your golden hair!

How we would twine in the moonlight!
What mazes and dances we'd dare—
What tricks we'd play on the shepherds,
As their flocks we'd scatter and scare—
When I was a young Sylvanus,
And you were a Dryad fair!

TO A PURPLE BUTTERFLY.

Art thou a purple violet,
Imbued with life to fly away?
Art thou the spirit of the force
That dwells in ultra violet ray?
Or, bubble from the Cosmic Sea,
That margs on Eternity?

Or, is it true that Love's first kiss
Evolved an ecstasy on wings!—
To be re-born in God's own time,
In other wondrous, beaut'ous things?
Art thou the pigment God, The Wise,
Has made to tint love-laden eyes?

Art thou a jewel from a ring,
Some Doge of old cast in the sea,
And worn by mermaid for a space,
Wert with her spirit fair set free?—
Free from old Ocean's swell and surge,
In sun-kissed air at least to merge?—

What -e'er thou art, sweet, dainty thing,
Afloat in perfumed, vernal air—
What—e'er thou art, a violet,
Or spirit of a lover's prayer,
I greet thee, oh, thou transient bliss,
And up to thee I toss a kiss!

TERESA STRICKLAND

Reviews

Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal, 1769-1787, by R. B. Ramshotham, M.A., B.Litt., M.B.E., Oxford University Press, 1926.

This is mainly a dissertation on two very important Reports, *viz.*, the Amini Report of 1778 and the Report on the office of the Kanungo, both of which are reproduced *in extenso*. The Amini Report had been published in part in Harington's Analysis but the other Report is now published for the first time, and as Harington's work is extremely scarce it is not too much to say that the author has laid all students of Indo-British administration under deep obligation by making these two documents of first class importance available in a handy form.

The two Reports as well as the period that the author selects for study clearly indicate the object, and to some extent, the scope of his work. The history of the British revenue administration in Bengal starts with the Grant of the Diwani in 1765 and the Permanent Settlement of 1793 closes the first and the most momentous epoch. It may, therefore, seem somewhat strange at first sight that the author should begin in 1769 and go up to only 1787. But it appears that the object of these studies is to show how gradually the information that made the Permanent Settlement possible was procured by the patient and unremitting toil of the Company's officers. "The Amini Report was the first technical and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal that was placed before the Company." But the investigations that made the Amini Report possible began in 1769 and not in 1765. As Mr. Ramsay Muir points out, Lord Clive had made a far from logical use of the Grant of the Diwani and he had practically left the entire business of the revenue administration in the hands of the native agency. It was only in 1769 that Supervisors were appointed to collect the necessary information regarding 'the state of the collections' and the company declared its intention of 'standing forth as Diwan', *i.e.*, to take upon themselves the active care and management of the revenues through the agency of their own servants. By 1787, on the other hand, the materials on which the Permanent Settlement was based and which at least Lord Cornwallis regarded as sufficient, had been mostly procured and it is just in the fitness of things that these studies close there.

But as the author very clearly shows the task was no easy one. The Zemindars had every interest to keep back information as much as they could. The only people who could help the Company's officers as against the Zemindars were the Kanungoes. "They alone knew how far the Zemindars' returns were honest; they alone possessed the statistics on which any form of land revenue assessment could, with any pretext to accuracy, be made." But the Kanungoes generally acted in collusion with the Zemindars and the servants of the Company were helpless. The author's account as to how this difficulty was gradually got over is profoundly interesting. Each successive failure brought in its own lessons and ultimately the combination was broken through. In the author's opinion no praise is too high for the work of the district officers. But we are introduced to the really startling part of the story when we are told that "A serious obstacle, by the irony of fate, to a vigorous district administration of the revenue was the Governor-General himself, whose acumen and judgment enabled him to select good officers, but whose ignorance of the work required from revenue district officers, and whose fixity of purpose, for good or bad, were responsible for that rigid central control which was so detrimental to an efficient revenue administration and which was never relaxed so long as he remained in India." Unless one goes deeper into the records it is not possible to pronounce any opinion on the point but, nevertheless, the author deserves the thanks of all serious students of revenue history for having initiated this new and very interesting line of enquiry.

The author's observations about the Zemindar and, particularly, the Kanungo are very illuminating and he has helped in clearing much misunderstanding. In short, Mr. Ramsbotham's work is a very useful study and that in a subject the importance of which cannot be gainsaid, for whatever might have been the effects of the battle of Plassey, "it was essentially as revenue collectors that the English entered into the actual occupation of the country and it was the exigencies of the revenue service that compelled them to elaborate a system of Government, and extrude the native sovereignty by a long process of exhausting its functions."

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

Economic Annals of Bengal—by J. C. Sinha, Reader and Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, Dacca University. Macmillan & Co. Demy 8Vo. 301 pages, 12s. 6d net.

The purpose of this work is to reconstruct on an authoritative basis the economic history of Bengal during 1757-1793. The economic history of Bengal of the period covered by the present volume is a subject of absorbing interest to students, administrators and the lay public alike. It is from Bengal that the English power struck inland into the heart of the country and as the author points out it is the wealth of Bengal that furnished the East India Company with the sinews of war. The difficulties that beset the path of the investigator into this fascinating field of study are immense, and the author by no means exaggerates them when he says that some of the old records on which the narrative is based are falling to pieces, some are missing and sometimes events of importance to which only a passing reference is made have not been recorded at all.

Working under these conditions it has not been an easy task for the author to present a connected account of the economic activities of the period under investigation. He has, however, discharged his task in a manner that compels admiration. The documents preserved in the Imperial Records Office have been laid under contribution to produce a work at once scholarly and interesting.

The book describes the trading activities of the East India Company and their servants, their efforts at currency reform, for the most part futile, and their attempts to restore peace and order by overhauling the machinery of administration. During the course of his survey the author has succeeded in exposing the hollowness of many of the current popular beliefs. Thus Digby's estimate of the drain of wealth that followed the battle of Plassey is shown to be an overestimate. The popular belief regarding the cutting of the weaver's thumbs by the servants of the E. I. Co. is shown to lack confirmation from authentic sources. The opinion that the decline of the Indian cotton industry was due *only* to hostile tariffs in England is shown to be mistaken, for the hostile tariffs imposed in Great Britain in 1700 and 1720 did not affect the reexport trade from England and the loss of the English market "could not and did not in fact immediately affect our industries to any great extent."

Mr. Sinha is to be congratulated on having produced a work which will in some respects supplant all previous works on the subject.

J. P. N.

Collins' Detective Novels: In the realm of detective fictions the hall-mark of Collins counts a great deal and we are glad to be able to say that almost all the books that we notice below are quite up to the high standard that one should expect. All of them may not be of the same merit in setting and execution but none fall below the expectations that the name of Collins is bound to raise.

We would take first the two works by Mr. Crofts, *viz.*, the *Ponson Case* and *Inspector French and the Cheyne Mystery*. To people who are interested in this kind of literature the author needs no introduction. It has been rightly said that in the *Ponson Case* 'his web of suspicion is so cunningly woven that it involves in turn several of the actors in the drama, till the reader's interest is so aroused that he has to finish the book in a sitting,' whereas in the other book the successive adventures that befall Mr. Cheyne greatly heighten the interest of the mystery. Inspectors Tanner and French are both types of that well-known class of detectives whose watchwords are unceasing toil and exhaustive thoroughness. But they have sudden sparks of imagination as well and the reader is really astounded when he is made to see how much a torn hotel bill or a half-burnt envelope can reveal to a trained observer, though we must say that the arguments in both the cases might have been made more lucid.

The Murder of Roger Ackroyd by Agatha Christie, whose recent disappearance created a sensation in England. An excellent detective story, of absorbing interest all throughout. Hercule Poirot, the retired detective, who is in charge of the case, may not claim the volcanic energy of Inspectors Tanner and French but he is also thorough in his own way and in imagination and close deductive reasoning is undoubtedly their superior. The way in which he seized the importance of the moved chair in the study and the manner of his approach in the matter of the telephone call may be cited as instances. Indeed, his unravelling of the mystery is as clever as it is interesting and the announcement of the truth at long last is thrilling and dramatic. But we think that in one point and a very notable point at that, *viz.*, the going out of the dictaphone, an important mystery remains unexplained. We are not told how the dictaphone could speak in the voice of Roger Ackroyd, a voice that was distinctly recognised by Major Blunt.

Col. Gore's Second Case by Lynn Brock.

This is a very complicated business and the beauty of the mystery is that though Col. Gore is almost always on the right trial he is after the

wrong man. He ingeniously takes up one clue after another, only to find at the end of his work that the solution has eluded him. But with wonderful tenacity he perseveres to the end and at last unravels a mystery, which leads one to gasp in wonder, though it must be said that Powlett's masquerading as Luttrell sounds a bit unconvincing and the whole episode of Mrs. Parkeston seems somewhat overdrawn.

The Diamonds by J. S. Fletcher.

A story of assassinations, one following another, all for the possession of a necklace of rare and priceless diamonds. We are shown vividly how men with unblemished records may, in a sudden moment of greed, be seized with murder but the story, to say the least, is monotonous and one is really relieved when he is introduced to the love episode of Miss Driscoll and Sir Octavius Burke.

B. I.

Rosaline (*A Musical Opera*).—By Profulla Kumar Bosu, 77 Gurpar Road, Calcutta, 1925. Price 4 as., foreign 4d.

The right of translation and reproduction "on the stage or at the cinema or in any other way" has been expressly and exclusively secured to the author-publisher. We are afraid there was no need for it. The book delights not, nor does it heal. The love of Richard and Rosaline—both descended from Highland chiefs—is ages old, and it is extremely amusing to read of a "maid-servant" in the dramatis personae. The music of this "musical opera" is a little cloying, a strange blend of eastern love and western expression. In the songs the aim of the composer seems to be to produce jingling sounds, to the sacrifice of sense and harmony. It is a warning to aspirants after literary fame. No glow of imagination or passion, nor any mastery over winged verse, relieves the monotony of this "opera," and there is the additional difficulty of the literary medium. A glaring example of বাঙ্গালীর মস্তিষ্ক ও তাহার অপব্যবহার !

P. R. S.

O Memory! By E. M. Story, London : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co. Ltd.

Fourteen sonnets displaying exquisite skill in poetic conception and smoothness of the lines. A dainty volume of poems ; and the intrinsic

worth is beautifully set off by decorations from the pen of E. S. Duffin, adorning the text. The book deserves welcome and, we hope, will get it from the worshippers of the Muse.

P. R. S.

Himalayan Whispers. By A. Christina Albers. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1926.

These are fifteen poems in different measures, all inspired by the Himalayas, "Majestic Keepers of the Heaven's gates imperial." Consequently they all breathe a lofty air and should be enjoyed by all lovers of nature and by those who seek "the truth that is in the lonely hills." The poet has imbibed the spirit of Indian culture, having gone straight to its fountain head, and we offer our tribute of praise to these whispers and ask our readers to open themselves to their purifying influence. Everything in this book deserves praise, even its get-up, and that is rare commendation indeed.

P. R. S.

Bejoy. By K. K., published by Thacker Spink & Co., 1926.

This story of a quiet Bengali home, the quietude of which is broken by circumstances, told in an exceedingly simple style, is intended to reflect the varied conflict in Bengal—domestic, social, political. Old days and old ways have changed; the book succeeds fairly well in bringing home to the reader the consequent clash of ideals. The difficulty of finding a suitable match for the average educated youngman, the craze for giving our boys an English education, the vexed question of educating the Bengali boys on proper lines,—these have been presented and discussed. But the disease in Bengal lies deeper. And again, it is hard to tell why a Berlin cafe has been selected to point a moral and adorn a tale while London cabarets and Parisian cafes flourish in all their glory. "German" atrocities? It was high time for them to be exploded.—The book has merits, but it is ambitious if it hopes to point to "the road that must be travelled to reach economic and social regeneration of the idle manhood of to-day."

P. R. S.

Early European Banking in India—H. Sinha—C.I.B. (London)—Macmillan & Co., S 12-6d., pp. 274.

We heartily commend this work which is the result of great industry extending over years upon materials inaccessible to the average reader. It will be of great use to the student of economic history of the 18th century India not only for purposes of study but particularly of reference as it contains a few extracts and quotations from otherwise inaccessible sources. Though the services of early European Bankers were correctly estimated by the earlier writers no one had been able to point out in detail the working of the General Bank of India—and the Bengal Bank. To the author must be given the credit of correctly writing out the history of the banks during the years 1770-1809. This would be of substantial value and reflects great credit on the author.

The second part contains the reflections of the author on the present day banking situation. A highly useful description of the work of the indigenous banker of the province of Bengal is also attached. Though almost all his suggestions have been anticipated already by previous writers on banking or Committees appointed by the Government of India they are presented in a very readable style which is often so very rare in works of finance or banking or currency. The whys and wherefores of these suggestions could have been expanded a little for it is these that are of great use to the present day conditions.

We hope the author would continue this admirable work and write out the history of the Agency Houses during 1809-1832 in detail. A little more theory and more graphic description of the environment of these banks would soon earn him the title of "Dr. Andreades of Indian Banking."

X. Y. Z.

Civics.—By Professor R. K. Mookerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lucknow University, published by Messrs, Longmans, Green & Co.

Dr. R. K. Mookerjee's little volume entitled *Civics* is intended as a text-book for the intermediate students of our universities. It is essential that the cultural equipment of our future citizens should include as its back-ground a clear idea of the rights and duties of civic life. The importance of this study is emphasised by every modern university, but it ought to be more so in India, where democratic

institutions are in their formative stage. The introduction of reforms into Indian administration has aroused a new interest in education and civic ideals and citizenship. The conception of citizenship has now-a-days outstripped its old narrow connotation of political rights and duties. It has now "expanded into one of a social being with connections all round him in art and science, with root in the past and aspirations for the future—an entity of greater richness and interest." With this broad conception in view, the author has divided the book into three parts—Part I deals with civic origins, Part II with civic institutions and machinery and Part III with civic politics and problems.

A knowledge of the historical background of the social institutions and of the factors that influence their growth and development is essential for an appreciation of the functions of the different institutions that minister to the civic needs of the individuals of to-day. The author, it must be admitted, has very ably given as picture of the special features of the Indian social life in its evolutionary aspect. In the earliest stages of social evolution the villages were usually self-sufficing in regard to their economic and political needs and this has been characterised as a communal organisation. But to connect this with the cultivation of any particular crop is beyond the comprehension of any reader.

The author says "Rice thus encourages communal instincts and habits due to this need of co-operation for the utilisation of water." P. 20. The author further says that "Rice is associated with a collective economic management, a dense population and a relatively low standard of living." How rice is responsible for low standard of living is difficult to understand. But his analysis of the basis of social life and the pointed reference to the forces of disruption will vividly impress the young mind.

A student of civics should have a clear idea of the fundamental rights, enjoyed by the citizens of a democratic country and the author would have done well if he had pointed out the extent of these rights as enjoyed by an Indian citizen. In describing the machinery of the government of India the position of the Secretary of State for India has been relegated to the background. In the chapter on municipal government with which a young beginner must interest himself, there is a grave omission as regards the sources of municipal revenue. Some burning problems of the day have been very ably presented to the notice of the public. The infant mortality rate for all India is 197.9 and eighteen districts in Bengal recorded an infantile death rate of over

200per 1000. There can be no doubt that this appalling child mortality is one of the main defects of our life. The development of large scale industries has brought in its train, the problems of sanitation and housing in mill areas. It cannot be doubted that the inefficiency of Indian labour is largely due to the environment amidst which the labourers live and an improvement in this direction is urgently called for. Congestion and overcrowding are so great that in Bombay there are 3,125 one roomed tenements of which 7955 contain two families, 658 three, 242 four, 136 five, 42 six, 32 seven and 58 eight families and over.

The facts and figures introduced in the book reveal the existence of serious evils from which our society is suffering and it is hoped they will interest not only the young beginner but also the general public to find out their remedies. The book on account of its scientific treatment is bound to prove useful to those for whom it is intended.

Politicus.

Money and the Money Market in India—By R. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi, MacMillan and Co., pp. 440, price 21s. net (1926).

Besides giving a lucid exposition of the principles of banking and money the authors have sought to formulate a monetary policy for the country as a substitute for the policy of drift and "blundering expediency" in the field of currency and the money market. The first 180 pages deal with the exposition of the monetary theory. I do not hesitate to urge the reader to directly apply himself to this work for an analysis of the subject matter which traverses the whole field of economic doctrines relating to money is an impossible task in the limited space of a book review. The orthodox theory is represented in a clear and concise manner. Mr. Keynes's conception of managed non-metallic currency is rejected and the authors vote for credit control on a gold basis by the Central Bank of the country. This naturally follows their assumption that absolute stabilisation of prices is neither desirable nor attainable. There is no reference to the newer conception of the gold standard as adopted by England in April, 1925. Pages 180 to 303 deal with the history of the Indian Currency System. The failure of the defective Gold Exchange Standard system in India is pointed out in a brief and telling manner.

The authors advocate the introduction of a gold standard with gold currency as the best solution for our difficulties and for furthering the economic development of our country. The third portion of the book deals with the banking system and the Indian Money Market and covers roughly pages 303-428. The authors plead earnestly for making the banking organisation a co-ordinated and well-organised one with the Imperial Bank of India acting as a real Central Bank. Their suggestion to make the village *patel* undertake the issue of the P. O. Cash Certificates to the smaller investors of the villages is a thing that can be approved only when a right use of the mobilised funds is to be secured instead of the present way of utilising the same by the Government of India to finance their capital expenditure. Industrial financing has received its proper share of attention at the hands of the authors. They rightly argue for the development of industrial banks, land mortgage banks, organised Stock Exchanges devoid of speculation, the fusion of note-issue with banking business, the formation of a single reserve, the development of Insurance Companies and sound banking legislation. Suggestions for the improvement of the technique of banking operation of our country has also been made. The last paragraph on page 428 gives a comprehensive view of their suggestions *in toto*.

Though the references to English, American and foreign banking systems are essentially of a topical character, though the Government's defence of their currency policy is not exhaustively given and though their monetary policy has been discarded entirely by the Young Commission it is altogether an interesting book on a difficult subject. It is a valuable addition to the literature on Indian Banking and Currency.

X. Y. Z.

Studies in Hindu Political Thought—By Ajitkumar Sen, M.A., Assistant in Politics, Dacca University and Published by Chukrabutty and Chatterjee. Demy. pp. 179.

This is a handy little volume which is bound to prove useful to students of Western and Eastern Political Science. In seven chapters, the author gives us the cardinal points of Hindu Political thought and discusses the Hindu ideas of origin of Sovereignty, nature of Kingship, checks to Tyranny and political principles of Kautilya and Sukra. The value of these chapters lies in the author's fine analysis of the subject matters of political speculation and his comparative illustrations from the political thought of other nations. The chapter on the

Concept of Law may be cited as an example, and in it he takes care to institute comparison with the concepts prevailing among the Greeks, Romans and some of the modern nations. In doing all these, the author clearly recognises the peculiar line of evolution of Indian thought and betrays neither an eagerness to read western ideas and institutions in our system, nor a hopeless obsession with the principles and dicta of western writers. In many places he recognizes the predominance of the ethical and social element in Hindu political thought and clears the real significance of passages which have been interpreted in terms of the so called divine theory of Kingship. For instance, he justly recognizes the standpoint of Kautilya as to the nature and ends of Kingship and does not try to prove that with him Kingship was divine.

For all these, the author deserves our best congratulations. Yet, there are faults and shortcomings to which we must draw his attention. In some places the author has accepted the interpretation of others and has necessarily formed an opinion without examining the real meaning of passages. As an instance of this, he recognizes the supreme law-making function of the Arthasastra King, without trying to find out the real meaning of the verse. *Dharmasca Vyavaharasca Caritram Rajasasanam, etc.*, which is interpreted quite in a different way by Smṛti writers like Narada and Katyayana. Secondly, we regret that an intelligent writer like him has failed to notice the influence of political events or the contact with foreign nations like the Greeks, Kusanas or Sythians who contributed but largely to the evolution of the semi-divine nature of royalty. Lastly, we regret that chronology has not found its proper place in this treatise, nor an attempt made to study the important topics from the point of view of evolution.

The language of the book is very clear and the style of presenting fine. The printing is good but the absence of diacritical marks is sometimes serious.

In regard to this book we may sum up that it will not only serve its purpose, but will prevent an amount of mischief which is being deliberately caused by some writers, who are disseminating erroneous notions about Hindu political thoughts and ideas. Hope that in proper time, a better and more systematic treatise will issue out of the pen of this intelligent author.

N. C. B.

The Ocean of Story—being an edition *de luxe* of the English translation of the *Katha-sarit-sagara*, by the late Mr. C. H. Tawney, C.I.E. Vol. I.

The literary world must congratulate itself on this fine edition of the *Ocean of Story*, which was rendered into English by the late Mr. Tawney more than forty years ago. The work of the latter was thorough and accurate, and he left nothing to be said against it. But, the value of this edition has been enhanced by the labours of the present editor who seems to be best fitted to undertake the task by reason of his great interest in folklore and Anthropology. At the end of each chapter we have critical notes and an exhaustive bibliography, while the appendices are a storehouse of accurate and scholarly information on multifarious topics connected with Sociology, Philology and other allied subjects. We congratulate the learned editor on his undertaking and wish a wide circulation of this book.

N. C. B.

Intercourse between India and the Western World—By H. G. Rawlinson, Principal, Deccan College, Poona. Published by the Cambridge University Press ; pp. 196. Demy.

This is a book which we can safely recommend to Indian teachers and students interested in the history of Ancient India. The author who is already well-known through his other works, has given us a fine account of the relations which subsisted between India and the Ancient world. This vast subject has been condensed into a handy volume, free from error or bias and what is of special value, the author seems to keep in most places an open mind on all important topics like the influence of Hellenism on Indian Philosophy or Drama, or the influence of Indian thought on Christianity. He displays a rare scholarly scepticism and academic restraint.

The language is fine and the printing superb. We recommend it to all.

N. C. B.

THE VEDANTIC CONCEPTION OF GOD

I.

Vedantism represents a composite culture with different philosophical tendencies and conclusions. The Vedantic study is interesting because of the different philosophic perspectives which it presents. A treatment of the Vedantic conception of God will fall short, if these different presentations are not taken into account. In this paper we shall confine our discussion to the theistic and the non-theistic presentation of God. The Theism of the Vaisnavas and the Absolutism of Samkara are still live issues in Indian Philosophy.

II.

The philosophy of Vedanta uses two words Brahman and Isvara to convey the distinctive senses of the Absolute and the personal God. All forms of Vedantism as systems of thought propound the reality of the Absolute, and even in systems *e. g.*, Vaisnavism and Saivism of Srikantha, where the personality of God has been emphasised the main trend of thought has not lost its mooring in the Absolute, for God has been viewed in relation to Man and Nature and represents a member in the totality of the Absolute. The distinction of Man, Nature and God has been drawn only to facilitate a convenient understanding of the three terms in the unity of relation. The fundamental tendency of thought is centered in Brahman as the philosophical Absolute rather than in the personal God satisfying the moral and religious instincts of man. Ramanuja and Jiva Goswami call such a unity the one metaphysical principle, and a separatist consciousness surely loses the significance of Vedanta philosophy as presenting a unitary reality. "God and the spirits are the Absolute and not God alone." Brahman is, therefore, the term which describes the Vedantic reality

better than the term God or Isvara, though, no doubt, God is the highest and the most important term in the reality. Nevertheless, it is always to be conceived in relation to souls and nature, otherwise it cannot be an all-inclusive and all-embracing principle. The Vedantic God, therefore, is not only the God of religion, but the Absolute of Philosophy as well. Śaṅkara is uncompromisingly an absolutist, and the three terms of the relation, God, Man and Nature, have, according to him, significance for realistic and relativistic consciousness, but have no metaphysical import. The word, 'Brahman,' is the most important term for him, as it represents the undivided consciousness and the integral reality of the Absolute. Śaṅkara's philosophy all along presents side by side the implications of exoteric and esoteric, relativistic and absolutistic consciousness, and, therefore, the one has a tendency of being confounded with the other. God, Soul and Nature seem to acquire a metaphysical significance when they have got only an empirical import. Śaṅkara indeed retains these concepts in his philosophy as concessions to the pragmatic consciousness.

III.

Vedantism with other systems of Theology retains proofs of the existence of God and satisfies the theological instincts of realistic consciousness. These proofs have a value also as showing the place of God in the regulation of the cosmos. And these proofs arise from the demand of the causal consciousness so natural to the philosophical initiate. And all teachers of Vedantism advance certain proofs of the existence of God, however they may differ in their philosophic value and significance. These proofs present God as :—

- (1) the creative principle of the cosmic order ;
- (2) the designer of the world ;
- (3) the giver of sanctions, religious and moral ; and
- (4) the dispenser of the karmic fruits,

These conceptions have been the necessary implications of a rational understanding of an order which is supposed to be real and as such cannot be our creation, far less our idea. Intellect which cannot conceive an order and a regulation without the guidance of an intending principle unhesitatingly infers such a principle when it is confronted with the solutions of the cosmic existence and cosmic order. These proofs have a meaning and a real meaning for the theistic teachers inasmuch as they conceive the cosmic order as an expression of the Absolute life in the physical plane. But even when the theistic teachers accept such arguments for the existence of God, they do not maintain the direct intervention of God in cosmic creation. God as a creative principle must not be meant as evolving the cosmic system out of itself. Vedanta in any form does not believe in special creation by generic volitions. Creation is a new start of the cosmic cycle after a temporary calm and quiescence. God's intervention is a necessity to run the cycle when the time is fit and karmic forces are ripe. Vedanta accepts the co-eternality of nature as *materia prima* and God as *causa efficiens* of the creative order. God is a cause by the implication of the initial conscious impulse. This implication bespeaks the conscious stirring in the unconscious matter and its subordination to the conscious stir. This subordination saves Vedantism from the charge of dualism.

The last two arguments reveal God in his relationship with finite selves and presents him as a moral agent who dispenses favours and rewards according to the merit of the agent. The ethical law of *karma* unfailingly carries the fruits of karma to the agent, but this karmic law is a regulation of the moral universe which God vivifies and illuminates. His will is operative and unfailingly effective in the world of nature and in the world of spirits, though his power does not overshadow nature's agencies and his will does not overpower the stirrings of finite wills. The moral argument for the existence of such a God is a necessary argument for moral order and moral

progress. Such an argument has a resemblance to Kant's argument for a God to synthesise moral duties with felicitic possibilities. Such a God is still the regulator of the possibilities of moral life and is real to the agent who looks up for reward for meritorious actions. The arguments for the existence of God present God as a power and as a regulator of the moral law.

IV.

Should we not confess that such a conception makes God more an external than an immanent reality in the embodiment of the moral ideal? Naturally such a conclusion becomes irresistible so long as the self is an agent on the physical planes, who, led by his natural instincts, can rightly expect the fruits of his deeds, and since he cannot command them, he naturally conceives a God to explain the moral order. The conception of moral law is inefficient to explain the moral regulation. A moral law like a physical law is blind without a conscious guidance. But such a conception of God is the fruit of the dawn of moral sense and unenlightened reason cannot see further. Vaisnava Vedanta conceives a dual self in man, a natural self and a moral self, and so long as a man is dominated and guided by the instincts of natural self, he can certainly expect the fruits of his deeds, and the karmic law under the guidance of God will allow him a privilege which he deserves. Such a life is enjoyed by the natural man and his vision of God does not go beyond the regulator of privileges here or hereafter; such a vision, though it must be conceived to be moral, loses the true moral significance and import. This must have been felt by the Vaisnava teachers, for they go beyond such a conception of God and conceive the highest privileges of the moral and spiritual fellowship in the divine life.

The true spiritual or moral life transcends the karmic law inasmuch as it comes to lose the conceit of agency and begin to be moved by the consciousness of service. With the full

fruition of moral consciousness, with the complete transformation of our inner being which such fruition implies, God is looked upon as the holiest of holies. And in the moral consciousness thus reared up, the souls or more properly the emancipated souls enjoy the rare privilege of a fellowship with God. So long as moral consciousness has not this transcendent moral sense, it is led by the conception of external value and is anxious for a reward, as it cannot feel the intrinsic value of the privileges of a moral consciousness. This demand of an external value bespeaks the touch and the domination of natural self in man which cannot enjoy the finer life-pulse and the rarified delight of the truly spiritual and moral life. In such a life, therefore, God can be still external. The existence of God as a moral person is thus an implication of moral consciousness. Moral consciousness intuits such a God.

V.

With the full development of moral consciousness, our vision of God gradually changes from an external regulator to a being holding moral and religious fellowship with man. Such a knowledge is impossible unless we develop in us what Rāmānuja calls the Kinkara-consciousness. Such a consciousness unfolds and establishes itself only when the finite souls become freed from the stirrings of prakṛiti and begin to feel the urge of divine life.

Such a consciousness reveals God apart from his relation to natural order. The Kinkara-consciousness is akin to what Dr. Otto calls the creature-consciousness, but with this difference that in the former the sense of the utter helplessness of the latter is replaced by an encouraging fellowship with the divine life. We should also mention here that the appreciation of God as beauty and love by aesthetic intuition has been emphasised by the Bengal School of Vaisṇavas. And such a consciousness becomes manifest at the height of our spiritual progress, where the service instinct and the sense of awe and

reverence of the moral consciousness are sometimes overshadowed by the sense of equality and inexplicable beauty and sweetness of love-consciousness. Love presents God as the delight-self and enjoys it as such. Inwardness is here more complete and the sense of union is more explicit. In short, the spiritual consciousness is a synthetic consciousness expressing itself in love, beauty and moral beatitudes. Religious consciousness gradually passes into love and beauty-consciousness, admiration and adoration finally take the place of intellectual curiosity, doubt and search. The divine life is no longer a matter of mediate consciousness, as the finite life has a direct touch with and enjoy the protecting care of such a life. Philosophy is here displaced by life and its intuitions, and the self gets rest and satisfaction in the immediate realisation of the divine life beyond the stirrings of Nature.

The Vaisnavic conception of God passes from the conception of the divine ruler, the cosmic regulator and the moral governor to the conception of God as love, holiness and beauty. These conceptions are based upon the synthetic consciousness expressing itself as truth to the philosophic vision, the object of adoration to the moral consciousness, the heart's joy and soul's delight to love and beauty-consciousness.

VI.

The Vaisnava teachers are inspired by a synthetic vision and conceive the synthetic unity of consciousness, both transcendent and immanent, transcendent in the life of spirit and liberated souls and immanent in finite unliberated souls and nature. They do not hesitate to extend the Divine Imagining to nature and her operation. The subordination of nature's operation to Divine Imagining makes the divine life all-extensive ; in this sense the evolution in nature is also a history of the divine life as manifested through nature's working and is called the Lila-bibhuti of Isvara as distinguished from the expression of the divine life to itself and to the liberated

consciousness, called the Nitya-bibhuti. The Vaisnavas seem to have been influenced by the overpowering consciousness of the divine life and have not hesitated to regard the soul's earthly travail as having a deep spiritual meaning inasmuch as it fits the finite soul for the higher consummation in spirit and prepares it for its reception when it comes. Lila-bibhuti has a meaning thiswise for finite souls, and with proper training the souls begin to realise the Divine Life immanent in the cosmic stirring.

The life of spirit in transcendence and the life of spirit in immanence give the undivided continuity of spirit-life, and at this point Vaisnavism claims a monistic position in metaphysics. The immanence of God in nature and in man has been recognised in the conception of the identity of causes, material and efficient, and in the conception of the innerseient, *antarjamin*. There are, no doubt, minor differences on this point among the Vaisnava teachers, for instance Madhva, claiming a monistic form of his system, unconsciously accepts the immanence in some form, though he has not gone to the extent of accepting the identity of the two causes. A detailed consideration of this position is not possible here.

VII.

Behind these conclusions, chiefly theological, there are epistemological and metaphysical problems which require a brief consideration to make the philosophical basis clear and the conclusions more interesting. The term which can best express the metaphysical position of Vaisnavism is Ideal realism, and the epistemology naturally follows the implications of the same system. Vaisnavic epistemology has put the greatest faith in experience and its revelations and regards all knowledge true. The deliverances of self-consciousness, of empiric or pragmatic intuition, have been all accepted as truth, for truth is that which appears, which becomes a fact in or of consciousness. Self-consciousness is the test of truth. The main function of

consciousness is to enlighten experience, and it would be a folly to go against the evidence of self-consciousness. Self-consciousness cannot deny its own revelation without committing suicide. The evidence of self-consciousness even in false perception cannot be doubted. A false perception, according to Rāmānuja, is false, not because the appearance itself is false, but because the appearance cannot satisfy the practical or pragmatic interest. As an appearance the false percept is a fact to consciousness and is, therefore, as much true as a real appearance. The difference arises on the point of practical satisfaction. This, no doubt, is a limitation which differentiates a false appearance from a true one, but this limitation is a question of practical possibility and not a question of reality.

Knowledge is a relational consciousness that subsists between subject and object. It is an active stirring that reveals the object to the subject. It has a double reference, reference to a subject and reference to an object. Knowledge can never transcend this reference. Intuition is self-intuitive. The difference between transcendent and empiric knowledge lies in this, that in the former there is no reference of knowledge to anything besides itself. But even in that state, it does not lose its character of self-expression. Self-expression is a concrete and unitive consciousness, concrete because the self is posited in the expression, unitive because the expression is centred in the locus without losing its distinction. Expression has projection out of the self and even in this projection, it does not lose its hold on the locus and comes back upon itself with the clear consciousness of self-intuition. In this process of an eccentric projection and the consequent centric assimilation, intuition really acquires a meaning. Without these processes intuition remains quite abstract and consequently meaningless. This acquirement of meaning is an inherent necessity in intuition.

Intuition does not lose its character of self-intuition even in empiric intuitions. The only thing that differentiates such an intuition from the transcendent intuition is that in empiric

intuition there is a reference to something which is not intuition itself, *viz.*, the apprehended object. Here intuition becomes expressive of the object. This limitation is due to the association of intuition with the senses and their activity. This limitation by the sense-activity at once differentiates immanent experience from the transcendent intuition. In any case intuition does not lose its character of self-intuition. The acquirement of meaning is also a clear necessity here inasmuch as intuition at once grafts into it the concrete form of the object and appears in different forms and modes. But even in the concrete forms and modes intuition runs as the underlying principle which fuses in itself the totality of experience.

Vaisnavism, in short, accepts the three fundamental points in epistemology :—

- (1) That which appears in self-consciousness is true.
- (2) Knowledge always implies a reference to an object, be that object self or otherwise.
- (3) Knowledge is a synthetic activity which embraces within it the locus and the object.

Such has been the epistemological basis of Vaisnavism. From this it will appear that there is no fundamental difference between finite and infinite knowledge. Finite knowledge suffers from a limitation, while the infinite knowledge does not. But knowledge either finite or infinite is a concrete and unitive consciousness.

VIII.

Such an epistemological theory naturally leads on to the concrete unity of the Absolute as its ontological counterpart. The realism in knowledge accepts the truth of finite souls, *prakriti* and God as ultimate existences which cannot be further reduced. Besides these categories, there are other minor categories *e.g.*, time, whole and parts, specific particulars, number, etc., which can be left out in this

outline. Vaisnava teachers agree with Prof. Howison in treating finite souls and nature as ontologically underived and self-existent. Nowhere in Vedanta do we come across the derivation and origin of the finite selves out of the infinite. They are as much self-existent as God, and any effort to draw them out of the infinite makes them illusory and the infinite-self, limited. A created existence cannot be eternally existent. It must have a lapse. It then becomes a show and not a reality. Finitude does not necessarily make the being illusory. It indicates a limitation in expression and power. To ascribe finiteness to being makes the being non-eternal. The reality of finite selves suggests a permanent limitation of God. Vaisnava teachers are fully conscious of this. To evade this difficulty, they have conceived finite souls and nature as dependent realities in complete subordination to God.

The acceptance of the reality of finite selves and the denial of the least independence to them are certainly philosophical issues deserving of consideration. The independent being of finite selves makes them real and does not reduce them to phantoms and the complete subordination of their wills keeps up the harmony of the totality. The supremacy of God's will and the subordination of the finite wills establish a fellowship in the unity of the Absolute. The life of finite selves is in tune with the infinite life, and the finite selves, in subordination to the infinite instead of feeling a limitation, enjoy the fuller and more expansive being. For this subordination to the infinite is really in a sense a subordination to its own more complete and actualised self. Subordination is not a happy word here. Fellowship suits better. A life in the spirit is essentially a free life. Determinism cannot prevail there. The totality moves in unison with the spirit and the delight of freedom. This, no doubt, is the consummation reached in the fellowship of spirits. But such a consummation is only possible to such spirits as have got over the privileges and opportunities of the life in nature and have entered into the rhythm of spiritual life.

It appears from above that Vaisnavism has laid stress upon a community of souls in the unity of the Absolute life. It has, no doubt, a tendency to make God the supreme reality and finite souls and nature dependent realities. These dependent realities have been conceived in many ways, sometimes as predicates and sometimes as saktis of God. Whatever may be the minor differences among the Vaisnava teachers, they have all emphasised the supremacy of God in the totality of the Absolute and have been anxious to characterise the finite as an integral part of the Infinite. The idea of distinction has, no doubt, been accepted, but no less emphatic is the insistence laid upon the monistic aspect of the systems. Rāmānuja has directly maintained the adjectival theory of the relation between God and the finite spirits and nature. Madhva institutes the unity of the Absolute and conceives differences originally non-existent by a category called *viseśa*. Valadeva follows suit. Jiva Goswami calls finite selves and nature as saktis of the Infinite. In whatever way these teachers may characterise this relation and reference between God, finite souls and nature, everyone of them seems anxious to focalise finite selves and nature into God. This centralisation has enabled them to characterise their systems as monistic. But for this their systems would have been pluralistic. A community of persons agrees more with a pluralistic conception than with a monistic conception, for monism ultimately requires one being and one person. To avoid such a monism, the Vaisnava teachers have always emphasised difference in unity and have characterised the system as modified or concrete monism. But still, it is monism. All the Vaisnava teachers are anxious to repudiate the label of pluralism or dualism, inasmuch as they insist upon the centrality of reference of finite selves and nature to God. God is *monus monadium*.

Although we minimise the difficulties of the above position, we cannot overlook the fact that the ascription of personality to God is in a sense to limit him and his activities for "all

the conclusions which are applicable to each particular self in it is relation to another seem to be equally applicable to the relations between God and anyother spirit." Vaisnavism would reply that God indeed is a person and at the same time infinite and the analogy of the limitation of personality does not stand in his case ; the sense of distinction involved in personality is no bar to his infinitude. God has the mysterious power, *achintya sakti*, by which he extends influence over all. None can deny him, as everything finite feels the compelling force of this power and the undeniable supremacy of his will. Vaisnavism leaves philosophy here and passes into a religious mysticism. We can follow the religious issues of such a philosophic construction. The spirit of love necessitates a synthetic and sympathetic response in spiritual life, and as such the finite spirits are as much a requirement for the Divine as the Divine is for the finite. Love sees the equal reality and necessity of both and cannot forsake the one or the other. Corresponding to this felicity in the life of realisation, philosophy builds up a synthetic unity of God and finite persons, but the logical difficulties, as shown above, stand.

IX.

Two teachers amongst the Vaisnavas, *viz.*, Vallabha and Jiva Goswami, seem to have recognised the claims of Absolutism and Concretism, though Jiva Goswami has shown his preference for Concretism and Vallabha for Absolutism. Jiva Goswami holds that absolutistic consciousness is the partial vision of the fullest development of Concretism, though he has not gone to the extent of Rāmānuja by altogether denying it even as a phase of philosophic vision. Vallabha seems to have laid stress upon Absolutism and holds Concretism to be a phase of Absolutism where the intellect is swayed by a separatist consciousness.

Jiva Goswami seems to be anxious to develop a synthetic conception of the Absolute which should embrace the conception

of Brahman, Paramatman and Bhagvān. Bhagvān is the highest dialectic unity, Brahman and Paramatman are imperfect conceptions of such a unity. Brahman is Bhagvān in the immediacy of absolute intelligence, realised when the distinction of the subject and the object is not clearly apprehended in the Absolute, which necessarily appears as an abstract sameness. It is the first moment in spiritual consciousness. Such a consummation the wise alone can realise. It is the realisation of sameness in the truth of Being, but a sameness, which is only apparent and a precursor of concreteness in transcendent intuition. The Identity-consciousness is thus, to Jiva Goswami, a fact and a realisation, so long as the concreteness of spiritual life is not in sight. This simple apprehension is the datum of further construction in relational synthesis of a heterisation. This synthesis can be partially accessible to the synthetic consciousness of a yogi, which has the vision of the Absolute in reference to the creative order and the unliberated finite souls. The synthesis in this partial presentation is called Paramatman. The complete synthesis is reached in Bhagvān the person, infinite in excellence and power. Such a synthetic vision is accessible to love and to love alone.

Vallabha draws a distinction between Akshara Brahman and Purushottama. Akshara is the identity-consciousness and Purushottama, the supra-personal consciousness. The former is accessible to knowledge, the latter to love-consciousness. Though these phases of the Absolute are true to the different psychological attitudes, still Vallabha's philosophy presents a clear tendency to Absolutism, inasmuch as he has eliminated the distinction between the cause and the effect and regards the effect as an expression of the cause and not a transformation. The concrete or the absolute being then makes no difference as the one is the other in a different form and not in reality. Vallabha has repudiated all kinds of distinctions and has a cast of thought, which is pure, although not absolute, monism. The sense of separateness is the creation of avidya; finally his

philosophy, in laying stress upon one reality approaches Absolutism more directly than the philosophy of other Vaisnavic teachers. Vallabha does not develop his philosophy upon a clear logic. But a perusal of his system cannot fail to impress one with the absolutistic tendency of his thought, and that he is anxious to obliterate all distinctions between Being as it is in itself and as it appears to our divided consciousness.

X

Śaṁkara's philosophy may accept the theistic implications as implications of relativistic consciousness. The duality of subject and object is the datum of empiric intuitions and pragmatic revelations. The realistic consciousness is the implication of will and it lends a touch of reality unto that which is ideal. Śaṁkara does not deny the immediacy of perception and the reality of the object. What he does deny is the metaphysical reality of the object.

Here is exactly the point of difference between Śaṁkara and the realistic philosophers. Both accept the immediacy of perception and the revelation of the object. While the theistic teachers accept the materiality of the object, Śaṁkara can only accept its ideality. For to him self-consciousness and its implications are after all psychological and not metaphysical. The distinction of self and not-self is, according to Śaṁkara, the distinction which emerges out of a relativistic consciousness and does not obtain in the Absolute. Śaṁkara accepts relativity in a psychological sense but denies its metaphysical import. The fundamental difference between Śaṁkara and the theistic Vedānta lies in the consciousness of relativity. Theistic teachers consider relativity to be a law so deep in consciousness that at any stage it cannot deny the law. But relativity does not necessarily mean, according to them, a divided consciousness, on the other hand, it has a demand for a unitive consciousness and that unitive consciousness is the highest synthesis of Absolute being. Śaṁkara, on the other hand, is anxious to emphasise that

a relative or divided consciousness cannot give rise to a synthesis. It is more a figure of speech than a reality, for the difference continues to be a difference and goes on multiplying and defies assimilation. The difference posits two terms and a relation which again imply a stream of relations. A differential consciousness, therefore, cannot be synthesised in a unity, a relative consciousness is, therefore, a divided consciousness. Such a relativistic consciousness cannot give us the absolute truth regarding facts of existence. A fact is true in reference to a universe of thought, and apart from such a universe the fact can never be seen and realised. The fact stands in reference to a system of relations and a system of relations has meaning only to the subject-consciousness. The empiric fact then has always a reference to the subject and the order of relation. The absolute fact is then no fact for the relative consciousness.

Śaṅkara has drawn a distinction between the epistemological and the metaphysical tests of truth. An appearance is truth, because it is a fact to consciousness, but false because it is denied. Being is truth, because it cannot be denied. Śaṅkara insists upon undeniability as the test of truth. The evidence of self-consciousness, no doubt, holds in empiric intuitions, but in transcendent realities it holds not. Self-consciousness is a divided consciousness and as such precluded from knowing what transcends its limitation. Such a conclusion, no doubt, bars the possibility of knowing the absolute fact. Śaṅkara agrees that it is so. The Absolute can never be known. It is intuition, which does not intuit.

The appearance reports a fact, the meaning makes it real for pragmatic consciousness. The truth of a fact is then determined by an appearance and a subsequent construction of a meaning. Even illusory perceptions, so long as they are not known to be illusory, satisfy the above definition. A true presentation in empiric sense implies (1) a presentation, (2) in reference to the subject, (3) having a meaning for it. A false presentation also implies (1) a presentation, (2) in reference to

the subject, (3) having an apparent meaning for it. A false appearance is also an appearance, and so long as it continues to be an appearance in reference to a particular universe of thought, it is truth in as much as it still has a meaning which is denied later on. So long as it is not denied, it continues to be true and has a hold upon will-consciousness.

An appearance in empiric sense is false when it has an appearance but no meaning. But this distinction cannot dispense with the main character of an appearance as an appearance. Meaning or no meaning, an appearance is true in a particular state of consciousness, and apart from a reference to particular state of consciousness it has no truth. The consciousness of a meaning only proves that the fact is no creation of our divided consciousness and is not subject to our will and is, therefore, called truth. Apart from such reference to will-self, a fact, either true or false, makes no difference so far as its appearance is concerned.

From this arises in Śaṅkara the classification of the grades of being. Śaṅkara makes a searching analysis of the facts of existence, and besides the main analysis of transcendental and empirical facts, he has the analysis of the different grades of empirical facts. Facts are classified into four groups :—

- (1) fact transcendental,
- (2) fact empirically real,
- (3) fact empirically illusory,
- (4) names with no corresponding facts.

Being illustrates the first, objects of perception, the second, rope-snake illustrates the third, sky-flower the fourth. Such an elaborate analysis has enabled Śaṅkara to draw a distinction between the second and the third. As facts, they have no difference, for they have both the same kind of existence, empirical, the difference lying in their sublation. And this at once marks them off respectively as an objective reality and a subjective construction. Śaṅkarites agree that the subjective

constructions belong to the same category of facts as the objective realities, for both of them are real in a certain sense and non-real in another sense; real because they appear, non-real because they do not long persist. In other words an illusory empirical existence is illusory when the particular reference in relative consciousness is displaced by another reference in the same kind of consciousness, whereas a real empirical existence becomes illusory when the relative consciousness is denied by the Absolute, and not till then. Apart from this, these two forms of empirical facts have no difference between them. They belong to the same category of existence, real and non-real. Though to the liberated consciousness the appearance lingers on for sometime as the effect of past habits and accommodation, yet, the meaning construed to it by realistic consciousness vanishes. Śaṅkarites have gone so far as to say that the problem of the origin of the world can be a problem for the realistic consciousness, but is no problem for the transcendent consciousness of the emancipated souls, for such a problem strictly has a meaning for the divided consciousness and not for the Absolute. And so long as the consummation of identity consciousness is not within our reach, the relativistic consciousness must necessarily be anxious for a solution of the cosmic drama.

XII.

The elaborate analysis of the degrees of Being makes a synthesis of them impossible and naturally, therefore, Śaṅkara has to call them real in different senses, empirical and transcendental and as, the reality of them is not equal, Śaṅkara has to deny the lower category of existences in the higher and in this way proceeds until all existences are not only transcended but denied in the identity-consciousness.

In the history of thought, two conceptions are found regarding the relation of the Absolute and the relative : (1) the

Absolute transcends the relative, though the relative is assimilated in the Absolute. (2) The Absolute denies the relative.

Śaṅkarites are anxious to indicate the truth of the second alternative by denying the truth of the first. The assimilation of the relative in the Absolute has been attempted, but has completely failed. Kāśmere Śaivism has done away with the distinction of the Absolute and the relative and has tried to retain the identity of existences of the relative and the Absolute and at the same time has drawn the relative out of the Absolute. Concentration and diffusion are the two contrary processes by which the indeterminate gets into the determinate and the determinate breaks its limitation and passes into the indeterminate. The whole conception has been wrought upon the indeterminate being which is the only category of existence. The relative grows out of the absolute and ultimately dwindles into it. But such is not the conception of the Absolute of Śaṅkara. The Absolute denies and not simply transcends the relative. Mere transcendence means that Brahman stands above the relative order and maya has got no control over Brahman. Similarly maya cannot influence Isvara. But Isvara certainly is not the absolute. To insist upon the complete transcendence of the Absolute, Śaṅkara and the Śaṅkarites have had to accept two kinds of categories, transcendental and empirical. The empirical categories are the categories of the relativistic consciousness and each of these categories has been denied an absolute character. A gap exists between the Absolute and the relative, and to do away with this gap, the Śaṅkarites have conceived the origin of the relative out of the Absolute in empirical sense and its denial in the Absolute in the transcendent sense. Brahman is the background on which the relative appears and in which it disappears again. The realistic consciousness demands an origin of the world system and that is satisfied by calling Brahman the cause of the universe, but in denying it again in Brahman, the world is reduced to an illusion. Apart from the demand of the realistic

consciousness of the origin of the universe, the philosophic thinking really cannot conceive Brahman to be the cause of the relativistic order. Goudapāda has elaborately shown the fallacies of thinking thiswise. The causal category has no clear definite sense when it is sought to be applied to the transcendent and the Absolute. The causal category, Goudapāda points out, can be applied to the phenomenon, but never to the noumenon. Even when it is applied to the phenomenon, it leads us to an endless regress and commits us to the mutuality of cause and effect. Such a mutuality has to be established. The concrete instances do not establish it. They also require to be established.

The mutuality of cause and effect makes the causal chain eternal. The effect as well as the cause are eternal. But such a conclusion is certainly self-contradictory. Anyhow the thinking of the causal category in the realistic sense commits us to fallacies. Thought, thisway, is involved in antinomies when it begins to think of the origin of the world-process. Vedanta has, therefore, eventually to adopt the idealistic attitude and to deny the reality of the becoming and to attribute it to ignorance. With this attitude the world-process is reduced to an illusion not in any way differentiated from the illusion of rope-snake, the only point of difference is that the cosmic illusion is more durable and requires a subtle training in transcendent philosophy before it can be fully denied.

XIII.

To indicate the Absolute as the denial of the world-illusion may be supposed to determine the indeterminate. There are some who are given to thinking that the end of the world-drama in the Absolute also limits the being, and, therefore, Being is to be conceived as no doubt, transcending the becoming and not necessarily denying it. Really speaking, the denial of the becoming is no limitation to being, for becoming is not a

reality. The only way of apprehending the Absolute lies in the negative method, and so far as reason is concerned, the Absolute must be understood as the denial of the determinate. More than this, reason cannot think of. The position of the many and the negation of the many are certainly concepts of the reason. But negation has a locus, and reason indirectly conceives that locus to be the Absolute, though it cannot directly apprehend it; and as such the question of determining the Absolute by the negative concepts cannot arise. So far as thought-category can best describe it, it can only indicate that the Absolute does not come within the range of anything thought of, rather it negates all concepts of positive thinking and denies them. This is at best the highest effort that thought can reach in description of the Absolute, but it certainly does not thiswise, determine it. Negation has a greater import as a thought-category than position, and in this sense alone identity is sought to be described in terms of negation of the empirical concepts.

XIV.

Vedanta, no doubt, offers a theory of the origin of the cosmic system out of Brahman, but that is only by way of a concession to realistic consciousness. Even there it has refuted all the theories which ascribe a purpose immediate or remote to the creator, and lends its support to the theory of spontaneity. It does not even support the theory of sportful activity (Goudpada Karika, I, 9). In accepting the spontaneous origin of the cosmic system according to its own inherent forces Advaitism has ascribed a detachment to the Absolute from the world-process, and this detachment is consistent with the impersonality of the Absolute.

When all purposeful and wilful activity in creation is denied and a complete detachment of the Absolute and the spontaneity of the origin of the world-process are maintained

Vedantism really affirms that the origin of the many out of the one is a hopeless task for the human intellect. All the possibilities, motives and theories of creation have been exhausted and none can fall in with the Absolute; and, therefore, creation has been a mystery and defies all conceptual thinking. Māyā has this import of mysteriousness, anirvacaniya, and in ascribing the spontaneity of the world-origin to Māyā, Vedanta has really emphasised not only the human ignorance, but also the human incapability of solving such a problem. So long as thought works on realistic basis, it can have that conclusion and that conclusion only. An activity, purposeful and spontaneous cannot be conceived of the Absolute, for that would mean a personality of the Absolute, which Vedanta emphatically denies. Consistent thinking demands, therefore, that concentration of the Absolute in the form of the cosmic-subject is also a creation of relativistic consciousness and not inherent in it. In fact the Absolute is made completely absolute by denying and transcending the implications of relativistic consciousness.

But for the stress it lays upon the identity of the finite souls and the Absolute as consciousness, Vedantism would be surely stigmatized as a dualistic metaphysics.

The spontaneous origin of the cosmic order and its reality thus advanced to the realistic consciousness have been actually denied in the axiom of identity, "thou art that". This assertion is an identical proposition. In this affirmation, Vedanta completely transcends the realistic outlook and therefore, the implications of realistic consciousness and propounds the clear transcendence of identity. But such transcendence cannot be established unless the implications of realistic consciousness can be proved false, and therefore, the Vedantin seems anxious to do away with the theory of causation as held by Sāṃkhya and other realistic metaphysicians and to propound in its place the doctrine of Vivartha. Vivartha is the direct denial of the reality of the world as an effect and the indirect vindication of the truth of the identity. In this place, the epistemological

realism of Vedanta changes into epistemological idealism inasmuch as the reality of the given is transformed into *idee-forces* and all distinctions of realistic consciousness are reduced to psychological illusions. This conclusion becomes irresistible as a necessary consequence of the axiom of identity. Whether the given in knowledge is to be construed as real or ideal, it is no doubt true that the identity-axiom in insisting upon the undivided being behind nature and finite selves takes away the touch of absolute realism from Vedantic metaphysics. There are some teachers in Vedanta, *e.g.*, the Ekajivavadis who do not go so far as to maintain the whole world as a subjective construction and a subjective illusion. But there are other teachers who cannot draw a distinction between illusion as subjective or objective and consider the whole show as an illusion, because in illusion as such the line of truth and falsity cannot be clearly indicated. Such a conclusion is necessarily forced upon us, inasmuch as the reality of the self as well as of the object is denied and both of them are reduced to psychological realities. The object is no longer the given but an appearance, and appearance is more to be thought of as a projection of the self than as a reality. For, without reference to the self the appearance has no reality. The ideality of the appearance is more clearly manifested in dream-consciousness than in waking, and in Śaṅkara Vedantism, dream-consciousness has a greater value than waking-consciousness inasmuch as it shows the creativeness of the *idee-forces* without any reference to an object. This spontaneity of creation is also evident there. Dream-consciousness establishes then the spontaneous creation of the *idee-forces* and in the waking-consciousness, the limitation of the sense-activity interprets that to be real which is only ideal. The realistic bent of the objective consciousness is a bar to the clear understanding of the spontaneous creativeness of the *idee-forces*. Even this idealistic construction does not dispense with the cosmic or the individual subject, though it can dispense with the reality of the object. But how

the subjective centres are formed in the conscious expanse is a problem that passes human comprehension.

Vedanta has, therefore, had to hold in momentary abeyance the psychological self in *suṣupti* where the drama of the spontaneous creation is replaced by a negation of the subject and the object-consciousness, though the native transcendence of *saksi*-consciousness still reveals the negation of *suṣupti*. Here, the continuity of concrete experiences is suspended. Such a consciousness of *saksi* and a primal ignorance is within the normal experience of every self. What is more important here is that there is a state in our normal experience where the psychological continuity for the moment does not obtain. In this way Vedanta has a tendency to pass away from the concrete hold of life and experience and to accept the transcendence of consciousness. And Vedanta holds that metaphysically the absolute intuition is more real than the concrete intuition of empiric consciousness, for intuition is here undivided and transcends all distinctions of relative consciousness. No philosophy can explain how the indeterminate passes into the determinate. This gap still continues, Vedanta says that the indeterminate never passes into the determinate. To think in this way is a fallacy. The indeterminate is the metaphysical Absolute and the psychological minimum. The determinate consciousness is construction of thought but the indeterminate passes the comprehension of thought and is the undivided consciousness. Psychologically even the indeterminate and the determinate are opposed to each other and cannot be synthesised.

Vedanta is given to thinking that the determinate is more or less the necessary construction of the divided life and unless it can be transcended, the indeterminate cannot be apprehended, far less realised.

Sāṃkara Vedanta is essentially a search for the indeterminate believing, as it does, in the absolute truth of the indeterminate and the falsity of the determinate. As conscious-

ness frees itself from the limitations of the practical life, it breaks the chord of humanistic joys and delights and gets over the inherent limitations of thinking by categories, it feels unfailingly its absolute integrity and enjoys the unspeakable delight of identity. The glory of Vedanta lies in bestowing upon the seeker its inestimable wisdom and the crown of all human efforts and philosophical achievements, Liberation.¹

MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR

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A BREATH OF THE ORIENT

The tinkle of a fountain beneath the tamarind trees,
The music of the tom-tom borne on the sultry breeze—
The dark eyes of Zuleika, enchanting meeting mine,
The jasmine flowers gleaming within her hair's dark shine.
An aged Fakir crouching upon the dusty street,
The shining, charmed cobra slow coiling at his feet—
And I, lost, dazed, enraptured, chant low a song of love,
While loudly cries the Muezzin, from minaret above,
“*La Allah, illa Allah!*” Come forth, come forth to pray;
The purple, throbbing closing of one love-laden day.

TERESA STRICKLAND

DEMOCRACY *versus* IMPERIALISM

(*The Contribution of L. T. Hobhouse to Political Philosophy.*)

Aside from social reform, the two outstanding problems that India faces to-day are nationalism and industrialism. These problems are closely connected with each other and with other present day world movements. In the surge and conflict of world-wide change in civilization, every person of good will and public spirit wants to fight on the side of right against wrong. But because the exact issue is often very difficult to see, the champion of right is often of little use to his cause. Now Democracy is making bold and insistent claims to comprise all that is right in the political and economic field, and very likely the cry of Democracy does ring more true than the cry of Imperialism; but the Great War, heralded as a fight to the finish of Democracy against Imperialism, was provoked, as we now realize, by a considerable amount of imperialism on both sides. So we begin to wonder what Democracy really is, and whether indeed it comprises all political and economic values. In this uncertainty, we might well inspect the political convictions of Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, the eminent contemporary English sociologist, publicist, and philosopher, to whom "nothing human is alien," and in whom careful research unites with luminous insight. In his books, *Democracy and Reaction*, *Liberalism*, *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, *The Labour Movement*, (2nd. ed.), and in various timely articles, he likens modern politics to a stupendous historic conflict. For brevity and clearness, let us sharpen the outline of this metaphor by picturing definitely (1) the conflicting principles, (2) the banners, (3) the fields of battle, and (4) the prospective outcome.

1. In mortal combat struggle the forces of Democracy against the forces of Imperialism, the Common Good against

the interests of a class. Sympathy and goodwill oppose pride and fear, while industrialism yearns to supplant militarism. Right stands valiantly against brute-success, personality against possessions, and reason against the ignorant indulgence of impulse. Harmony seeks to triumph over strife.

Democracy displays a tightly woven net of interdependent policies, namely, popular government, personal liberty, the supremacy of law, national rights, the wrongfulness of aggression, racial and class equality: Imperialism turns this fabric inside out, and shows us a system of class legislation, compulsory enlistment, arbitrary rule, unrightful aggrandizement, war, racial and class ascendancy. Imperialist points with pride to the Empire built up from 1826 to 1886 in peace and righteousness by *liberal* principles, and then with blind inconsistency hotly urges its extension by *illiberal* principles, whose results are far from peaceful.

“Under the reign of Imperialism, the temple of Janus is never closed. Blood never ceases to run. The voice of the mourner is never hushed. Of course, in every case, some excellent reason has been forthcoming. We were invariably on the defensive. We had no intention of going to war. Having gone to war, we had no intention of occupying the country. Having occupied the country provisionally, we were still determined not to annex it. Having annexed it, we were convinced that the whole process was inevitable from first to last.....”

2. The flaunted banners of “Conservatism,” “Liberalism,” and “Socialism” surge and heave in the fray, but they ill express the basically opposed principles. Democracy should bear the banner of “Social Justice” and enroll the social Liberals and the liberal Socialists: Imperialism should wave the flag of “Brute Success” and enroll with the Conservatives the likeminded “Mechanical” and “Official” Socialists.

For, on the side of Democracy, “Liberal Socialism” is the logical and progressive reorganization of the old Liberalism of Cobden to meet the needs of modern socialized industry.

Liberalism begins historically as a protest against the authoritarian order of the modern state, a protest civil and religious ; fiscal, political and economic ; personal, domestic and social ; local, racial, national and international. Its negative aspect is for centuries foremost.

“It finds humanity oppresses and would set it free. It finds a people groaning under arbitrary rule, a nation in bondage to a conquering race, industrial enterprise obstructed by social privileges or crippled by taxation, and it offers relief. Everywhere it is removing superincumbent weights, knocking off fetters, clearing away obstructions.”

But if this passion for freedom is not to be blind, it must express itself in the sanction of theory, which in turn becomes a real historic force. The theory of the Natural Rights of the individual, supported by Locke, Rousseau and Paine, and the theory of Social Utility, proclaimed by Bentham, one after another deliver telling blows in the cause of freedom, but succumb to basic inherent defects. Now the school of Cobden combines the thoroughly practical and *social* attitude of Bentham with the “conviction that the unfettered action of the *individual* is the mainspring of all progress.” The State, then, has a practical responsibility for public conditions that concern individual freedom, and should provide for education for all, and legislative protection for children, for whom, owing to their helplessness, so-called freedom of contract would not be real freedom.

But why should not the State extend protection to *all* who need it,—to all young persons, to women, to the lone and helpless individual who is forced to bargain for a job with a great corporation? Public assistance to *prevent* workers from hitting the bottom is far more efficient than public *relief* once they have fallen. The rigid, negative State protection has thus grown into a carefully planned, positive co-operation between the State and the individual. Thus a *Liberalism* consistently carried out leads to a *social* Liberalism.

Similarly, the principle of *Social* Utility will lead to a *liberal* Socialism, as we see in the progress of thought in John Stuart Mill. "Brought up on the pure milk of the Benthamite word...as a utilitarian, Mill cannot appeal to any rights of the individual that can be set in opposition to the public welfare. His method is to show that the permanent welfare of the public is bound up with the rights of the individual;" and that if society is to realize its fullest and rightest life, it must, with nice discrimination between suppression and licensè employ its compulsory machinery as a means to promote the responsible development of its men and women.

Indeed, Liberalism and Socialism are supplementary. Attacking the problem of progress from different sides, they have often joined hands in actual political struggles. The one fulfils the other. "The Heart of Liberalism" is not the false and individualistic idea that personal opinions are socially indifferent, but they believe that personality is the free inner life force growing up through the forms of individual opinion and social institutions from the common soil of man's ultimate equality and oneness, "that society can safely be founded on this self-directing power of personality," and that to thrive, it demands not only mutual forbearance (the freedom of Liberalism) but also mutual aid (the collective action of Socialism).

"We have...arrived by a path of our own at...the organic conception of the relation between the individual and society—a conception towards which Mill worked thru his career and which forms the starting point of T. H. Green's philosophy alike in ethics and politics."

Society is a whole of which *individuals-in-their-reactions* are the parts. Although the individual's rights and duties are alike defined by the *Common Good*, society is not a "mysterious entity over and above" its parts, but "consists wholly of persons." "The *ideal* society...lives and flourishes by the *harmonious* growth of its parts, each of which in developing on its own lines...tends on the whole to further the development

of the others." Though "perhaps beyond the power of man to realize," such an ideal harmony serves to indicate the line of advance of the persistent rational impulse towards harmony in action and feeling : moreover, harmony is embodied to some extent in any form of social life that at all withstands destruction.

Just as the Liberals and freedom loving Socialists are at bottom both battling for Democracy, so on the contrary do the ideas of the Conservatives and of the freedom despising Socialists drive them into the camp of Imperialism. "Mechanical" Socialism with its unscientific contempt for all factors in history except the economic, for all classes and functions in society except "labor," and for all systems of industry except government control, is outdone in its ideals of brute-success and class ascendancy only by "Official" Socialism with its contempt for average humanity in general, and its scheme of the rigid organization of life by the superior person.

But the Conservative is at present the backbone of Imperialism. Curiously enough, he is a firm believer in *right*! But he errs in clinging to the archaic theory of *natural* or *absolute* rights, rights valid *prior to* and *apart from* organized society. Such a doctrine in the end frees the conscience of any powerful man from the claims of society and suggests that it is perfectly natural and proper for him to play the game of dodging the spasmodic State laws to exploit his fellow men. His right is limited only by their right to exploit him. Although Bentham hotly opposed this mass of "anarchical fallacies" by the valid view that each man has only such rights as society in its pursuit of the common welfare sees fit to allow him, he omitted to define precisely *how* the generally accepted rights follow therefrom ; he thus left a gap into which the biological theory of society slipped the notion that since in the struggle for existence, the best are those who are strong enough to survive, society should accord to men those rights or claims which they by their own power can make good. *Right* is now decked out in the garments of *might*, and exploitation is again the vogue!

The stronghold of the Conservative is, in politics, the House of Lords ; in industry, the committee rooms of the profiteers, and the public houses of the liquor interest, which is after all the really potent instrument of government from above ; in society, the routine tracks of the hurried, unthinking " man-in-the-street " who has supplanted the solid, honest John Bull as a fit symbol of England. The faithful reflex of the servile newspapers, he lolls in the fancied protection of an armed and blatant Imperialism and applauds its glitter and blood as he does the football score. This great middle class, thanks to the Liberal reforms of the nineteenth century, is now sufficiently inside the charmed circle of upper class wealth to get its share of the warmth, " and has more to fear from the widening of the circle than to hope from the more equal distribution of the standing room with it."

3. The war between Democracy and Imperialism rages chiefly in the two battle fields of *nationalism* and of *property*. In *nationalism* the issue is simple : does or does not " right and wrong " stop at the State boundary line? The Imperialists, with their ruthless exploitation, practically insist it *does*. The Democrats agree with the theory that men regarded as members or as rulers of a *state* do not cease to be, either as respects their rights or their duties, the subjects of the *moral* law, the theory that Gladstone clothed " with the flesh and blood of a living feeling for righteousness and humanity." A family or a trade union or any other institution demands of its members a special loyalty, but cannot on that account allow or encourage them to infringe the rights of other groups or individuals. Why then may the State? No reasonable reply can be given.

But in the field of *property* the attack of Democracy upon the vested interests of foreign and domestic Imperialism is crucial : it digs deep enough to undermine the entire works. Property, maintains Democracy, must be held for *use* and not for *power*. Not the *few* but *all* have a *general right to*

property : to foster the common good it is the *duty* of society to apportion to each worker for his social service just so much reward in private property as will stimulate him to put forth his best efforts, and to maintain him in those conditions of health, security and freedom necessary for the life-long exercise of this function. The individual is to *use* property to develop his personality along lines of *social* creativity.

Such a just and fruitful distribution is now blocked by a "profound economic disorganization" in which certain individuals at the very start sidetrack vast supplies of public wealth onto lines of private profit. For society as well as the individual directly contributes to the industrial product and, therefore, merits an *immediate* share of the total wealth. Inheritances and bequests, ground rents, and the profits of monopolies and of municipal or national utilities obviously are substantially the creation of society. But even where the product seems to be an *individual* achievement, society still lends a hand, since the *basis* of all property is social. For society not only with its organized force maintains the rights of owners by protecting them from thieves and other depredators, but also with its transmission of culture accumulates that fund of acquired knowledge, skill, and machinery that makes possible *any* individual civilized achievement. Thus, after the individual would be remunerated for his share in production, a surplus would remain ; "this would fall to the coffers of the community and be available for public purposes, for national defence, public works, education, charity, and the furtherance of civilized life." If then all the functions of industry are to be properly rewarded, society must be assured of its share by its logical guardian, the comprehensive State. Hence the principle of economic State sovereignty must be set "side by side" with the principle of economic justice that liberates the individual.

"For here, as elsewhere, liberty implies control. But the manner in which the State is to exercise its controlling power is to be learnt by experience and even in large measure by cautious experiments. We have

sought to determine the principle which should guide its action, the ends at which it is to aim. The systematic study of the means lies rather within the province of economics; and the teaching of history seems to be that progress is more continuous and secure when men are content to deal with problems piecemeal than when they seek to destroy root and branch in order to erect a complete system which has captured the imagination."

Now this doctrine of *property for use* looms new and dangerous and heretical to the magnate who follows the comfortable notion of *property for power*, the notion that in the inscrutable wisdom of Providence the majority of mankind are left naked of property while the few are permitted to hold those absolute rights in property whereby they may control not only material things but also the lives and persons of their fellows. But if we look to history and sociology rather than to this made-to-order theological product of a narrow outlook, we find that it is the notion of *property for power* that is the recent usurper in the broad and recognized realm of *property for use*; that not by "eternal economic laws" but by a selfish and deliberate policy of enclosure did the primitive and historic community control of property for use pass over into the revolutionary landlord and profiteer control of property for power.

Now as the State becomes both a finer instrument of the common will and more concerned with the human needs of its toilers, it strikes these arrogant privileges, and kindles afresh the problem of *the State and the individual*. For State control is not only coercive but also an avowed encroachment upon the activity of certain individuals; but altho the few are coerced by a system of organized restraints which guarantee freedom of speech, a minimum wage, and the rest, the many are thereby liberated; the *individual as such* is freed. Unlimited and arbitrary freedom for everybody is a fiction; law is correlative to liberty. The question is, do we want the arbitrary and cramping coercion by the privileged individual, or the equitable

and liberating coercion of the State? The function of State coercion is to override individual coercion, that the people may realize the good life of *mutual aid* and *mutual tolerance* for which society exists. The State serves society (1) by organizing mutual aid in its capacity of a *public* business corporation, and (2) by guaranteeing mutual tolerance in its capacity of a compulsory association in *general* concerns.

The liberties of all are thus protected from the power of the *few*; but how shall they be protected also from the power of the *many*? The coercion of majority rule must be strictly limited to those shares (1) where co-operation if not universal is totally ineffective (as in the holiday closing of shops), and (2) where (as in traffic regulation) the interest of "all considered individually and temporarily is opposed to the interest of all considered collectively and permanently."

But coercion is further and finally to be restricted by individual *rights*, or spheres of freedom of action which other persons or even society itself are *duty-bound* to respect. What is the basis of right? A *legal* right has its basis in established law; but reaching above this slow-moving machine with its low level of morality, the ultimate rights of an individual are *ethical*,

"those expectations which the *common good* justify him in entertaining; and we may even admit that these are *natural* rights of man if we conceive the common good resting on certain elementary conditions affecting the life of society.....The more developed the conception of the common good, the more completely will a society guarantee the natural rights of its members. To extend the conception of the rights of its members will be one of the objects of *statesmanship*; to define and maintain the rights of its members will be the ever-extending function of *government*."

4. In seeking the *prospective outcome* of the conflict, Hobhouse first estimates Imperialism. Imperialism is not the "flower" of Liberal principles, but a *reaction*, the offspring of

the union of social dislocation in practice with falsity in theory. Following the uncontrolled industrial revolution, the concentration of material wealth in the hands of the few paves the way for an intellectual reaction, which in turn becomes a further cause in the change of national temper.

“The decay in vivid and profound religious beliefs” leaves an empty house into which rush several spacious dogmas. (1) In philosophy, we have been swamped by German Idealism which sees every institution and every belief alike a manifestation of a spiritual principle, and thus saps intellectual and moral sincerity by throwing a gloss over stupidity, prejudice, caste and tradition. (2) In popular political opinion, the success of Bismarck’s thoroughgoing use of force and fraud, of the massacres engineered by the Turkish Sultan, and of the growing aggressive militarism of Italy “has appeared on the surface to justify these philosophic doubts of humanitarian duty.” (3) In sociology, “the doctrine that human progress depends upon the forces which condition all biological evolution” has led to “the belief that physical science has given its verdict in favor—for it came to this—of violence, and against social justice,” thus paralyzing social reform in a kind of materialistic fatalism. “Thus in divers forms and sundry manners the belief that success is its own justification has penetrated the thought of our time,” and joined itself to the current of class interest.

“We have thus traced the Reaction on its intellectual side to the biological conception of evolution as its principle source.” But this conception is false. (1) Tho a theory of the progress of society, it is not based on the science of *society*, but on arguments drawn from the *biological* realm. Altho “every higher and more special science is in part dependent on those which are lower and more general,” it “ought by no means to merge its identity therein.” The biologist can play sociologist only if we cease to make distinctions of good and bad, and regard all life as of equal value. (2) In the process of struggle and survival *as such* there is variety and change, but there is

not and cannot be any "upward" tendency. *Progress* can be measured only by the ethical principle of the expansion of *mind*, by the scope, clearness, and satisfaction of man's experience of control over natural and social conditions. Thus "a scientific theory of evolution justifies as against the creed of force, the fundamental idea of the modern democratic movement—the application of ethical principles to political relations."

Since then Democracy and Imperialism have common ground in their worship of progress, and since true progress is the growth of social harmony, and since Democracy consciously aims at this harmony while Imperialism tends to destroy it, the final victory of Democracy seems assured, provided only (1) that Democracy will succeed in promoting in practice the harmony it worships in theory, and (2) that harmony itself will ultimately win. Let us see whether these two conditions can be fulfilled.

(1) In the light of *practical experience*, how has Democracy fared—Democracy considered not as the *Liberal vision* of the reconciliation of the public welfare with the rule of right, but as a *form* of Government. And here we must admit at the outset that Democracy as *direct participation* of the people in government has broken down under the sheer weight of increasingly vast numbers. But even Democracy as *ultimate popular sovereignty* is in grave danger. The old Liberalism declared that popular government would work for the popular good, because the masses would govern wholesomely in their own interest just as the classes hitherto have governed exclusively in *their* interest. But this hope has not been realized: in spite of broad electoral reforms, the masses are not at present governing in their interest.

For in the first place, they are *divided* into various state, and national groups pitted against one another in war and exploitation. Moreover, in each group the masses, ignorant and unorganized, have *no common will* or common intelligence with which to govern, and thus can be controlled by the

propaganda of sinister interests, which directs their attention from the vital interests of human welfare by holding up before their eyes alternately the scare of national invasion and the proud glory of national aggression. For man is controlled neither by self interest nor by interest in others, but by the interests he can appreciate. The cheap and servile press that performs this office fails in its function of giving light to the ordinary voter. And finally, the *machinery* for the expression of public opinion is *inadequate*: incomplete, because it often excludes women and minorities; inefficient, because it transmits to the electorate a responsibility entirely too dilute; and inaccurate, because the qualities of brazenness and opportunism by which a candidate wins an election are not those qualities of wisdom and integrity needed to serve the community.

Yet in spite of these defects, Democracy is an experiment which holds out the best hope of social progress, standing for government by duty, the right of the people, personal freedom, and equality of claim. Although its decisions are not as swift or direct as those of the expert, they are on the whole more satisfactory because they include more interests and develop personality in larger measure. Though the autocrat must guide social forces in any case, his politics will best serve society if he be responsible to the people and directly conscious of their will.

Moreover, unlike Imperialism Democracy embraces no theoretical contradiction or practical misery. All it needs to cure its evils is *more democracy*. Eternal vigilance and persistence in maintaining law-based individual liberty in all spheres is of course absolutely essential to its life. To supplement this homeopathic remedy, (1) for international or interstate strife, the cure is a national self government, and an interstate federalism; (2) for the ignorance of the masses, the remedy is a thorough-going popular education; (3) for the inadequate machinery, the corrective is a reorganisation and simplification of political tools, following the frank recognition

that the people must be governed by an aristocracy of intellect responsible to an enlightened public opinion which functions not directly but through "all the intermediate organizations which link the individual to the whole."

And the experiment seems to be working. In England, Liberalism is learning to co-operate with Labor, and the cumulative effect of their reforms should be considerable. In America, Democracy's largest field, in spite of municipal corruption, the power of the rich corporation, the omnipotence of the political machine, and the misguidance of the electorate by the press, we may see not only material prosperity, but an intellectual awakening. America is at least healthily "convinced of sin." The educated class is dissatisfied with the present economic situation and with the past individualistic theory, and realizes that the common problem is to make the industrial machine servant. And this attitude has a noticeable effect on the public through the universities, owing to the enormous number of students enrolled, to the practical and social nature of the courses taught, and to the close contact of these educational institutions with the enterprises of business and the various state governments.

Yet, although "in both countries, the conditions make democracy possible," the actual future of Democracy depends upon the progress of self government, of interstate federation, and of the maintenance of right the world over; in short, looking at the problem as a whole, we see the cause of Democracy "bound up with the *general advance of civilization*." And this brings us to the consideration of the second condition for the final victory of Democracy.

(2) Will *harmony* itself ultimately win? Here, of course, we are compelled to go beyond the sphere of politics into sociology and philosophy. But Hobhouse is here quite at home, and as the result of his survey of experience in *Mind in Evolution* and *Morals in Evolution* he would say that upward or manward (orthographic) evolution in general manifests a

growing intellectual and ethnical harmony, which moreover, because of its satisfactory intrinsic integrity tends to perpetuate itself. In particular, with regard to the growth of political organisation which is the basis of civilization, "we can, I think, trace the lines of a significant development.

"At the basis we have the ties of kinship engendering the close association of the small local group and at a higher stage of the firmly knit clan, within the somewhat larger but looser unity of the tribe. Such associations may have much vital force, compactness, and endurance, but they are narrow, and in proportion to their strength tend to be hard, self-contained, and mutually hostile. They are, moreover, adapted only to rude economic conditions and a rudimentary condition of the arts of life. Hence, they yield with advancing civilization to the rule of force by which, in the guise of kingly authority, far larger aggregations of men can be held together, and a more regular order can be maintained. In this change there is loss and gain, gain in the development of order, loss in the suppression of much that is essential to humanity. On the other hand, the principle of citizenship renders possible a form of union as vital, as organic, as the clan and as wide as the empire, while it adds a measure of freedom to the constituent parts and an elasticity to the whole which are peculiarly its own. Further, when pushed to its conclusion, it reveals the possibility of a world state in which the constituent groups, as well as the constituent individuals, would have legitimate scope for self development."

Democracy is indeed the follower of political evolution, but it needs culture; it is the supreme synthesis of political forms up till the present, but it gives only the *conditions* of development. Its actual future progress rests with us, with the spirit of man. Prediction cannot tell what *will be*: but with sociology encouraging us with the harmony that *is*, and with ethics guiding us with what harmony there *ought* to be, we do well to plan to achieve what harmony there *may* be. Democracy has a favourable fighting chance against Imperialism.

WENDELL M. THOMAS, JR.

PRESENT TENDENCY OF AMERICAN WORLD POLITICS

I

President Coolidge's speech at Kansas City on Armistice Day, (Nov. 11, 1926) should be regarded as the most significant pronouncement of the Chief Executive of the United States of America, towards Europe, the League of Nations and American entry to the World Court. The reflex of the utterance of President Coolidge has been somewhat disconcerting to the European Powers ; and general adverse criticism has poured from London, Paris and other European capitals. Now it seems definite that America will not enter into the World Court, by making any further concession to the members of the League, on the question of American reservations. It is now generally regarded in Washington, that America will politely refuse to participate in the League's World Court, but will support the policy of Arbitration to be conducted by the old Hague Court.

Sir Austen Chamberlain's efforts to bring about an understanding among Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy are looked upon with suspicion in certain quarters in America. However the majority of American statesmen feel confident that Great Britain will not and cannot afford to adopt any anti-American policy ; because Canada, Australia, New Zealand and a large section of the British public will not support any policy which will break up the growing sentiment of *Anglo-American co-operation all over the world*, and particularly in the Far East. British statesmen in general regard that Anglo-American co-operation is the most powerful and essential requirement towards the preservation of the British Empire. So far as Great Britain is concerned, Anglo-American co-operation is the cardinal point of her foreign policy ; this has been

demonstrated by the deliberations of the recent Imperial Conference.

The United States of America refuses to recognize the Soviet regime in Russia and in this policy she is supported by the aggressive attitude of the British Foreign Office. The chief reason of American opposition to the recognition of the Soviet regime is that the Soviet's activities in China have not been to the advantage of the United States. At the same time the Soviet Government has contributed considerably to undermine British influence in China, Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey.

So far it is quite apparent that the United States Government does not want to be tied up with any form of understanding or alliance which may involve her directly in European complications. The Government of the United States, without entering the League of Nations, is following the policy of closer collaboration with Great Britain.

II

The most vital interest of the United States lie in the American continents. Friendly co-operation with Canada, politically and economically is the established policy of the United States. It is now apparent that with the assertion of Canada, with a Canadian Minister at Washington, the policy of Canadian-American co-operation will be strengthened.

It is a fact, that a large section of the American people cherish the idea, that between the United States of America and the Panama Canal, the Stars and Stripes should float as the supreme emblem of authority. The Mexicans are in general suspicious of American motives. Thus the Mexican-American relations of to-day do not promise to be so friendly as it is in the case of Canada and the United States.

The Mexican Land Law—the article 27 of the Mexican constitution which effectively puts a check on alien penetration

to control in the resources of the republic has been the subject of exchange of notes between the United States and Mexico, threatening at times the breaking up of diplomatic relations between the two sister republics. Over and above this vexatious Land Law (which is by no means worse than the California Anti-Alien Land Law which discriminates against all the peoples of Asia, particularly of China, Japan and India), the question of Mexican influence in the recent Nicaraguan Revolution has been resented by the American State Department. .

Increasing paternalism of the United States over the Central American States, growing tension between America and Mexico and other incidents such as the failure of the plebiscite in the Tacna Arica question have created a spirit of distrust about American policy in all the Latin American Republics, where Immigration from Latin countries of Europe is daily increasing. However, American statesmen and financiers are acting with great energy, to secure South American good will, by lending vast sums of American capital in the development of the natural resources of these lands.

The existing friendly relations between Canada and the United States can be well compared with the cordial Anglo-American understanding ; the suspicion of the Latin American Republics towards the United States is somewhat similar to that of the spirit of the Continental European countries ; whereas the existing bitterness between the United States and Mexico is a little worse than the present American-Russian unfriendliness.

III

In Asia, America's economic and political interests are constantly growing, and her policy is changing. The British Government, during the Washington Conference, agreed to give up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to satisfy American demands, and to secure ungrudging American co-operation in the Pacific. With the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the

American attitude towards Japan has become somewhat arrogant. The best expression of it is the abrupt termination of the Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States and the enactment of the Japanese Exclusion Act. The United States Government is whole-heartedly supported by Great Britain, Canada, Australia and other British Domions, in her policy towards Japan. In a reciprocal way, the American Government is supporting Great Britain in her policy in the Orient, particularly the building of the Singapore Naval Base, which may be used against Japan, Russia, France and China.

Since the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Great Britain is strongly opposed to America's giving up control over the Philippines; and curiously enough the American official attitude towards the freedom of India has become less friendly. It is needless to add that the American attitude towards the Soviet Russia in Asia is not friendly. This is particularly due to the Soviet activities in China which have to a great extent undermined British influence there. So long as the American policy is to co-operate with Great Britain in the Orient, any loss of British prestige in China is an indirect loss to America. When the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was in existence, it was Japan which supplied effective aid to the British policy in China. To the Chinese, as well as to the outside observers, it is apparent that America is now the virtual and dependable ally of Great Britain in China. Japan's present policy is to do her best to cultivate freindly relations with China as well as the Soviet Russia.

American attitude towards Siam is friendly; and this friendship is doubly assured because the Foreign Policy of Siam is shaped by efficient British advisors. Some years ago America refused to have an Afghan Representative in Washington, because at that time Great Britain was opposed to any such move on the part of Afghanistan. To-day American influence in Persia is great; however it is certain that Anglo-American policy in Persia is against any increase of Russian influence in

that country. There is every indication of Anglo-American economic and political co-operation in the Near East, particularly in Turkey. The American State Department, like the British Foreign Office favours the Leussane Treaty and disapproves any increase of the Soviet Russian influence in Turkey. Thus it may be safely said that the dominant note of the American foreign policy is Anglo-American co-operation to the extent of landing of American marines to back the British policy in China.

IV

American interests in Africa is negligible. Although the British project of extensive cultivation of cotton in Africa is directly against the American cotton-growers, yet the American statesmen feel inclined to support Britain in Africa. The United States of America cannot very well become a supporter of British policies in Asia and Europe, while opposing her in Africa.

However there are some American statesmen who are opposed to America being enmeshed in British world politics and thus incurring ill-will of other nations, particularly the people of the Orient and Russia. They contend that America, if she does not adopt the path of imperialism, does not need any alliance or unwritten understanding with any nation, for her own safety. On the contrary they believe that Britain cannot hold her empire intact without the support from other powers, and British statesmen are using America for Britain's benefit against America's best interests.

It may be pointed out, in this connection, that as long as the British Empire's security depends upon American support, British statesmen are bound to pay respectful attention to the attitude of the American State Department. Thus the British statesmen are so sensitive about the American public opinion, that British statesmen are doing their best to mould American public opinion, by various ways, so that it will be a counterpart

of the British opinion, so far as large issues of international politics are concerned. America is a great factor in the World Politics of to-day and that of the future. Great Britain cannot ignore the current of strong American public opinion ; this was proved to be true in the Anglo-Irish settlement. British statesmen had to satisfy the American public opinion which was for freedom of Ireland.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE MANY COLOURED DOME

I.

On left rests love, in art so skill'd
 Of luscious love's delight,
 The pot of drink, in strength distill'd
 Is here, upon my right,
 My sight with seasoned hot pork fill'd
 My joy has topped its height.

(*From Sanskrit :*

Tripura Sundari Stotram)

II.

How dark and deep the river flows,
 The boat yclept this body's old,
 At oar the passions—drunken all,
 O Lord, Thou my only hold !

(*Hindi Song.*)

III

The little 's great when hurts it none,
 To evil bends not head,
 When strays it not from straight-marked path—
 The path the righteous tread.

(*Mahabharat*)

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

JAPAN JUDGES AMERICA*

Not so long ago, at a congenial gathering at a New York club, I sat by an American liberal who was chatting with a Japanese conservative about various international affairs from the Dawes plan to the Chinese question. "Most of us feel," said the American, "that Japan will eventually annex Manchuria, or at least the southern section of it." "You are right," agreed the Japanese, blandly, "we shall probably annex Manchuria by the time you have annexed Canada and Mexico and all the territories down to Colombia—not before."

This Japanese thrust is expressive of the sentiment generally prevailing in Japan and, I am sure, in other Asiatic countries as well. When an American prates about the Monroe Doctrine or the Open Door as an altruistic instrument conceived wholly for the benefit of other nations, the Japanese, albeit his inborn politeness, cannot help smiling. If an American denounces Japanese imperialism and holds up his own country as a shining example of liberalism, the natural inclination of the Japanese is to recall Dumas' retort to Cremieux. "Was your father a mulatto?" asked Cremieux. "Yes," returned Dumas "my father was a mulatto, my grandfather a negro, my great-grandfather a monkey—my family began where yours ends." To be sure, the Japanese never speaks so disparagingly of his American cousins; far from it, he has genuine admiration for them. But he is reluctant to accept the theory that American seizure of Hawaii or American occupation of the Philippines is one thing and Japanese occupation of Korea quite another. Nor can he believe what America has done in Central America or in the West Indies more benevolent than what his country

* Through special arrangement between the author and the *Calcutta Review* we are able to publish this article, which is being published in the *Harpers Magazine*, New York. This article gives the Japanese view of certain phase of American diplomacy and is highly instructive.—Ed. C. R.

has done in Manchuria. The Japanese is inquisitive. He does not mean to be an *enfant terrible*, but is prone to ask questions perhaps embarrassing to Americans. Is the Monroe Doctrine—not the doctrine of President Monroe himself, but the doctrine as expounded by latter-day politicians—a dog-in-the-manger idea? If America means to be true to the historic declaration of 1823, ought she hang on to the Philippines upon one pretext or another? Does not the exclusion of other nations from this hemisphere impose upon America the moral obligation to keep away from the other? Why should America insist upon the open door in the Orient when she is determined to close to the Orientals not only her own door but the doors of her neighbours? Is not the Open Door for China a clever camouflage for a selfish scheme devised to advance American interests in the Far East? Is not America, conscious of her increasing power and prowess, inclined to act in international affairs in wilful defiance of the susceptibilities of other nations? Such questions are constantly asked on the other side of the Pacific, especially in connection with the issues between Japan and the United States. An analysis of these issues will serve to explain why such questions are on the Japanese mind, and will reveal something of Japan's real feeling towards America.

II

Roughly speaking, there are two main issues between the two countries. The first is the immigration question reopened rather than settled by the Japanese exclusion clause of the Immigration Act of 1924. Whatever be Washington's complacent opinion to-day, Tokyo does not regard the ungentleman-like scrapping of the "gentlemen's agreement" by Congress as a closed incident, but is biding its time intent upon approaching the American Government at a propitious moment. Then there is the question of possible conflict of Japanese and American interests in the Far East, especially China. The establishment of America as an Oriental Power through her

occupation of the Philippines inspired in the Japanese mind a genuine fear that the United States, lured by the star of empire had embarked upon a policy of expansion, if not aggression, in the Far East. Later events have served to intensify rather than alleviate this apprehension.

“Our vital interest,” wrote ex-President Roosevelt to President Taft in 1910, “is to keep the Japanese out of our country and at the same time to preserve the good will of Japan.” Roosevelt believed this the only way to keep the peace of the Pacific, and was solicitous that his successor in the White House should follow the same course. How was it possible to harmonize two propositions so diametrically opposed to each other—to close America’s door to the Japanese and to preserve their friendship? Yet Mr. Roosevelt was fairly successful in performing this delicate feat. His formula was simple. First, he recognized that Japan, overpopulated and devoid of natural resources, must find a breathing space—her place in the sun—outside of her narrow precincts, and that America and other “white” Powers, barring out Japanese immigration, must in fairness acquiesce in Japan’s inevitable expansion on the Asian continent, especially in Manchuria and Korea. Secondly, Roosevelt, sympathizing with Japan’s susceptibilities, did not subject her to such open humiliation as exclusion by statute or by formal treaty, but accepted Japan’s informal, confidential pledge that she would of her own accord keep out of America her nationals of the laboring class—an honorable agreement between gentlemen. The formula satisfied Roosevelt’s conscience—his sense of the square deal. But the more important question was whether it satisfied Japan as well. Had she, smarting under a discrimination so thinly, if politely, disguised nursed a grudge against America, Mr. Roosevelt’s object would have fallen far short of attainment.

To be frank, Japan accepted, or rather suggested, the “gentlemen’s agreement” with reluctance. She would not have acquiesced in it—not so readily at any rate—had it not

been coupled with Roosevelt's tacit promise to smooth her way in Korea and Manchuria. As the years passed, however, Japan reconciled herself to the inevitable, and has eventually come to believe firmly and without reserve that the gentlemen's agreement is the wisest and the most honorable which could under the circumstances be devised. And why, after all, should she think otherwise? From the beginning of her intercourse with America Japan pursued a policy by no means encouraging to the exodus of her nationals to American territories. To her it is not the closing of America's door that really matters, but rather the way of closing it. You could not slam the door in the face of your neighbor without offending him. But if you closed it politely, bidding him good-bye in a neighborly fashion, the rebuff would not be so stinging. This, in a homely way, explains the gentlemen's agreement.

Japan, though willing to restrict emigration voluntarily and without compulsion, has consistently taken the stand that open discrimination against her nationals by a formal treaty with, or by a domestic law of, any foreign nation with whom she is on equal terms is incompatible with the prestige and dignity with which the Powers have by common consent clothed her. If international good manners and courtesy mean anything—if they are of any value in promoting peace and good will among nations, this Japanese contention is worthy of respect. It was in appreciation of this point of view that Mr. Roosevelt accepted the gentlemen's agreement, and that the Taft administration in 1911 eliminated from the treaty with Japan a clause providing for the exclusion of Japanese laborers. England, too, revised her treaty with Japan in 1911, unconditionally providing that "the subjects of each contracting party shall have full liberty to enter, travel, and reside in the country of the other," and that they "shall in all that relates to travel and residence be placed in all respects on the same footing as native subjects." Thus Japan was placed, at least before the world, on a plane of equality with the Powers of the

West. If she entered a separate agreement, restricting the emigration of her nationals to the United States or Canada, that was entirely her voluntary act—the gentleman's courtesy to his neighbors. True, she recognized unreservedly the binding force of such "private" agreements as between the parties concerned, but as for the world in general, it was not expected to recognize their existence. The world, on the other hand, was asked to ignore the "gentlemen's agreement," recognizing only the treaties which placed Japan on equal terms with the leading Powers. Japan, in short, looks upon the emigration question as one of honor, and not as a question of material interest or benefit. Herein lies a radical difference between the Japanese claim and the European clamor in regard to immigration to America.

All the Secretaries of State since Mr. Elihu Root have recognized the logic and justice of the Japanese contention. They have believed the acceptance of that contention to be the securest bulwark against Japanese immigration. When the Japanese exclusion clause of the Immigration Law of 1924 was being discussed in Congress, Secretary Hughes, with the obvious support of President Coolidge, argued that it was "quite unnecessary even for the purpose for which it was devised." It was estimated that the application of the general quota restriction to Japanese immigration would admit only 100 Japanese as immigrants—a measure tantamount to total exclusion. Yet Japan was willing to accept it because it would place her, at least technically, upon a plane of equality with the nations of the West. She was, moreover, ready to continue the gentlemen's agreement, with more stringent provisions, if necessary, thus affording a twofold control over Japanese immigration. Could a more rational, more sensible proposal be conceived?

When Congress spurned this proposal and flung the Japanese into the fold of excluded, and by implication inferior, races, Japan was in a quandary. Here was a great legislature, the "greatest

and best in the world'' as many an American would call it, flying in the face of logic and international decency, and parading its authority as if proclaiming to the whole world, "Look at me!" How could it be possible? The Japanese were puzzled. They could not believe such a thing possible. When they had to admit that the thing did happen, their feeling toward America was one of contempt and revulsion. They thought the American people steeped in materialism and incapable of appreciating the meaning of honor or of good manners. Could the America which scrapped the gentlemen's agreement without so much as consulting the other party be the same America which went to war because Germany treated solemn compacts as so many scraps of paper? The incident nullified for the most part the happy effect of America's magnificent generosity to Japan's earthquake-stricken millions. Indeed, many a Japanese began to ask, as he is still asking: Is this generosity an expression of genuine sympathy, or is it but another manifestation of the vulgar American idea that money can do anything and everything? In such questions one finds the explanation, perhaps, of what Ambassador Hanihara meant by the possible "grave consequences" of statutory exclusion. The pettifogging exploitation of this innocent phrase as a "threat of war" served to lower the Japanese estimation of American intelligence. The unfortunate Ambassador, taken to task alike by Americans and by his home Government, left Washington like a gentleman without explanation or apology. He was made the goat for an act for which he alone was not responsible.

But let bygones be bygones. It is more essential to consider what Japan will do about the immigration question. We have said that she regards it as a pending issue. True, she does not intend to press for its solution at this time, but she does not want the American Government and people to regard it as a closed incident. She is anxious that her relationship with America should be one of unalloyed friendliness, and she

believes the revision of the exclusion clause essential to the re-establishment of that happy condition. In her endeavor to attain this end Japan will always be patient, but her patience should not be taken for acquiescence. She is confident that sooner or later opportunity will present itself for the readjustment of the situation. She is encouraged in this hope by the fact that the White House and the State Department objected in 1924 to statutory exclusion of the Japanese as unnecessary and unwise, and that so many American publicists and educators still regard it as a colossal blunder.

It is, of course, idle to presume, as some international prophets do, that Japan will go to war for the redress of the immigration grievance. One may rest assured that Japan will never fight American on the sole score of immigration. Our militarists and navalists, our "patriots" and jingoists would not talk so plainly they might even declare that the sword is the only means to cut the Gordian knot; but deep down in their hearts even they know that the immigration question, especially as Japan understands it, is not one which can or must be settled by war. For the question, as we have seen, involves no serious material interest—certainly not a matter that affects Japan's national existence. She has iterated and reiterated her decision not to send immigrants where they are not welcome, and has voluntarily lived up to that decision. The question is essentially one of honor, and modern nations do not go to war where little or no material interest is involved. Only sheer madness can drive Japan to war against America when she knows that, whatever the outcome of such a conflict, she can never hope to send immigrants without restriction to these shores. Nothing short of downright seizure and permanent occupation of the Pacific slope will enable Japan to colonize that region to an extent to alleviate the population pressure at home. Not even the wildest of Japan's fire-eaters dream such a wild dream.

III

So much for the immigration question. The more important question is the possible conflict of American and Japanese interests in the Far East. Does America stand in the way of Japan's natural and inevitable economic expansion on the Asian continent? Does she willfully and deliberately endeavour to checkmate every advance the Japanese may make in that direction? Here is a question which involves Japan's very existence—a question upon the answer to which hinges Japan's life or death. If the day ever comes when Japan is convinced that America is driving her to the wall, she will not hesitate to cast the die, staking her all upon the outcome of an armed conflict. Nor are the Japanese entirely hopeless as to the issue of such a war, for it will be purely a war of self-defence to be fought close to her home land. To Americans such statements may sound extravagant and fantastic, but the fear is genuine and general among the Japanese that America is pursuing a policy calculated to condemn them to suffocation and stagnation.

To appreciate this feeling we must take a glance at Japan's plight owing to dearth of natural resources, over-population, declining food production, and exhaustion of arable land. The average density of population in Japan is 397 per square mile. Leave Hokkaido (North Island) out of consideration and the density increases to 486. Compare this with corresponding figures for other congested countries. Belgium, with its 659 inhabitants to the square mile, heads the list. Holland, with 474 per square mile, and England, with 370, come next, followed by Italy's 316, Germany's 310, and France's 193. China, including her outlying territories, has only 70 people to the square mile. What China needs, in order to relieve congestion in certain sections, is a better system of transportation, coupled with a sound and honest government. Of this a convincing proof is Manchuria into whose vast undeveloped agricultural regions hundreds of thousands of Chinese

immigrate every year over the rail roads built by the South Manchuria Railway Company, a Japanese concern. On the other hand, Japan's real difficulty cannot be judged from the density of population alone. We must remember that she has no colony where she may send her surplus population, or where she may find raw material for her growing industries. Neither Manchuria nor Korea offers a practical outlet for Japan's surplus population. In Manchuria the Japanese, like other aliens, are not permitted to settle, except in the insignificant railway Zone. Korea, with 199 inhabitants to the square mile, precludes Japanese immigration, for close contact, between a dominant and a "subject" race is certain to breed trouble. Remember also that the Japanese, by the United efforts of Western nations—America, Canada, Australia, and even Africa under "white" rule—are denied the common privilege of immigrating to any of the countries where the best opportunities await honest workers.

The topography of Japan virtually consisting of volcanic ranges, is such that only a very small percentage of her land area is adapted to cultivation, and this small percentage has long since been exhausted. Some years ago the Japanese Government made an extensive investigation into the practicability of extending the area of farm land. The conclusion was that the country offered no new land which could be profitably cultivated. • Japan's agricultural land amounts to 26 per cent. of the total area as compared with England's 77 per cent. Italy's 75, France's 69, Germany's 64, and the United States' 46. Driven by necessity the Japanese have cultivated their lands so intensively that even the most painstaking fertilizing process has been unable to stay the natural operation of the law of diminishing return. Thus Japan's soil has long since ceased to yield enough food to feed her own population. The only salvation, perhaps, lies in the industrialization of the country and the extension of her trade abroad. But here again Japan faces a great difficulty in the lack of raw materials, especially

three essentials of modern industry—iron, coal, and oil. She produces little or no cooking coal indispensable to the steel industry. Of oil she produces only forty or fifty per cent. of what she consumes for industrial purposes. For iron and steel she relies almost entirely upon foreign supplies. Unless she finds unhindered access to the sources of such materials, her fate cannot but be stagnation, inanition, and ultimate decline.

Here is the explanation for Japan's impelling desire for economic expansion across the seas. To her it is a necessity far more urgent than, for instance, expansion in Mexico or in the Philippines is to the United States. The Americans, one may reasonably presume, could stay at home, if they would, without suffering discomfort, much less inanition, for their own natural resources and their home market are immense. The Japanese simply could not stay at home—they must go abroad to find food and clothing, coal and iron, oil and rubber, and what not. To America, foreign expansion is a luxury; to Japan it is an absolute necessity, a matter of life or death. Does America understand and sympathize with this Japanese situation? Once in a while we hear American travellers returning from the Orient declare that Japan has a great deal of undeveloped lands—the millionaire's lamentation over the "wastefulness" of the work-a-day folk. Aside from such superficial observers, the Americans as a nation have little or no understanding of Japan's predicament. Mr. Thomas A. Edison at the time of the Washington Conference, published the opinion that the Powers should agree to let Japan buy a part of Siberia, paying for it in bonds jointly guaranteed by them. "I am certain," he said, "that to help Japan get new and large area on which to live would be far cheaper than to build workshops with which to fight her." Only a man of vision can advance such a view. The average American lifts his hands in holy horror at the suggestion that Japan be permitted to buy a section of Manchuria or Siberia. He has forgotten

the slogans of his sires: "fifty-four forty or fight!" "The whole of Oregon or none!" "The re-occupation of Oregon and Re-annexation of Texas!"

Even Roosevelt's mild policy not to stand in Japan's way in Korea and Manchuria was not appreciated by his countrymen—not even by his immediate successor. "After I left office," he deplored, "a most mistaken and ill-advised policy was pursued towards Japan, combining irritation and inefficiency." Had Roosevelt been in the White House and exercised controlling influence over his party in 1916-19, the Chinese question with Japan's interest therein, might have been handled somewhat differently from what was actually done at Washington. It was indeed the irony of fate that in 1917 the Democratic Administration should virtually adopt Roosevelt's Far Eastern policy by entering into what was known as the Ishii-Lansing understanding, which recognized Japan's special position in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, while the Republican Party had long before reversed that policy, and was instrumental in nullifying the Ishii-Lansing agreement and in dislodging the Japanese from Shantung. In the first year of the Taft Administration Secretary Knox abruptly proposed that the railways in Manchuria be internationalized, utterly disregarding Japan's position there secured after a sacrifice of a hundred thousand lives and a billion dollars in a war of self-defence against the northern colossus. Coincidentally, coteries of Americans launched one scheme or another calculated to undermine Japanese enterprise in the same region. In the years immediately following, rumours of Americans obtaining huge concessions in other sections of China were constantly heard, including a project to build for the Chinese Government a navy yard at Foochow (not far from the Japanese Island of Formosa) with certain privileges for the American concessionaire. These, far more than the anti-Japanese agitation in California or the exclusion of Japanese laborers, prejudiced Japan against America. When the Japanese in self-protection took the

necessary steps to nip such schemes in the bud, a vitriolic propaganda was launched in America, accusing Japan of monopoly, aggression and usurpation. In reply the Japanese charged America with dollar diplomacy and economic imperialism. It was a period of bitter recrimination.

IV

Not content with pursuing Japan on the other side of the water, America hounded the Japanese, so it seemed, on this side also. I refer, not to the exclusion of the Japanese from America's own soil, but to America's apparent determination to keep them out of certain countries outside of her jurisdiction. It is obviously in deference to this American resolve (not to say in response to American guidance) that Panama has enacted an Oriental Exclusion law. In recent years the idea of "Pan-American solidarity" against Asiatic peoples has been quite fostered at Washington and subtly propagated in the Republics to the Southward. If no resolution embodying this idea was not presented to the last Pan-American convention at Santiago, it was because a certain South American delegation or delegations dissented from it. It is indeed doubtful that Latin America, particularly "A B C," will, in this respect, meekly follow American lead at the expense of the good will of the Orient, especially Japan. Meanwhile, the Japanese are subtly warned not to settle in Mexico or in the smaller countries further south. If a Japanese syndicate, a purely private concern, tried to lease a tract of land for farming purposes on the other side of the Mexican border, pressure would immediately be brought to bear upon it to frustrate the project. If a party of Japanese fishermen attempted to set up a fishing village on the Pacific coast of Mexico, it would be denounced as "a scheme to build a Japanese naval base" in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. It was just such an innocent attempt which caused the late Senator Lodge to put

through a Senate resolution, declaring that the United States could not see without grave concern the acquisition of any harbor on the American continent by a foreign corporation "which has such relation to another government, not American, as to give that country practical control for military or naval purposes." The Monroe Doctrine, with its meaning thus stretched, can, and will, block every Japanese economic enterprise of any importance on the two continents of America. All that the United States has to do to accomplish this end will be to announce, dogmatically and arbitrarily, that such and such Japanese concerns about to launch a business enterprise in Central or South America have secret relations with the Japanese Government. Americans seem to labour under a peculiar hallucination, linking every enterprise by private Japanese individuals or concerns with the Japanese Government. The other day I saw a Manila dispatch to the American press stating quite insinuatingly that on Mindanao Island a Japanese Company "said to be closely associated with the Imperial Government" had been developing the hemp industry. This "semi-governmental" Japanese company is in all probability Mitsui or Mitsubishi, a world-famous business house which needs no governmental help for its enterprises. To us this "Japanese menace" in the Philippines is just another device to prolong indefinitely American rule in the islands.

To the Japanese the Monroe Doctrine thus operating is an eternal puzzle. If we are to believe American school books or Fourth-of-July orations, it is an altruistic, humanitarian doctrine, maintained solely in the interest of America's neighbors from Mexico to Argentina, who would be easily victimized by cunning Orientals or wily Europeans if she didn't look after them. Few on the other side of the ocean will accept such a theory. For while the Monroe Doctrine brooks no idea of the Japanese building railroads, operating mines, or even developing agricultural land in Mexico or Nicaragua or Panama, it has no qualm in advocating American enterprises in Korea or

Manchuria, in Siberia or China. We have already had a glimpse of what America attempted to do in Manchuria and in other parts of China. But we need not go so far back, for we have close at hand a problem more aptly illustrating the one-sided, or, to use the Chinese diplomat's favorite expression, "unilateral," nature of the Monroe Doctrine. This refers to the American-Japanese-Chinese controversy over radio enterprise in China—a dispute which has been pending for five years and of which no solution is as yet in sight. In 1918 a Japanese firm, Mitsui & Company, signed a contract with the Chinese Government to erect a 500 kilowatt radio station at Peking for foreign communication. It obligated China for thirty years to allow no other party to erect a similar station. This precaution was taken to ensure the projected station against the loss certain to result from free competition. In view of China's undeveloped business condition one high-power station was deemed sufficient for foreign communication, at least for some years to come. Even the United States has but one such station on the Pacific coast.

When work on the Peking station was well under way, that is, in 1921, the Federal Telegraph Company of California secured from the Chinese Government a contract to build five radio stations, one of which, to be located at Shanghai, was to be twice as powerful as the Peking plant. This naturally brought forth Japanese protest. The British and French firms, which had obtained a concession for domestic (not foreign) radio communication in China, also objected to the American concession which included both foreign and domestic communication. In 1923 the Federal Telegraph Company, presumably for financial reasons, transferred its China concession to the Radio Corporation of America. There is reason to believe that if the Radio Corporation were free to talk over the matter with Mitsui, the question could be solved without difficulty. For the Japanese firm has long since signified its intention to accept a plan suggested by the Japanese

Government in the interest of international harmony. Inasmuch as the Peking station, completed more than a year ago, stood repeated tests for overseas communication, this suggested plan would make that the main station, erecting additional stations only as necessity arose. The Peking plant moreover, would be turned over to China and would be operated by the Chinese authorities (instead of by Mitsui as originally contemplated) under the necessary supervision of an international board in which the Chinese Government and all the foreign firms having radio concessions in China would be duly represented. This principle would be applied to other stations which might be built in pursuance of the various concessions pooled under this plan. In short, the plan would substitute international co-operation for cut-throat competition. As a matter of fact, Japan is not the originator of this idea; Mr. Owen D. Young, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Radio Corporation, at the Washington Conference, urged much the same idea upon the American delegation. We may, therefore, reasonably presume that Mitsui and the Radio Corporation could easily settle the matter if the latter were only allowed a free hand. As for China, she is willing to accept the Japanese plan if the American Government would let her. But the Government at Washington, acting presumably upon the belief that America should secure an American-controlled means of communication to China, rejected Mr. Young's suggestion at the Washington Conference and objects to the Japanese plan now.

Of course, it does not argue its case in such naked words. It finds in the Open Door an argument plausible and euphonious. The question, then, is whether the Mitsui contract encroaches upon the open door principle. To begin with, the award was made as a result of open competition. In the second place, the Washington treaty of 1922, upholding the open door in China, provides an exception to the general principle where monopoly is deemed "necessary to the conduct of a particular commercial, industrial or financial undertaking."

The International Conference on Electrical Communication held at Washington in 1920 also justified monopoly in cable or radio communication "where the probable traffic would not be sufficient to yield a fair return upon the capital invested in more than one system for the operation of the service in question."

But the Japanese, especially the average Japanese, does not invoke such technical arguments. Rather he would say to America: If you want the doors of Asia open, open your own doors and the doors of your neighbors who no longer recognize you as their guardian! Put yourself in Japan's position and you will understand the Japanese feeling. Suppose a Japanese firm obtained a concession to erect a high-power radio station in Mexico or Panama. What a hue and cry there would be in Congress and in the American press! Can you not see why some Japanese think the Monroe Doctrine a dog-in-the-manger scheme, and the Open Door principle a tool of aggression?

V

It is, of course, idle to presume that a single case like the radio controversy will jeopardize Japan's friendship with America. The danger lies in the indefinite multiplication of similar cases. And there is no assurance that American policy will undergo a material change in the conceivable future. On the other hand, as the Japanese sees it, indications are not lacking that the United States, conscious of her growing political influence and her unlimited financial and economic resources, will push her interest in the Orient with greater vigor. Japan knows it futile to oppose this inevitable onslaught, and would rather co-operate with America for the economic development of the East, if only fair and reasonable basis could be found. She flatters herself that owing to geographical proximity, cultural similarity, and linguistic and other advantages she has greater facilities than the Americans in understanding China and in

conducting business with the Chinese. She believes, therefore, that team work between Americans and Japanese in the Chinese field would be mutually beneficial—certainly far more desirable than irritating and ruinous rivalry. Even in Manchuria the Japanese are no longer so sensitive about introducing American capital as they were ten or fifteen years ago.

What is more important, Japan's Chinese policy has in the last four or five years been increasingly liberal, with the result that China's feeling towards her has become decidedly friendly. Japan was the first to carry out the provisions of the Washington agreements. At the international tariff conference at Peking she was the first to propose tariff autonomy for China. She has co-operated with China at the opium conference, and has consistently urged the rescuing of China at the Council table of the League of Nations. These and other friendly acts have found a favorable reaction. For the first time in China's history Japanese exports to her territory have exceeded those of Great Britain. Even in the present maelstrom of anti-foreign agitation in China, Japanese shipping and Japanese trade suffered little. By co-operating with Japan, then, America need no longer prejudice the Chinese friendship she has so long enjoyed. Some Japanese even believe that to-day the Chinese are friendlier to Japan than to America.

And yet it is quite possible that the United States, confident of her ability to outstrip all her rivals by sheer force of unrivaled resources, would play a lone hand. America is powerful. She can defy the whole world if she will. She is in a position to build the mightiest armada ever afloat. She is prepared, should the necessity arise, to organize and train the greatest army that has ever taken the field. America, in short, has become the mistress of the world. Is she awake to the moral responsibility—the duty of *oblesse oblige*—which must accompany such a unique position of power and influence? Japan looks to America, not for charity, but for the fair play

and the just co-operation which, after all, are the securest foundations of international friendship. Grateful she will always be for all the princely generosity America has extended to her, but she would rather forego the privilege of accepting it if it were offered in place of justice and equity.

K. K. KAWAKAMI

THE WINNING FAITH

The tender child
Wins half the world in hope, the other half in love,
Croons like a dove
And finds a loving heart still panting for it wild,
With sweetest hopes and dreams in all its corners piled.

The wavering youth
Doth lose one half in fear, the other half in doubt,
And looks about
For self-forgetful pity and the honest truth
That dreams as nobly as it boldly acts in sooth.

The heroic faith
Wins both the worlds for ever with large-souled
generous fears,
And happy tears
For soul redeemed through suffering nobly borne in death,
For mighty tempest's strength in a virtuous breath.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

MASSIVE INFECTION BY TUBERCULOSIS

It can be affirmed without fear of contradiction that the last word on the subject of Tuberculosis has not yet been said. Beliefs which were held as rank heresay in former times have now become truths, and as years roll by, opinions which were believed to be absolute truths are now found out to be, at best, half truths. For example, Tuberculosis infection in man in endemic form was formerly believed as originating from tuberculosis infected cattle ; man to man infection was believed to be a rarity. The opinion that reverse is the truth, as every one knows nowadays, when given expression to, by Robert Koch at the International Tuberculosis Congress at Washington, acted as the bursting of a bomb-shell, so much was the prevalent view at that time in opposition to this view. Similarly, the opinion that Tuberculosis is an incurable disease, like cancer, was universally held, so late as the last quarter of the last century. The marvellous results achieved at Nordach Sanatorium in Germany, completely changed this outlook, and as a consequence thousands of sanatoria after the model of Nordach were soon established at the top of high hills or at sea coast throughout the civilized world. Then the pendulum began to swing the other way. With it were ushered in thoroughgoers, who pinned their faith only on elevation of not less than 6000 feet, and pine forests for cure of their Tuberculosis cases. As a counter-blast to this, came the advocates and originators of the factory-in-the-field and Papworth colony systems, where pure air of mountains and pine forests did not play their part at all for amelioration of the condition of Tuberculosis cases accommodated there ; in these the ordinary fresh air, be it of the hills or the plains and rest and freedom from anxiety due to negative bank balance, which have got great influence on the metabolism of cells of the human system which contributes and helps the immunisation process, have got their part to play. Then came

a period of retrogression. Basing their conclusion from the results of chemio-therapy on protozoal diseases, a number of people have introduced on false analogy chemio-therapeutical preparations such as a concoction of Cod Liver Oil and Sodium Salt, or some organic preparations of gold (Sanocrysin) or colloidal preparation of Calcium, as specifics for treatment of Tuberculosis cases. Fortunately for the profession, the majority has not lost their faith on immunisation process for arrest of symptoms of Tuberculosis cases. The advocacy by Calmette of injection of a virulent strain of living tubercle bacilli to all non-infected new-born infants to protect them from dangerous infection by Tuberculosis later in life, is on this line. Similarly is the finding of racial peculiarity of mortality from Tuberculosis : those nations which have got Tuberculosis among them for a long period, in getting Tuberculosis, get it in more or less symptomless condition, whereas individuals of those nations which are free from it, when they get it, die of acute generalised Tuberculosis, there being varying gradations between these two extremes, according to the period of Tuberculosis present among them. This is entirely due to the process of immunisation. This immunisation is brought about by injection of Tubercle bacilli in the system in graduated dosages. One can understand that reverse can happen if this injection of Tubercle bacilli takes place in intense doses or in irregular doses—instead of immunisation, hyper-sensitiveness will take place. The patient suddenly developing acute symptoms on injection of a provocative dose, as in the case of anaphylaxis. This goes by the name of massive infection. These cases occur in connection with intensive infection.

All the materials for my paper are got from the cases of Tuberculosis which attend my clinic situated in Calcutta—none being derived from any institution. Most of the cases attend my clinic as ambulatory cases, during a febrile stage to receive treatment. Many live in villages outside Calcutta in their own houses, a large number are inhabitants of Calcutta. Among the

cases are included also the febrile cases who are not allowed to move about. They live in their own house. The period during which these observations have been carried out extend over 22 years and the number of cases observed by me from which the conclusions are drawn go well beyond 15,000. It is necessary to state that the sheet anchor of the treatment adopted by me is perfect rest during pyretic period, fresh air as obtainable in the plains, graduated exercise and injections of doses of tuberculin under strict guidance of temperature, weight and examination of physical signs. It is to be understood that in following this line of treatment, I have no intention of belittling the benefits which is likely to accrue from pure air of hill tops or sea. But one factor on which the advocates of sanatorium place very little importance, namely, the mental factor dependent on care and anxiety of life due to pecuniary difficulty which the stay in hill-tops increases by making a big hole in their already attenuated purse is the one which I have found to be the biggest factor which one has to think of and provide for in treating cases of Tuberculosis and is the pivot point which has induced me to adopt this line of treatment. This is specially the case when one takes into consideration the longevity of Tubercle bacilli in the human system—being not two or three months or but ten or twenty years. Consideration of these points have given origin to the factory-in-the-field and Papworth colonies in England, where anxiety of life due to pecuniary difficulty has been got rid of by the patients being allowed to earn their livelihood in the factories situated in the fields. The method I have adopted is the result of reasoning on similar lines and my results compare favourably with those obtained by institutional treatment in this country. Besides, I have got the advantage in drawing my conclusion from proper data, as I got the chance of seeing the cases or getting information of majority of them, whether they get relapse, or remain symptomless or die of it, after the lapse of periods varying from 2 to 22 years—a thing not possible in an institution.

In treating these cases, I found a certain number of cases, which though being uncomplicated by diabetic or alcoholism, or the disease setting in after delivery and though a pyretic yet do not re-act to treatment at all and so form a class by themselves. Gradually I came to find that the explanation of many of these being refractory to treatment is to be found in the manner that they get the infection. Most of them belong to families which are tuberculous. These are what we call massive infection cases—they have become what we call hyper-sensitive.

Report of Cases. I was consulted by a gentleman who lost, in the course of three years, his three grown up sons and one daughter-in-law, from Tuberculosis, to find out means for rescuing his youngest son aged about seventeen from the clutches of this terrible disease, as he was almost sure that he would die, like his brothers, of this disease. At that time the boy showed no evidence of Tuberculosis—there was no fever, no haemoptysis, no cough, and no loss of weight. Von Pirquet showed absolutely no re-action. As he was a student in one of the schools of Calcutta, I suggested that the boy should be educated in the Agricultural College at Sabor where he would get the advantage of pure air and sunshine, so that even if he had imbibed Tubercle infection in his system, stay in the open air incidental to agricultural occupation, would ward off the danger which was looming before him. Nine months after his stay at Sabor, he got what was diagnosed as Typhoid fever, but pleurisy set in; from this, combined with the terrible family history, the case was diagnosed as Tuberculosis. After two months continued fever, slow fever rising not more than 99 degrees set in. He was brought to Calcutta. At that time I found, except pleurisy, no affection of the lungs. He was markedly emaciated. I tried tubercul in treatment with perfect rest. As no benefit accrued out of it, he was sent to Madhupur. He passed away, while there, without getting any lung lesion or any febrile reaction—he simply dissolved away as it were.

Second case. A lady was brought to my clinic by her husband for examination, as to any evidence of Tuberculosis, and for treatment as early as possible—as he suspected it, nay, almost sure of it, as several of their children died of Tuberculosis, the last one a fortnight previously dying of tubercular meningites. At the time of examination the lady had, barring this history, no evidence of tuberculosis—no fever, no cough—no history of haemoptysis. As I found nothing to suggest Tuberculosis, I could not suggest anything in the shape of treatment,

Two weeks later, I was asked to see her, as she was suffering from continued type of fever which the husband asserted was Tuberculosis, but I could not detect any symptoms to suggest it. Four weeks later, slight cough appeared—chest examination showed only a few rales here and there. As there was no expectoration she was made to bring out a little phlegm which on examination showed Tubercle bacilli. She died about a month after this, the lung symptom not developing very much.

Third case. A Mohammadan family living in Calcutta was literally decimated by Tuberculosis, altogether fourteen fatal cases occurring in the family. At the time when the 11th and 12th were suffering and not dead and the 13th and 14th were apparently healthy, I came to know of the family. The 11th case was a boy of 10 years. He pined away with ill-defined chronic fever, simulating K. A. (he had enlarged spleen at time of his death, no physical sign appearing—he was so emaciated as to look like a mummy. The 12th died of ordinary lung symptoms. The 13th case I did not see, but was diagnosed as typhoid fever, but which, I believe, was not the case. The 14th case was a healthy robust man, on whom fell the responsibility of maintaining this rapidly diminishing family. He several times got himself examined by me for finding out signs of Tuberculosis. He gave at the times of examination a history of slight hæmoptysis three years previously. I could not make out any time during my close observation of this man extending over a year any evidence of Tuberculosis. Von Pirquet was negative. A course of tuberculine treatment was given, but without much apparent benefit. Nearly nine months after this course, I was called in to see him at his house, for a complaint which I could not remotely connect with Tuberculosis. He was suffering from gastro-intestinal inflammation with diarrhoea, vomiting and fever. The extremities were cold. Chest examination showed slight signs of bronchitis. He passed away without being able to recover from this collapse.

The above three cases will suffice to illustrate what is meant by massive infection—in all these cases absolute want of all efforts at recuperation by the system is the predominant sign—the sudden giving way of the system is also remarkable—the patients remaining up to the appearance of the symptoms in good health, though they have imbibed the infection, two or three or four years previously—the infection not presenting the ordinary metabolism of tissue cells. These cases stand in marked contrast to the Tuberculosis cases, in whom even when

there is a good amount of lung lesion signs such as a cavity in the lung, yet in whom this hypersensitive condition does not supervene. The occurrence of these phenomena is comparable to anaphylaxis in which introduction of foreign proctine in one way helps in increasing immunity whereas when it is introduced in another way catastrophic anphylactic symptoms set in.

Now it is necessary to mention, that mortality from Tuberculosis is largely to be attributed to the advent of these massive infection cases. As there is no means of making out at the out-set from examination of the cases which are of this type, the uncertainty of prognosis of Tuberculosis cases from examination of the patients alone is due entirely to the advent of these cases. Treatment which suffices to heal many cases of Tuberculosis, even at the late stage of the disease, is found to be absolute failure in some cases, even when begun early and this is entirely due to this type of cases.

It is obvious from the above that to prevent occurrence of this type of cases, is to prevent their repeated infection—the only remedy is the break of the family. As in this country, preventive action against Tuberculosis is in an elementary stage, it is not possible to suggest any means.

G. C. CHATTERJEE



ABINASH CHANDRA BOSE
(Controller of Examinations: 1917-1926)

Ourselves

THE LATE RAI A. C. BOSE BAHADUR.

Death took away from our midst Rai A. C. Bose Bahadur, the Controller of Examinations of the Calcutta University, on the 11th December last. The tragic suddenness of death by cyncope was due, undoubtedly, to the severe strain to which he subjected himself during all these years that he devoted to the cause of learning in this University. A brilliant student, a mathematician of repute, a successful administrator and, above all, a gentleman, Mr. Bose was held in high esteem by all those who ever came in intimate contact with him. His liberality, we are told, leaves his family utterly destitute and we trust the Senate of the Calcutta University will find it possible to pay to the bereaved family the gratuity which would have been his due.

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THE LATE SIR KAILASCHANDRA BOSE.

Sir Kailas's death removes from our midst one of the landmarks of our country. A distinguished citizen who served the State in various capacities as a Justice of the Peace, as a Municipal Commissioner, as a member of the Plague Commission, an inspiring medical man, full of vim and energy, he was one of those who took a prominent part in the establishment of the School of Tropical Medicine, served this University as a Fellow for a long series of years and, in spite of failing health, his services to this University received due recognition from H. E. the Chancellor in his recent re-nomination to the Senate. A Kaiser-i-Hind gold medallist in 1909, a C.I.E. in 1910, a

Knight in 1916, an O.B.E. in 1918, Sir Kailaschandra Bose enjoyed the confidence of the Government and the respect of the people. Bengal, and the University of Calcutta in particular, will be poorer by his death and our respectful condolences go out to his bereaved family.

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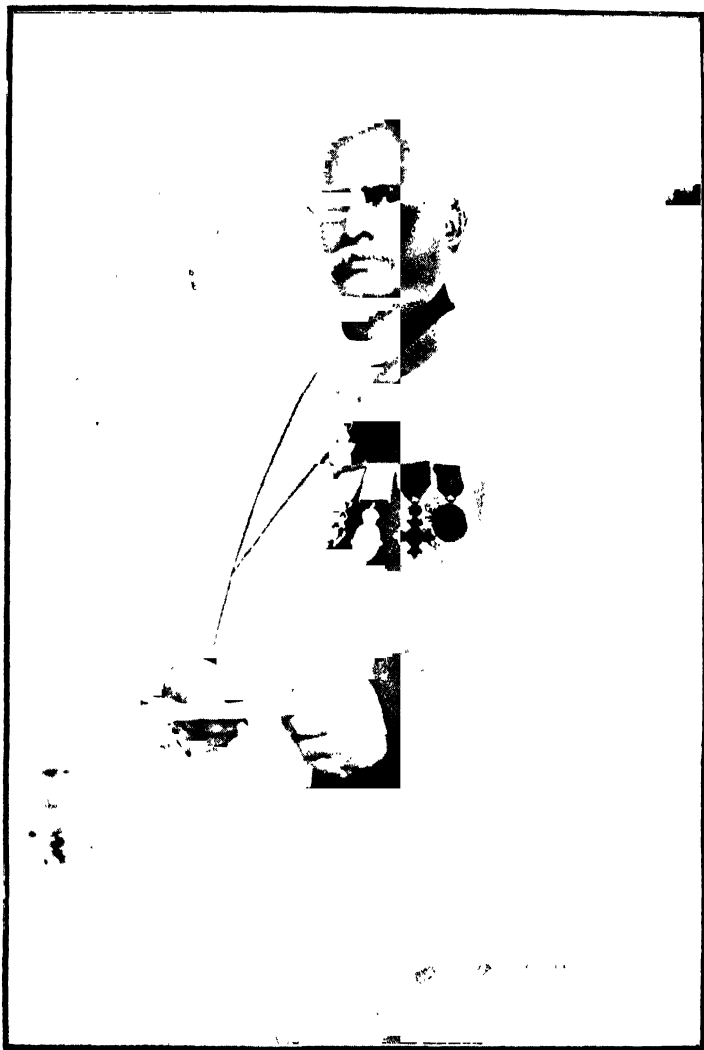
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UNIVERSITY FELLOWSHIPS.

His Excellency the Chancellor has, in recent times, nominated the following Ordinary Fellows of the University :

- (1) Mr. Srikumar Banerjee, M.A., Professor, Presidency College, *vice* Mr. T. S. Sterling, M.A., Officiating Principal, Presidency College and consequently raised to the list of *Ex-officio* Fellows, revised by the Government of Bengal under Section 5(1) of Act VIII of 1904.
- (2) Rai Bahadur Sadananda Dowera, M.L.C. *vice* Mr. A. C. Dutt, retired.
- (3) Nawabzada A. S. M. Latif-ur-Rahman, M.A., Judge, Presidency Small Causes Court, Calcutta, *vice* Khan Bahadur Aminul Islam, deceased.
- (4) Professor Jnanendranath Mukherji, D.Sc., Khaira Professor, *vice* Professor Abanindranath Tagore, D.Lit., Khaira Professor of Fine Arts, not re-nominated.
- (5) Mr. J. Chowdhury, M.A., Bar.-at-law, *vice* Principal G. C. Bose, M.A., not re-nominated.
- (6) Mr. Matloob Ahmad Khan Chaudhuri, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, *vice* Principal Egerton Smith, Krishnagar College, not re-nominated.

The Calcutta Review



SIR KAILAS CHANDRA BOSE

- (7) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bipinbihari Ghosh, M.A., B.L., *vice* The Hon'ble Sir George Claus Rankin, appointed Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court and, consequently raised to the *Ex-officio* list.
- (8) Mr. D. E. Roberts, M.Sc., Principal, M. C. College, Sylhet, *vice* Principal F. W. Südmersen, Cotton College, Gauhati, retired.
- (9) Major V. B. Green Armytage, I.M.S., Medical College, Calcutta, *vice* Major-General R. Heard, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S., not re-nominated.
- (10) Mr. Charuchandra Biswas, M.A., B.L., *vice* Mr. Surendranath Mallik, M.A., B.L., resigned.
- (11) Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, M.A., Labour Intelligence Officer to the Government of Bengal, *vice* Mr. J. R. Barrow, M.A., for sometime Officiating Principal, Presidency College, now Inspector of Schools, not re-nominated.
- (12) Professor Sunitikumar Chatterji, M.A., D. Lit., Khaira Professor, *vice* Professor P. J. Brühl, D.Sc., not re-nominated.
- (13) Mr. Benoykumar Sen, M.A., Professor, Presidency College, *vice* Dr. D. B. Meek, Director of Industries, Bengal, resigned.
- (14) Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., Keeper, Imperial Records, *vice* The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Zahid Suhrawardy, not re-nominated.

The following Fellows have been re-nominated :—

- (1) Dr. Kedarnath Das, C.I.E., M.D., Principal, Carmichael Medical College.
- (2) Rai Upendranath Brahmachari, Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D.
- (3) Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.D., I.M.S., Principal, Medical College, Calcutta.
- (4) Shams-ul-Ulama Khan Bahadur Dr. Maulvi Hidayet Husain, Professor, Presidency College.

- (5) Miss G. M. Wright, Principal, Bethune College, Calcutta.
- (6) Rev. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Lit., Professor, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
- (7) Sir Prafullachandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D.

The following gentlemen were elected or re-elected Fellows by the constituencies mentioned against the name of each :

- (1) Professor Prafullachandra Mitter, M.A., Ph.D., re-elected by the Faculty of Science.
- (2) Mr. Manmathanath Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., re-elected by the Faculty of Law.
- (3) Mr. Prabhatnath Banerjee, M.A., A.M.I.E., re-elected by the Faculty of Engineering.

The following gentlemen have been elected Ordinary Fellows by the Registered Graduates of the Calcutta University and the number of votes secured is mentioned against the name of each :—

Mr. Satishchandra Ghose, M.A.	...	470 votes.
Dr. Pramathanath Nandi, M.D.	...	433 ,,
Dr. Narendranath Law, M.A., Ph.D.	...	408 ,,
Mr. Saratchandra Basu, M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Bar.-at-Law	...	374 ,,

Their election requires confirmation by His Excellency the Chancellor.

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ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

In our issue of October last (Vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 169-174) we placed before our readers the correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, *re* the disposal of the Senate House. The Secretary to the Department of Education, Government of Bengal, has now forwarded the

following letter from the Government of India to the Registrar of this University :—

No. B.—6-705.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR
(PUBLIC WORKS BRANCH)
Delhi, the 8th December, 1926.

FROM

MR. W. R. CHAMBERS,

Offg. Assistant Secretary to the Government of India,

TO

THE SECRETARY,

To the Government of Bengal,

Department of Education.

DISPOSAL OF THE SENATE HOUSE AND OUT-HOUSES, CALCUTTA.

Sir,

With reference to your letter no. 572 T. Edn., dated the 7th October, 1926, I am directed to say that, in the circumstances explained therein, the Government of India have now decided that the buildings referred to above should not be sold either to the University of Calcutta or to anybody else.

2. A copy of the correspondence will be forwarded to the Accountant General, Bengal, by the Finance Department.

I have, etc.,
W. R. CHAMBERS
OFFG. ASST. SECRETARY.

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MEDICAL EXAMINATION RESULTS, NOVEMBER, 1926.

Preliminary Scientific M.B.—

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The number of candidates registered for the examination was 54, of whom 33 passed, 20 failed and one was absent.

First M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 140, of whom 76 passed, 60 failed, one was expelled and 3 were absent.

Final M.B.—

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the examination was 9, of whom 2 passed and 7 failed.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (New) of the examination was 245, of whom 117 passed, 118 failed, one was expelled and 9 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (Old) of the examination was 2, of whom none passed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (New) of the examination was 112, of whom 67 passed, 43 failed and 2 were absent.

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THE GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE, 1925.

The Griffith Memorial Prize for 1925 was awarded to

(1). Dr. Surendranath Sen—New Lights on Maratha History from Portuguese Sources.

(2). Mr. Girijaprasanna Majumdar—Plants and Plant Life as in Indian Treatises and Traditions.

(3). Mr. Sukumar Sen—Women's Dialect in Indo-Aryan, on the thesis mentioned against the name of each and the prize had, consequently, to be divided amongst them.

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THE NAGARJUNA PRIZE FOR 1925.

The Nagarjuna Prize for 1925 has been awarded to Mr. Prafullakumar Bose, M.Sc., for his theses on Mercaptans of the Purine Group and Thio-diazine, parts I-IV.

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SUBJECT FOR BEERESWAR MITTER MEDAL.

The subject for Beereswar Mitter Medal, 1927, is "Foreign Trade of India since 1830."

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ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER.

Rai Bahadur Jogeschandra Ray, M.A., Vidyavidyalaya, has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1926. He will deliver a course of lectures on "Some Practical Aspects of Indian Life."

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TAGORE PROFESSOR OF LAW.

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Mr. Dinshaw Fardungi Mulla, Advocate of Bombay, has been appointed Tagore Professor of Law for 1927, the subject matter being "The Principles and History of Insolvency with special reference to India and Indian Practice."

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THE NEXT MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

The number of students appearing at the Matriculation Examination this year is 15,667. The number of students registered for the same examination in 1926 was 16,406 and in 1925 it was 19,082.

What is this fall due to?

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PROFESSOR S. C. RAY AND THE UNIVERSITY.

We regret our omission to notice before the gift of a library of valuable books by Professor S. C. Ray of the Calcutta University. Professor Ray's benefaction to the University is well-known. We trust the Lending Section of the Post-Graduate Library will receive further accession of strength from his gifts in future.

The Calcutta Review

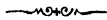


JADUNATH SARKAR Esq., C.I.E., M.A., P.R.S.

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1927



THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION

ADDRESS OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR¹

MY LORD,

The five years of Your Excellency's Chancellorship, which we regret to contemplate are now drawing to a close, have been crowded with events many of which are of far-reaching importance to us. They will influence the work of this University and mould the character of higher education in this country probably for the whole of the next generation.

In the first place, we have at last made a serious attempt to grapple with the stupendous problem of improving the school education of a population of 45 millions of souls. The School Code for the guidance of all non-Government Schools teaching for our Matriculation Examination was passed by us and came into operation during the year now closing. The Senate of the University has also approved of a scheme for creating a Board of Secondary Education, which happily ends a long period of controversy and makes a fairly close approach to a compromise with the Education Department. Legislation alone is now needed to bring the Board into existence and thus relieve the University and the Vice-Chancellor of the heavy burden of

¹ Delivered at the Senate House, February 19, 1927.

school supervision which has hitherto prevented them from giving their undivided attention to the proper work of a University.

Thirdly, the vernacular medium for school teaching and examination, with due safeguards for securing an adequate knowledge of English in the pupils, has been adopted by us and received Your Excellency's approval. At the same time a stand has at last been made against the gradual decline in the standard of our examinations and the consequent lowering of the intellectual equipment of our College students, against which teachers no less than the employers of educated labour have so long protested. In the Examinations of 1926, the opinions of the actual examiners on the merits of the answer-papers looked through by them were given the weight that legitimately belongs to them. On the motion of that veteran educationist, Principal Herambachandra Maitra, the chief defects noted by the examiners in last year's candidates were summarised and circulated to all the schools and colleges under this University, with instructions to improve their teaching and to carefully weed out all incompetent or insufficiently prepared students at the time of sending their pupils up for our examinations. We are sure that this wise policy, if persisted in, will steadily raise the proportion of passes, while maintaining the proper standard of examinations, and at the same time save really weak students from wasting their money and energy by going in for examinations for which they are clearly unfit. Guardians, I am sure, will be the first to appreciate this change for the better.

Fifthly, the regulations for our medical degree have been entirely recast, expanding the course, improving the method of instruction, and raising the standard of examination, so as to bring us into line with the advance of medical science and the reform of medical teaching in other parts of the Empire. This, again, is a change for the better, which every Indian who has a body subject to ailments will appreciate.

Eight years ago, Chief Justice Sanderson declared from

this Chair that, in his opinion, “the improvement of the efficiency of the administration of this University to any great extent was not possible at present, because the system upon which and the machinery by which the University is run are in many respects out of date * * * and the amount of work which falls to the lot of the Vice-Chancellor is now so great that no one can, under present conditions, fulfil the office of Vice-Chancellor properly unless he can give his whole time to it.” It has been possible for Your Excellency, before your departure from our shores, to supply this long-felt need of our University by appointing a whole-time Vice-Chancellor.

But the thing for which Your Excellency’s Chancellorship will, I venture to predict, be most remembered is the successful stabilisation of the Post-graduate or special teaching department of this University. Fifty years ago, your illustrious father had declared in this Hall,—“The highest function of a University is rather that of a great national reservoir for thoroughly original research; a provision for the extension rather than the diffusion of knowledge, by means of which the search after truth may be freely prosecuted in all directions by independent thinkers and investigators not harassed or hampered by reliance for the means of subsistence on professional life or popular favour.”

My Lord, it must be a matter of supreme gratification to Your Excellency to have rendered the realisation of this high ideal possible for us. The Government of Bengal granted to us on an average Rs. 4,09,000 during each of the last five years for meeting the deficit inevitable in conducting the highest academic work. That Government has promised us the same assistance for the next four years, after which the terms of the grant are liable to re-examination. On behalf of this University I can assure Your Excellency that we are fully prepared to give evidence of our good faith by making the most careful and economical use of this public[’] fund and by co-operating with your agents in the matter of audit and publicity.

I am confident that the Post-graduate department of this University can afford to be judged by its work, and when the five-yearly term of the present grant is over we shall be able to make out a strong case for an increase in its amount.

In addition to the above seven very important changes in our University, there has been a marked advance on our part on lines initiated some time before. Two out of these deserve special mention, namely, the medical inspection and physical training of our students and the building up of the laboratories and libraries of our missionary and private colleges by means of a special Government grant of Rs. 1,29,000 every year. The 25 colleges among which this large total of nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs has been distributed during Your Excellency's term as Governor had very scanty resources of their own for these specific purposes, and they have been signally benefited by this aid. The University has also received from your Government the handsome grant of nearly two lakhs of rupees for constructing the third storey of the Asutosh Building, which will afford sorely needed lecture rooms to our teaching department.

Several of the non-Government Colleges which feed this University have also received from the Bengal Government money aid for meeting their maintenance charges to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees a year on an average during the last two years. If to these we add the State expenditure on the Presidency College, which carries on Post-graduate teaching for us in several branches and is the only institution under us teaching Geology, then the financial assistance rendered by Your Excellency's Government to this University, directly and indirectly, would be found to reach a total of nearly ten lakhs of rupees a year.

My Lord, in your first Convocation address as our Chancellor, you expressed "a devout hope that it might be your privilege to render some service to the University in that capacity" and you assured us that "you would study to promote the permanent interests of the University to the best of your ability."

The bare facts that I have already cited from the University records prove in what a full and generous measure our departing Chancellor has kept his promise and how valued his services to this University have been.

Now turning to our own work, I may recall that half a century ago, the first Earl of Lytton saw a great vision of this University's future. In his Chancellor's address he declared, "For my own part, I certainly hope that a day may come, though no doubt it is yet far distant, when Europe will look to the Universities of India for the world's highest Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic scholarship, a day when these Universities will be recognised as the great store-houses of original discovery made by Science."

My Lord, we are not so vain as to claim that we have already attained to this lofty ideal, but the research work carried on by the professors of this University and its constituent colleges shows that we are fairly on the way to its realisation. Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee, who won brilliant distinction at the London School of Oriental Studies, has this year brought out a history of the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, the scientific value of which has been warmly acknowledged by Sir George Grierson and other experts in Philology, and which is destined to remain as the standard authority on the modern Indian languages for many years to come. Another member of our Post-graduate staff, Dr. Niranjana-prasad Chakravarti, after taking the Ph.D. at Cambridge, worked at Paris and was entrusted by Professor Paul Pelliot with the editing and annotation of some of the oldest Brahmi texts discovered in Central Asia by the Mission Pelliot ; the French Government are publishing his scholarly work. A third of our professors, Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, Docteurs-Lettres (Paris), has compiled a History of Chinese-Buddhist Literature, which renders Bunyo Nanjio's catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka obsolete and which is being published from Paris. He has also been asked by Professor Pelliot to edit some Chinese texts from Central Asia.

These are instances of the highest honour possible in the domain of oriental scholarship. Others among our staff have done creditable work during the year now closing. In the more difficult field of the exact sciences, in which we Indians once laboured under great natural disadvantages, our professors have continued the high tradition which they themselves created a few years ago, as a reference to the frequency and value of their contributions to the *Philosophical Magazine* and other learned journals of Europe will prove. Time will not permit me to mention all of them by name here, but I owe it to them to place before this Convocation a statement of the original research done by our Post-graduate staff during the last year, in the form of an appendix to my address.

There are two tests which may be fairly imposed on research done in India. We might ask if the work has been examined and approved by the recognised masters of that particular branch of science in the great outer world of scholarship,—or, whether the result has been accepted and incorporated in European textbooks. Now both of these distinctions can be claimed by several members of this University's teaching side. We have gone even further, and with a view to place the Doctorate of this University above criticism, we have, in almost every case during the last two years, sent the theses submitted for our doctor's degree to a board of three examiners in Europe, whose names command the respect of the learned world and who occupy a detached position of impartiality far away from India. We may, therefore, legitimately claim that a Calcutta Doctor of Philosophy or Science who has passed such a test does not in any way represent a lower intellectual standard than a Doctor of any British University.

There is one matter in this connection in which I can rightly appeal for public sympathy. While our professors are thus earnestly trying to do their duty, we, the executive directory of the University, are bound to make the conditions of their service helpful to their work. Security of tenure after

a successful period of probation and graded salary ought to be assured to them, if their good work is to continue. The increased financial liability which will fall on the University through the normal increase in the graded salaries, will, I am sure, receive the sympathetic consideration of the Finance Member when our five-yearly settlement with Government comes to be revised in 1930. But before that date there are three matters in which, I feel, the University has a very strong case for demanding public donations and State aid. The first is the residence of the University teachers near the scene of their work. The housing conditions of men with moderate incomes in Calcutta are deplorable. Many of our teachers have, therefore, to shelter themselves in the suburbs and even in distant towns like Hughli and Barrackpur. Quite apart from the hardship and loss of time which this dispersion inflicts upon the teachers, their work suffers greatly. A University cannot do its legitimate work as a brotherhood of scholars, a factory of research, a field of intellectual training through guided work and well-knit co-operation, if its teachers live so far apart from one another and can come to it only for an hour or two a day,—if the students cannot frequently and freely consult their masters, and if the men working on allied subjects get only rare opportunities for the exchange of ideas and co-ordination of their research. In the interests of the University itself, no less than for the benefit of our teachers, we should provide housing accommodation to our staff within the University area.

Secondly, our work in science is hampered by the cramped situation of the present University College of Science in North Calcutta and the distance of six miles which separates it from the other branch of our Science College located in South Ballyganj. Co-operation between these two and their effective supervision alike are rendered impossible by this distance. The Biology Department ought to be located close to the main Science College, if we are to utilise the assistance and guidance so generously offered by Sir Jagadish Bose (whose Institute is

next door to our College), and also make our Physics and Chemistry staff and apparatus available to our Biology Department. Thus Science teaching in all its allied branches can be offered to our students, Biology can be given a fair chance to establish itself in Calcutta, and a real economy in books and apparatus can be effected, by avoiding the need of duplication which the dispersion of our resources now forces on us.

Thirdly, the University Training Corps, which has now taken a firm root,—thanks to the efforts of several College teachers and devoted propaganda workers among the outer public,—requires to be put on a stabler basis. The rank and file have made very creditable improvement, thanks to the sympathy and labour of their Adjutant, Captain Ribchester, and his officers. But the teachers and students in the Corps rightly complain that their camp is held in December, which is just before their examinations and is also the best period for college work. This interruption of college work involves a great loss of teaching. I appeal for the provision of Rs. 24,000 in the Annual Budget for the necessary expenses of holding the camp of exercise in the hills in May and June, when all the colleges are closed and the full strength of the Corps can go to the hills for exercise and change alike.

To the new graduates of this University I offer my hearty congratulations on the happy termination of their toils in one sphere and my good wishes for their success in the new sphere they are about to enter. The great world of action lies before them, like an unexplored continent,—unknown, strange, bewildering. On such an occasion we might naturally ask, what should be the young University man's outlook upon life, with what principles should he fortify himself before entering the practical world, how can the University best prepare him for that life of action which is the highest test of human character and the finest flower of human endeavour?

To the pure scholar the legacy of his University is a scientifically trained intellect, methodical habits of work, a

quenchless thirst for truth. To the specialist it is technical skill in his special branch of work. The professional man will expect from it the necessary mental equipment for practising his profession. Others will look for a general liberal culture as the result of their University days. But there is one thing of supreme value to man in his relations with other men and the material world, which a good University can teach more thoroughly and more universally than any other agency. It is community of life and thought.

By this I do not mean that we should all try to become as like one another as eggs, in food and dress, thought and speech, pleasure and pastime,—a sort of artificial machine-made uniform spare parts moving about on two legs. I only plead for the standardizing of the external things of life, for unity in the outlook upon life,—as the processes of reasoning, of scientific investigation, of historical research have already been standardized in the civilized world.

It is true that the highest creations of art must bear the stamp of the peculiar genius of the painter or poet who has conceived them, and will fail if they follow any general pattern or type. Each literary style,—though style is only the outward garb of thought,—must take its form and colour from the personality of the writer and cannot be cast into a common mould. The heavenward ascent of the devotee's soul, the lonely communion of the mystic with God, must be achieved by individual personal exertion and not by mass prayer or by any uniform typed plan or ritual. The genius of the geographical explorer, the mechanical inventor or the scientific discoverer succeeds only because it leaves the beaten track and refuses to do what others are doing.

But at the same time, there are certain broad principles which govern the life and thought of all civilized men. Individuals will, no doubt, differ in their personal taste for this or that delicacy of food, but all men are subject to the same laws of nature as regards the quantity and kind of their necessary

nourishment and the food-value of the different articles of their diet. The principles of science are the same in all branches of research and for all workers regardless of their individual genius. The true canons of aesthetics make the same appeal to the human spirit in India and Sweden, unaffected by the peculiarities of race and creed, time and climate. The rules of ratiocination were the same in ancient Greece and Aryan India. The laws of mathematics hold good in Bengal and Scotland alike. A chemical experiment first made in Germany is capable of verification and repetition in Japan. A newly discovered medicine has the same potency in Canada as in Calcutta. Pure reason makes—or ought to make—the same appeal in the arctic and the torrid zones alike.

Leaving out the spiritual side of our nature as purely personal and private, we are bound to admit that there is a very large basis for agreement among civilized men in most matters of their material existence, in their method of investigating truth, in their ethical code, and even in their outlook upon life. Behind the external differences of race and creed, taste and climate, there is a broad unity among men in all things that really matter—in the essentials of life and thought. Science has demonstrated the existence of this common element. History proves that no people can form a nation, no nation can become great, unless it realises the supreme value of this community of life and thought, and establishes it among its citizens by transcending the barriers of caste and creed, the privileges of birth, and communal peculiarities,—unless a fair field and no favour is accepted as the national policy and all are made equal in the eye of law, equal in political status, equal in the opportunities of life, equal in social standing. A nation that has acquired and widely diffused among all its members this community of life and thought, becomes almost independent of personality and the accidents of birth and death among its leaders. Its fortunes do not depend upon one king or general, but like the ancient Senate of Rome its governing council is a vast assembly of kings.

The belief that a certain caste is the eldest son of the Creator, or that a particular race is the chosen seed of the Lord, or that a particular country is destined by Providence to lord it over all others—is opposed to scientific truth, contrary to the teaching of history, and fatal to the world's peace and progress.

Nor has such a narrow communal pride, such nursing of racial peculiarities, promoted the real good of the favoured creed or race. On the other hand, every people that has attained to a commonness in all that really matters in human relations and human thought, and established the same rights and rules for all,—wisely allowing diversity and individual freedom in minor matters and private life,—has succeeded in assimilating diverse tribes and races, created homogeneous nations, and even founded world empires. Such were the ten tribes that nestled on the slopes of the seven-hilled city. Such are the happy islanders whose laureate has boasted “Saxon and Norman and Dane are we.”

This ever-expanding community of life and thought has been the secret of origin, the vital force, the binding cement of the world-empires of ancient Rome and modern Britain. On the other hand, the races that have clung to the lines of communal cleavage, magnified the differences in the externals of life and thought, and ignored the unity possible in the essentials may have produced a few great poets, holy saints or master craftsmen, but they have contributed nothing of enduring value to the ever-growing civilization of the world. To such races we can say

Lo ! all your pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre !

Associating with such a people is like travelling with a coddled darling of his mother who can live only on certain special dishes cooked in a special manner by the ladies of his family. If we emphasise the external differences between man

and man, creed and creed, if we constantly harp on the special genius of our race, the ancient heritage of our country, and our unique position as a peculiar people with a peculiar mission on earth, then we shall only miss the substance for the shadow.

It is the duty of a University to impress this secret of national progress upon all who come under its influence, to convince them of its supreme importance and to send them forth into the world to preach and practise it.

Let us strive, honestly, manfully, ceaselessly, to acquire this community of life and thought with the wide ever-moving civilized world, let us give up nursing our provincial or sectarian pride and prejudice, and then and then only will an Indian nation be possible. Then and then only will an Indian nation be capable of rising to a sublimer height where national differences and prejudices sink away in shame and give place to a recognition of the supreme claims of the broadest humanity, the common brotherhood of all men in a loving equal family of nations. This universalism, this world-embracing humanity, has been taught by the most ancient philosophers of our land and by our latest master-singer whose message has laid a healing balm on the heart of war-stricken Europe. Let our University make this community of life and thought the intellectual property and the rule of conduct of every one of her sons, if we wish to see a new dawn of peace and hope in our land.

THE PROMOTION OF RESEARCH IN INDIA¹

Introduction.

Being an Honorary Professor of the Benares Hindu University, I have to regard the invitation to address you this afternoon as a call of duty rather than as an honour. I might perhaps even say that the call comes as a rebuke for my having allowed nearly three years to elapse since my last visit to Benares. I will not, however, accuse myself by making excuses for this apparent remissness on my part. It is sufficient to remark that during a considerable part of this period, I have been, to use old-fashioned language, a peripatetic philosopher, or in more modern language, a carpet-bag scientist, who goes about from place to place, lecturing here, there, and everywhere, and seeing the world. My task as a traveller has not been an unpleasant one. It has taken me far and wide. It has taken me twice across the American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and back, once through Canada and once through the United States. It has taken me through northern, western and southern Europe, and last of all it has taken me through mysterious Russia from the Baltic to the Caspian and back. In these travels, it has been my privilege to come into contact with many men of science of the highest distinction, and discourse with them on problems of scientific research and education. It has been possible for me to visit the most renowned centres of scientific research and many universities in the two continents. These have been of the most diverse types. Some of the universities I visited, as for instance, Upsala in Sweden, are hoary with age, others as for instance, Chicago, are of more recent origin but might well be described as youthful giants ; some universities, as for instance, those in Western Canada are

¹ Convocation Address delivered at the Benares Hindu University on the 6th January 1927, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the chair.

the creation of the State and are run entirely by the money of the tax-payer, while others again, as for instance, Stanford University in California, are the result of the philanthropy of a single man and enshrine his love of learning. As I said just now, these travels have taken me far and wide, and now I find myself once more amidst you. But, ladies and gentlemen, I need hardly assure you, that while far from Benares in distant lands, among strangers, I was never far from Benares in thought and mind. • (Hear, hear and applause).

The Benares Hindu University.

Many a time when travelling in America, I was called upon to speak of India, of India's ancient civilization and of her new renaissance. They were anxious to hear of our country. When I accepted such invitations, I had to unfold a picture of our people, to paint in words India as she was and as she is to-day. Do you think I spoke of Madras or of Calcutta? No! I spoke of Kashi, of Benares, of the historic city on the ridge overlooking the Ganges which stands at the very heart of India, as the living centre of our ancient culture and learning. I spoke of the new University which has sprung up, so fitly, at this age-old seat of learning and is the living embodiment of the aspirations of new India (Loud cheers). That was the message I gave to America. Coming back now here and looking round, the question naturally arises to one's mind how does our University stand to-day? I confess my feelings are a mixture of pleasure and pain. I am filled with pleasure at seeing the remarkable growth of the University, of the strides it has made forward, and is making towards the realisation of those great and practical ideals which your Vice-chancellor has in view. I am pained because even his self-sacrifice and earnest labour have not completed yet the task of building up that University as he and you and I all wish to see it. You may perhaps ask me what lessons have these travels brought home to

me, what message have I to give you this afternoon? You have just heard the exhortation from the lips of your Vice-chancellor addressed to your graduates to think, speak, and act the truth. Standing here, I cannot but follow his injunction. Let us first look at the bright side of the picture. Many of the universities I visited are great centres of scholarship; some of them are of great age; others have the advantage of an exceptionally favourable natural situation; some again are extremely well-equipped for research; others are very richly endowed, and so on. Having seen them, I can say that the Benares Hindu University has no reason to feel ashamed of itself or to fear comparison with them. When saying this, I am referring, not to all the advantages mentioned, but to the one thing most vital to a University, that is the breadth and strength of the ideals which animate its activities. In this respect, we have nothing to be ashamed of.

But there is another side to the picture. The growth of our University has been phenomenal. The princes and peoples of India have been generous in responding to the call when the needs of the University were urged by the Vice-chancellor. But much remains to be done in order that the future of the University as a centre of learning may be fully assured. To mention only one very important matter, we require a dozen University Professorships to be fully endowed, one in each major branch of knowledge. Such endowments would enable the services of the most eminent teachers in India to be obtained and retained for the University, and by stabilizing the finances of the University enable its work to be carried on under conditions satisfactory to the teacher and the taught alike. I can imagine no worthier manner in which a donor's name can be associated with the University than by the creation of such endowed chairs. What more can I do than add my feeble voice to the voice of your Vice-chancellor in appealing to all patrons of learning in India to come forward and generously support the work of the University?

Sir, I have been asked by you to address the Convocation,

May I remind you that the Convocation includes the Vice-chancellor, and venture therefore first to address you particularly? (Laughter). I hope you will not take it amiss. We in all parts of India—I am now talking as a Calcutta man—have followed with great admiration the success you have so far achieved in building up this University. We regard you as one of the greatest of those who have helped to make India what she is to-day. Sir, you have rendered conspicuous services to India in many different capacities. This is not the time or the place to speak on all that you have done in these capacities. But I may venture to tell you that there is nothing for which you are responsible which is more remarkable than the creation of this great centre of learning. It stands as a unique achievement which entitles you to a very special place in our esteem and gratitude. (Applause). I now appeal to you, Sir, with all the force that I can command, that you should put every other task aside and devote yourself wholly to carrying that work forward to completion and making that great vision which inspired your labours an accomplished fact in all respects. In saying this, may I venture to remark that there are others, younger than you, who have the strength to guide the destinies of India in the other fields of your activity and can be trusted to shoulder those burdens? But there is none, if I may venture to say so, other than yourself who can undertake this task of making the Benares Hindu University what it ought to be.

Sir, in giving praise where praise is due, one should also have the courage to criticize where necessary, though in order to be useful, such criticism should be constructive. If in the course of my address this afternoon I have occasionally to use forcible language, pray do not for a moment imagine that I am guilty of any feeling of disrespect to our people or our institutions.

The Functions of a University.

I cannot address you in a better way than to tell you a story of my visit to England in the year 1921. I went to

Cambridge and met by appointment Sir Ernest Rutherford, the great Cambridge physicist, whose name is honoured wherever science is studied. He received me with great cordiality and showed me over the Cavendish Laboratory. We then walked home to his house through the streets of Cambridge. It was a bright sunny day and a great many students were playing in the College grounds. I remarked to Sir Ernest, a little mischievously, "It seems to me Cambridge is a place for play and not for study." Sir Ernest turned round and said "We do not try to grow book-worms here. We train men who can govern an Empire." That was his spirited reply, a reply which I shall not easily forget. Those words may well be the motto of a University. It is not the function of a University to grow book-worms. The function of a University is to train men to serve their country and above all to train those who can become leaders,—leaders of science, leaders of industry, leaders in all other fields of activity.

Let us be frank and ask ourselves, "Are the Universities in India merely nurseries for book-worms, or are they really trying to train men for the highest functions which they may be called upon to perform?" Before answering this question, let me tell you another story, this time from the Pacific Coast in California. I was invited by R. A. Millikan, the great American physicist, not merely to visit his laboratory at Pasadena but also to accept an appointment on the professorial staff of the California Institute of Technology for a whole term. I may mention that the physical laboratory attached to this Institute is the foremost of all such laboratories in the United States. I accepted the invitation and lived in the Club attached to the Institute and lectured every day in the same way as the other members of its staff. I had thus an opportunity, such as rarely comes to a casual visitor, to come in direct touch with the American temperament, life and outlook. I was profoundly impressed during my stay at Pasadena with the attention paid to the military training of the students, and the results of such

training. Rarely a day passed in which I did not see in the Campus of the Institute at all hours, groups of students marching, drilling, learning to shoot and perform the duties of a soldier. Indeed, it might have seemed that the students were training to become professional soldiers, and not, as in reality they were, electrical engineers. The conviction was borne in upon me by actual contact with the students of that Institute that nothing helps a young man to acquire physical stamina, discipline and a right outlook on life so much as military training. (Cheers). I regard military training as an essential part of any scheme of education in a University. Nothing is more necessary at the present day than the introduction of compulsory military training of an intensive type for every student in our Indian Universities. I have no doubt that if this is done, the experiment would prove an absolute success and do more to build up the character and strength of the rising generation than the study of a whole library of books.

Pray do not imagine, however, that I consider the function of a University to be the training of soldiers. I advocate military training purely as an educational measure bearing in mind its benefit to the individual on the physical side, for without a solid foundation of physical strength and stamina, no strenuous activity of any kind is possible. I have no doubt myself, however, that if all soldiers were university men thus trained, they would be just as good soldiers and we should hear less of the brutalities and horrors of war.

On the intellectual side, the development of the faculties by use and not the mere acquisition of knowledge, should be in the forefront as the object of education. This distinction is most vital and its importance is greatest when we reach the University stage of education. Speaking of it, I am reminded of another great Indian who is no longer with us but who did wonderful work in advancing the intellectual outlook of our Indian Universities. I am referring to the late Sir Asutosh

Mookerjee. He realized that the function of a University is not merely to train students to be book-worms. In case you do not realise what I mean, I will ask you to remember that a book-worm consumes books but produces only dust. A true scholar does not merely consume knowledge but also produces knowledge. He does not merely absorb but also radiates. Sir Asutosh understood this and set before himself as his life-work the task of creating an organization that would teach men to become radiators and producers of knowledge. His great work has not perished. But there is a danger that the new spirit which he tried to infuse into our Universities may die for lack of nourishment. Our Universities are so engrossed to-day with the task of conducting examinations and with innumerable meetings of Boards and Faculties, Courts and Councils, Senates and Syndicates that they have no time or energy left to perform the highest function of a University which is to stimulate intellectual activity and advance knowledge. There is a danger to-day of its being forgotten that examinations and Faculty meetings are only means to an end and not an end in themselves. There is a danger to-day of the production and advancement of knowledge receding into the back-ground in the intellectual outlook of our Universities, of their being regarded as something in the nature of a superfluous luxury, something beautiful and great, like the white snow on the top of the Himalayas, to be admired from a distance but not to be grasped or touched. I think this idea prevails to-day not only amongst those outside academic circles but also amongst those who claim to control our Universities and ought to know better.

The Age of Research.

Let me remind you that we live to-day not in the age of the Vedas and the Upanishads, we live in a modern age, we live in an age of research, a period of intense striving to create

new realms of thought, to penetrate the mystery of Nature by the use of all intellectual and material forces under human command. During the last hundred years, vast fields of new knowledge have been discovered and cultivated, and everything points to an increasingly vigorous advance into regions as yet unknown. We in India as a people cannot afford merely to stand by and be passive spectators of this remarkable outburst of human activity. To stand aside would be to confess ourselves an effete and worn-out people, fit only to be laid on the shelf and suffer economic and political extinction.

Though this is an important consideration, yet it is not the only one to be taken into account. I ask you to look at research from another standpoint. What is research? It is the seeking after knowledge, and must therefore be of the most fundamental significance in all schemes of education. You must remember that knowledge at the present day is not a dead knowledge enshrined in books but a living and growing knowledge with which we are all concerned. Can you imagine for a moment that living knowledge can be procured, can be obtained merely by the study of books, by turning your teachers and students into book-worms? No! your teachers and your students have to take part in that stream of human activity, which I have referred to. A University is not a University if this is not understood, if this is not daily practised. The University is not a University but only a High School if the advancement of knowledge is not continually kept in sight as a duty of teachers and students alike. It is in the attempt to discover new facts or new relations between known facts, which we call research, that a true insight into a new and growing body of knowledge is obtained. You must be one of the seekers, or else you will get left behind. There can be no sitting on the fence—you must be in it or out of it. You cannot tell the depth of a river or learn to swim in it by standing on the bank and watching it flow by, but must pluck up courage and plunge into it. So long as our teachers and

our students are not inspired in their daily work by such ideals, so long as it is not research but administration that dominates the outlook of our Universities, we can hope for no great advance either in the intellectual output of India or in the quality of the work done in our centres of learning. The encouragement and development of research form one of the most urgent problems facing us to-day in India.

What is necessary now is an awakening and a realisation of the immense importance and urgency of the problem and the creation of a new outlook in our Universities. We must mobilize the human and material resources available for the development of research in India. To pay mere lip-service to the importance of research is of no use. We have to devise practical measures by which it can be made an essential part of the work of our Universities.

The record of intellectual activity in India during the past fifty years, depressingly small though it be, yet shows some signs of hope for the future, some indications of the dawn of a new era. Looking back over the period, perhaps the brightest ray of light that meets the eye is the remarkable, though to our sorrow, all too brief career of the late Mr. Ramanujan. His work bears the unmistakable stamp of genius, and in its quality is not unworthy of being set side by side with that of the greatest mathematicians of Europe.

Any practical scheme for the development of research in India must be based on a knowledge of the facts concerning research known by the experience of the last century.

The human factor in research dominates all others. The case of Mr. Ramanujan is one illustration of the striking fact revealed by the study of the careers of scientific men during the past century concerning the relation between the age of a man and the character of his scientific work. A very remarkable proportion of all strikingly original work has been done by comparatively young men. The reason for this is not far to seek. It is the young man, receptive and enthusiastic, who brings to

bear on the problems of science a fresh outlook and ventures to enter with courage and energy, fields where the caution of the older worker may draw him back. Speaking broadly, it may be said that a man's most brilliant ideas come to him when he is young, say between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five. The later period, up to say middle age, is largely taken up with following the trail blazed out in the earlier years, and the work done in it makes up by maturity of judgment resulting from wider experience anything that it may lack in brilliancy or originality. Even at middle age, however, exceptional individuals with a favourable environment may show great intellectual power and brilliancy. Sooner or later, however, age begins to tell and with the weakening of the receptive faculty so essential to the investigator, the power to make significant contributions to knowledge wanes. Experience teaches us that men of sixty often make admirable statesmen and administrators ; but they hardly count as leaders of scientific research. At that age, there is only one thing for a University Professor to do, and that is to retire with honour from his chair and become a Vice-chancellor !

Constructive Suggestions.

Science, then, teaches us the gospel of youth. Rightly viewed one sees here a great encouragement to our young men fresh from our Universities to exert themselves and to exercise their intellectual gifts while yet there is time and before they grow rusty from disuse. These facts have also an obvious lesson for our publicists and others who control the funds available for research. To be really productive, money should be spent in providing opportunities for the work of men who are comparatively young or else are yet in the prime of life and have given proof of possessing originality and power to initiate new lines of advance. Any well-thought out scheme for the promotion of research in India would include the

provision of National Research Fellowships on an extensive scale for young men between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five who have given proof in their University career of real originality and power to do independent work. Such Fellowships would enable young men who would otherwise drift to some kind of routine employment, to devote themselves to research during the best years of their life. They would form the nucleus from which could be recruited the Professoriate of our Colleges and Universities and the technical staff required for the development of manufacture and industry.

I can hardly think of any better way in which money can be spent to-day in India than by the payment of scholarships and fellowships to highly-qualified young men capable of doing independent original work, and the payments of money actually required for the equipment of research laboratories and research libraries. Money spent on these objects will sooner or later repay itself manyfold. The promotion of research should be an urgent and insistent claim both on the generosity of private donors, and on the liberality of those responsible for the administration of public funds in India. At the same time, it is well to urge that the utmost discrimination should be exercised in the award of such financial assistance. Particularly with regard to the expenditure of public money it is necessary to prescribe such safeguards as would ensure the available funds being distributed in the most economic manner so as to secure the maximum of results. It would be well to form an Advisory Council for Research in India composed of scientific men, both official and non-official, whose advice would be sought with regard to the distribution of grants to individuals or institutions. Such a Council may be trusted not to overlook the claims of the capable but comparatively less known worker whose work may be of equal scientific importance but, unlike that of better-known men, is hampered by want of even the slenderest resources. It should also be laid down as a general principle that whenever State aid is given for research

to an institution, it should be made the first condition that fully audited accounts of such institution are published, and that the fullest details are furnished in the accounts of how the grants given are expended. Failing such stringent audit control, there is a great danger that funds allocated for research are not expended on the purposes for which they are granted and are thus diverted from channels in which they can be more profitably utilized.

I would urge on patrons of learning throughout India that they should found in connection with the Benares Hindu University, suitable Research Fellowships in different branches of science. Such Fellowships would be a great accession of strength to the academic work of the University and enable Benares in due course of time to take rank with the leading Universities of the world.

Something can be done by our Indian Universities for the promotion of research even with the existing resources. In my opinion no person should be appointed to teach science to college classes who has not spent at least two years in an approved research laboratory studying modern developments and presented a thesis embodying the results of such study. Such teachers as already hold college appointments and have not had experience of modern developments in research should be encouraged to take study leave for a year and deputed to work under some eminent specialist or other. Such men when they return to their college should be encouraged to continue their work in a selected field of research and thus to remain in touch with the living spirit of science. It is a mistake to imagine that research cannot be carried on except with resources and materials altogether beyond the financial resources of an ordinary college. Much can be done even with modest resources by men who have obtained the necessary knowledge and skill by working in the more highly organized laboratories. A little assistance given to such men in aid of their work will often go a very long way.

Ethics of Scientific Research.

The ethics of scientific research is a matter on which but little has been said or written in India. This subject has many phases, some of which are of vital importance. One aspect of the ethics of research touches upon the relations between a professor and his students or assistants. It is fatally easy for a scientific man who has reached eminence to reduce the workers in his laboratory to a position of complete intellectual subordination and in fact to turn them into mere mechanical assistants. Much depends on the type of workers chosen. Unless they are young men of real brilliance and independence of mind and are allowed the greatest freedom in the exercise of initiative, the degeneration of so-called research scholars into routine assistants is almost automatic. Scientific men are not unknown who in choosing "scholars" regard independence and originality as disqualifications. Such men do not found schools. Usually, however, when both professor and student are men of high calibre, the relations between them are of the happiest and are beneficial to both.

Another important aspect of the ethics of research is the attitude of the man of science towards the results, if any, of his work. Research is best carried on for its own sake. Indeed the history of science teaches us that research may confer benefits of the highest importance on the human race—as witness the work of a Faraday or of a Pasteur—and that such benefits often accrue when they are not specially sought for. There is nothing sordid, however, in the investigation of Nature directly with a view to harness her forces for practical benefit. I would warn my young friends very specially against regarding research as a path-way to self-advertisement and self-glorification. Self-advertisement, for whatever reason it may be pursued, soon becomes an end in itself, and its results are most evil when seemingly it is most successful. The man of science who habitually indulges in it soon comes to believe in his own

perfection and infallibility and loses that clearness of vision and power of rigid self-criticism essential to an investigator. Self-praise is scientific suicide.

Conclusion.

There are other aspects of the subject on which I could speak. I must remember, however, that your patience is not unlimited and will, therefore, conclude my address with a few words regarding the Benares Hindu University. I see in this University which seeks to bring together our ancient culture and the knowledge of the new age, a great instrument for the uplifting of our country and for cementing together the people of India into a single nation. I see in it a centre of learning with the greatest potentialities for the intellectual, moral and material welfare of our countrymen. I would urge on you, graduates, to remember with pride that you are *alumni* of a University which is truly a National University of India, a University in which students and teachers from all parts of India learn to live and work together. I would urge on you, Sir, and every one present here, not to rest until you have done your utmost to make our Benares the greatest and most truly Imperial University in India, a centre of culture such as we should all justly feel proud of, to make it what you and I and every one else would wish it to be. I recall with pleasure and pride that what is now the University with its magnificent colleges, hostels and residences and with its avenues and roads was, not many years ago, just open fields. Much has been done. But much still remains to be done. I earnestly appeal to the Princes and peoples of India, to the Imperial and Provincial Governments to be generous to an institution which can justly claim to be the most outstanding effort of educational idealism in the modern history of India, and to help to make it worthy of the Indian people.

C. V. RAMAN

THE STORY OF THE PERSIAN CROMWELL

[A short time ago I was engaged in some literary researches and it became necessary for me to inspect that remarkable, but little known collection of books in the India Office Library, where I noticed in one of the cases, a small volume of antique appearance, entitled "The Persian Cromwell." The book bears date 1724, and purports to give an account of the life and surprising achievements and successes of MIR-IWAYS, the Great Duke of Candahar and Protector of the Persian Empire. Its author is a Swedish officer who, for many years, was "Domestic Slave to Mir-Iways." The volume contains a well-executed engraving of Mir-Iways "from an original painting."

In the author's preface he gives an interesting account of himself, his wanderings and adventures, and how he came to own the Duke of Candahar as his master. He tells that his curiosity led him to Constantinople, and that, having arrived so far, his determination was formed to proceed further, to see some of the eastern countries. When studying at the University, his particular tests had led him to read, closely, descriptions of the Oriental nations, and these attracted him to Persia.

When a few days' journey from Erzerom he left his caravan, and, induced by Armenians, wandered to some distance till he came to a high mountain, distinguished by a name that translated, means "The Mountains which bar Great Persons" (all being obliged to dismount there). Here the party was set upon by a troop of horsemen, Tartar robbers, who made them prisoners, carrying our author before their Sultan, Prince Usmei, who made a present of him to Mir-Iways of Candahar, and Mir-Iways after giving him full liberty, employed him in the work of fortifying the City. Some years having passed and our author finding his "roving fire" spent, was possessed with a longing to return to his own country. His relations and friends, not having had the least news of him since his setting out, were overjoyed to see him, and thanked heaven for his "delivery from the hands of Mir-Iways with such fervency as if I had been in the fiery oven or the lions'den." The opinions of his friends on the character of the Persian Ruler seem to have incensed and greatly offended our friend, "for", he says, "I knew this man, whom they called a barbarian much better, and my

esteem for him had been such that when I was with him I had even taken pains to delineate the chiefest features of his face."

Our author's desire to clear the character of Mir-Iways from the aspersions cast on it by prejudice and ignorance led him to narrate something of what he knew personally of the Great Duke to his immediate friends. On one of these occasions one of the company offered to print his narration, and stated his own conclusion that "there was some similitude between Mir-Iways and the famous Cromwell, Protector of England." This view, finding favour with the party, our author obligingly gave the title of "The Persian Cromwell" to his story.]—J.C.

Emir Muhamad Bakir and Guny, the most beloved of his wives, although possessed of great and ever-increasing estates and influence, had no son. Years had passed in their married life, but brought no heir with them to the successful man. Guny had hoped and with faith and patience had offered her prayers to Allah. But the coveted blessing was withheld. It was in the year of Muhamad Bakir's greatest successes that missing joy came to him, and Guny, his beloved wife, became the proud mother of a son. Having waited so long for his appearance they found it easy to believe that special blessings were in store for him. Stories most marvellous clustered around his birth. One of the most probable is that some short time before he was born his mother had a remarkable dream: "It seemed to her that an eagle flew out of her lap, and went rising very high in the air, and the higher he soared the greater he grew, till at last he shaded with his wings all Persia and a part of India." This dream she explained thus: Providence would high exalt the young Prince and assign him wonderful feats to perform particularly in the protection of Persia. Our author is very quaint in his remarks on the early years of the illustrious boy. He says:—He was of course educated with his parents' utmost care, and he did really shew in his tender years that he had a great soul, for he undertook nothing childish. (What do our modern educators say to such a theory?) He was always friendly, affable and active, and shewed the greatest joy when he was to be from the Harem,

or out of the company of women into that of men. While but a very young child he had many opportunities of seeing strangers, and amongst them many Europeans, who passed with their merchandise from Persia to the Indies, and from the Indies to Persia. Some of the richest and most extensive traders presented costly offerings to Muhamad Bakir as they passed through Candahar. The story is told that on one occasion the pictures of several great potentates were presented to him, and he shewed them to his boy, and attentively watched him as he looked at them, apparently with marked interest, but on coming to that of the King of Persia he dashed it vehemently to the ground, greatly to the astonishment of his speculative parent.

Before the Prince had attained his eighth birthday he had mastered with the assistance of tutors, both the Persian and Arabian tongues and given many other signs of his studiousness. When he had turned eight his father determined on a great festival in connection with the naming of the Prince, and the rite of circumcision attending the reception of the good Mussalman into the faith of the Prophet. Muhamad sent his ambassadors to the Great Mogol, to the King of Persia, and to the Chams of Tartary, his allies, and to other Princes, whose countries bordered upon his, inviting them to honour the solemn festival by sending their ambassadors. This invitation was cordially accepted, so that ambassadors from almost all places arrived at Candahar, at the appointed time. In addition to the foreign ambassadors were assembled the family and kindred of Muhamad Bakir, and all the chief officers of his castle, and a sumptuous feast was spread at which ornamental wax candles were burnt in great profusion, and during the feast musicians played sweet music and Indian women danced elegantly. The first day of the feast passed and the evening of the second arrived, bringing with it the hero of the feast, who came in great state from the Harem, preceded by gorgeously dressed officers riding on richly caparisoned horses; Tartar youths carrying a great many wax candles of all sorts of colours, adorned

images, some of them playing on several sorts of musical instruments. Here is a direct quotation from our author.

He writes :—

Next appeared two fine banners, of green colour, and a wax candle of an uncommon size, *viz.*, fourteen yards in length adorned with various colours, images and tinsel. Next followed ten lesser candles and two banners with a new band of musicians. Lastly came a large candle again, like the former, which was followed by the Prince's tutor and his body horse, as also a great number of officers with several fine sumpter horses richly caparisoned. Then appeared young Mir-Iways, all alone on horseback, having on each side of him an officer walking on foot; he was dressed in a coat of gold cloth with red flowers, and his turban was adorned with two hern's feathers fastened to a large square jewel; he had a sabre on his side chased all over with diamonds which the great Mogol had given him; and a pusikan (purse?) of crystal, set in gold and fastened to his saddle; on his feet he wore boots sumptuously adorned with gold and jewels; and then again the procession was closed with a great number of officers, all the houses in the town being finely illuminated, as well as the castle.

As soon as young Mir-Iways was come thither, he kissed his father's hands and paid his compliment to the whole assembly, and then they marched from the castle to the great mosque (which was also illuminated all over) in the aforesaid order, save that now Muhamad Bakir himself, with the whole assembly, accompanied his son. In the mosque the young prince was circumcised by an ancient eminent officer.....The young prince lifted up his hands after the Turkish manner calling out aloud "God is the only God, and Muhamad is His Prophet." By this act he had the name of Muhamad Mir-Iways given him by his father; and when all was over great acclamations and rejoicings were heard, with drums beating and pipes playing with all sorts of music. Then all the company being returned to the castle..... a fine artificial work after the Eastern manner

was let off in the evening and after that the feast lasted for three days more, not only with treatings in the castle and in the harem, but also to the populace, who had whole oxen, roasted, given them, in each of which was a mutton, in the mutton a hen and in the hen an egg. Muhamad Bakir ordered, besides this, to distribute much money amongst the army and the poor. There were also in the castle several comedians, who acted their parts, making the company laugh by their comical actions and their odd gestures and postures ; and thus concluded the whole feast and solemnity.

The manly little Mir-Iways, having been admitted by the rite into the fellowship of the Faithful, asked to be instructed thoroughly in the Koran; he wished, too, to learn the history of other nations and his father spared no pains or expense to get the books translated for him into Persian or Arabic, and in his endeavours he was assisted by the English at Surat. One of the young prince's favourite books was the " Life of Cromwell, the Protector of England," "at whose fortune, success and cunning, he was thoroughly astonished. "

Mir-Iways read and studied deeply the traditions and customs of the Persians and Tartars, and was so enthusiastic and determined in his efforts that he outdid all the fellows of his own age, and raised still higher the hopes of his fond and proud parents. It was suggested to his father, by the Tartars, who believed in the many superstitious presages and omens at his birth, to take his son to an Imam, or Saint, who lived in a cave in the mountains, about nine miles distant from Candahar, and was famous all over the country for his prophecies.

Muhamad Bakir, accompanied by his son, and a few attendants, reached the home of the wizard. They found him sitting by lamp-light, in a cool grotto, surrounded by books, and mathematical instruments. But we will let our author tell his own story :—

He, the Imam, was a venerable person, whose snowy hair seemed to represent the decay of time and transitoriness of life

but his brisk and lively face seemed to be the trope of the soul's immortality. He presently knew the persons of the two princes, and told them what they came for and that he had learned already from the stars that the young prince (meaning Mir-Iways) was designed by Fate for something very great, but that he would nevertheless inquire of Fate itself about it. He consequently brought forth eight dice, strung upon two copper wires, and with the same he proceeded in various ways and manners to hit the right lot. Next he took forty thin pieces of boards placing them before the persons present which pieces of board were written upon the lower side, and Muhamad Bakir was to choose one of these boards and ask his question, which consisted in this, that he wished to know what good or bad fortune Fate had decreed for the prince, his son, there present.

Upon this the Imam pronounced some words ; considered the writing on the piece of board drawn out by him and then fetched a very long and large book, three or four inches thick, whose leaves were painted with a variety of angels, devils, dragons and all sorts of animals ; worms and insects, partly painted in an agreeable and partly in horrid forms and shapes. This book he took up several times muttering at the same time to himself continually, till he at last hit on a figure which he compared with the writing upon the little board, and prognosticated that Fate had decreed this young prince for a wise and great general who would maintain with great prudence, skill and bravery, the true Musselmanian religion, and at the same time become a lord of one of the noblest and most potent Kingdoms of Asia. Both father and son were overjoyed at the answer, and the first of the two gave rich presents to the Imam who accepted them to give to the poor, and then parted.

The child did not forget the words of the Imam, when he left him ; on the contrary he thought very often on what had been predicted and longed that the years should pass swiftly that he might be old enough to enter the army and try the fortunes of war.

On one occasion he begged his father to permit him to go to Buchary where, in his youthful enthusiasm, he thought there would probably be some fighting that he might take part in it. But his father explained to him that it was not always necessary for a great hero to have been in the wars from his infancy, but that skill and cunning are quite as necessary as strength of arms, and proposed to send him to the court of the Great Mogol when he should attain his fifteenth year.

It seemed a long time to which to look forward, yet while diligently pursuing his studies the time passed rapidly, and the young prince, with a retinue of about two hundred, set out for the court of the Great Mogol of India—(1702). He had told his father of his deep wish and longing to see the countries near the sea, especially the trade of the Europeans, whom he highly esteemed, and his wise and indulgent father arranged that he should visit Surat on the Gulf of Cambaja, at that time a “great, opulent and fine town of trade, very much and particularly frequented by the English, Dutch and French.” The Sultan of the Provinces received him well, and after he had inspected the counting houses of the foreigners, and their ships, accompanied him to Ahmedabad, where he saw further remarkable sights. His next visit was to Agra, formerly the place of residence of the Great Mogol. After sundry other visits, hearing that the Great Mogol was at Bengal with all his Court, whither he had gone to visit his army, and to be out of the way of his numerous sons, who he feared might combine against him, as he and his brothers had done against their father. Mir-Iways determined to make for the place. Here he found the aged monarch of India and his Court in a wide field, “where the many tents resembled at a distance a vast town.” He was well received by the old man, Aurung Zeb, whose great weight of years, for he was upwards of ninety, sat but lightly on his shoulders. Mir-Iways presented the rich and costly gifts sent by his father, in a pleasing manner, and the Great Mogol expressed unmistakably his satisfaction. The

most powerful lords were not slow to imitate their monarch's behaviour to his guest, and young Mir-Iways being of an amiable disposition soon ingratiated himself in everybody's love and esteem.

He to whom monarchs show favour can scarcely hope to escape provoking jealousy, and Mir-Iways was no exception.

Amongst the lords was a young prince, Chiriquilis, who boasted a family connection with the Great Mogol. He was of a haughty and spiteful temper, which he displayed on several occasions to our hero. It happened once, that as Mir-Iways was going from the royal castle to his own palace, he encountered this ill-disposed man, with a long train of servants, who, acting under instructions, purposely blocked the way. Mir-Iways remonstrated, and asked his opponent quite civilly why he treated him thus.

The haughty Chan would not so much as vouchsafe a reply but only commanded his people to let the fugitive Tartar go along.

Wisely restraining his anger, out of respect for the royal castle, Mir-Iways passed along through the midst of the Chan's people without a word, but when he reached his palace he sent a letter demanding satisfaction from the offender. The answer he received from Chiriquilis was to the effect "that though he was not used to fight with children, he would nevertheless come to teach him how to deal with persons of his condition."

In the early morning, on a hill-top, in the vicinity, our hero met Chiriquilis—who had kept him waiting an hour—and completely vanquished him, magnanimously sending one of his own surgeons to see him, and to save his life, if possible.

The news of the duel reached the ears of the Great Mogol, so that our prince thought it best to see him and to tell him the cause of the quarrel. Prostrating himself before the Ruler, his hand touching the floor, he gave him the particulars with which we are already familiar. To his surprise, on hearing

the story, the Great Mogol asked Chan if he were still living. On hearing that he was, the monarch commanded an attendant to go and fetch his head. Then the successful duellist fell at the feet of the Ruler and most humbly begged the life of his enemy, nor did he rise before he had obtained it. This public acknowledgment of his esteem for the prince on the part of the Great Mogol cleared away the black looks from all faces, for who dared frown on the favoured of Aurung Zeb?

The birthday of the monarch was always kept as a great and splendid festival, he himself appearing on his magnificent throne, which was supported on feet of massive gold and covered all over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, gathered together by his father during many years. The Grand Signior, gorgeously dressed, and all the great lords were present on the august occasion, and the glitter of precious stones, gems and jewels was dazzling to the eyes of all beholders. There was a sumptuous birthday feast and on the third day the Great Mogol caused himself to be weighed, on massive gold scales, chased with diamonds, the weights used being also of solid gold.

Our hero's father, who followed his son's career with close and keen interest, had sent the prince many valuable presents to give to the monarch. The presentation took place on the occasion of the weighing ceremony, the ruler graciously accepting and to mark his satisfaction giving to Mir-Iways in return a very fine dress of honour, and a turban of great value.

On the next day, says the chronicler, there was a fight of elephants at which were present not only the Great Mogol and Omrahs, but also the Princesses and ladies from the Seraglio, though these latter looked on for the most part, covered, from the windows.

At one of the windows, Mir-Iways spied a young and beautiful lady and having once caught sight of her he lost all interest in the elephant fight, following her every movement intently with his eyes. He very much wanted to know who the beautiful

lady might be, but he had not sufficient courage to inquire, even had he known whom to ask.

The Royal Seraglio, it is almost needless to say, was so well-guarded that no men, other than eunuchs, were permitted to enter it, and none knew who was locked up there. Amongst the knights who accompanied our prince from Candabar was a "sly and crafty" person who had made acquaintance with one of the Great Mogul's black eunuchs." Mir-Iways remembered him at this juncture, and sent him an order to come and speak with him. On seeing him he entrusted him with his secret and asked him to go and search out his black friend, the eunuch, and inquire from him who she was that stood in such and such a window, looking on at the elephant fight.

All sorts of ladies were brought up in the Seraglio, in addition to the wives and concubines of the Great Mogol. The skilful knight immediately sought out his black friend, and after carefully describing the exact position occupied in the particular window he learnt from the eunuch that the beauty was the youngest daughter of Prince Mathoudin, and was called after her great aunt Rauchanara-Begum, a name signifying "The Light of Princesses." She was a great grand-daughter of the Great Mogol, her father being the second son of that monarch's eldest son. The eunuch also volunteered the information that he had himself the chief charge of her.

The knight was instructed by Mir-Iways to bring the black eunuch to see him. After giving him a handsome present the prince inquired whether the Princess was under any engagement, and to his joy was told that she was fancy-free, being in the Seraglio solely for educational purposes. But here again we let the author tell his own tale. The prince desiring the eunuch to procure him an opportunity of speaking with Rauchanara-Begum in private, promised to oblige him, in return, in anything he might wish.

The eunuch at first represented the danger he would be in should he be caught in the Seraglio, together with the

impossibility of speaking with her out of the said place; but the prince having added a valuable jewel to his first present, and requesting once more of him to use his utmost endeavours to bring this affair about, the fellow was at last induced to a promise that he would think of some means to satisfy his desire. The following day he came again to the prince, telling him how he had by chance an opportunity to speak of him to Rauchanara-Begum whom he had been obliged to inform where the prince stood on the day of the fight of the elephants; and that he had perceived she was not averse to him, as she had so particularly inquired after him; so she being a great lover of pearls, he knew no better expedient for the prince than to come into the Seraglio disguised in the habit of a pearl-merchant, when he could privately carry him to a place, where he might speak with the princess alone. This was pleasing news to the prince, who chose, presently, a parcel of the best pearls of which he was possessed, and, dressed like a Benjanian merchant, was carried that afternoon into the Seraglio. At first the princess took him to be really what he represented, but they two, being left alone together, he fell at her feet, and discovering who he was assured her that from the first moment he had seen her he had been obliged to adore her, wishing for nothing else than that Fate might have designed such a miracle of beauty for him.

Of course the prince won his suit, and although the old copy of this remarkable little book here breaks off the story abruptly, some ruthless hand having torn out a leaf, yet there is satisfaction in reading that the articles of marriage were no sooner agreed upon than the nuptials were celebrated after the Mahomedan manner, with great pomp and solemnity, and the Great Mogol, who loved Mir-Iways as if he had been his own son, shewed himself, notwithstanding his advanced age, very merry and pleased at this feast; after which Rauchanara-Begum wishing, as well as her parents, that she might tarry a little longer at Indostan, our prince again desired his father's

consent, and obtained his leave, for continuing two years more at the Great Mogol's Court, notwithstanding everybody at Candahar wishing to see this newly married couple quickly. He had consequently a great court and retinue, and scarce a year was passed when his wife brought him a son (in the year of our Lord 1704) to the great joy of both courts.

Having followed the fortunes of Mir-Iways through infancy, childhood and youth, and brought him to man's estate and to fatherhood, we propose, still adhering closely to the information afforded by our author to give some account of his public career as a statesman and a general.

On the death of the Great Mogol the fire of discord and jealousy broke out more and more amongst the four sons of the late ruler.

Mir-Iways, as was perhaps natural, supported the claims of the eldest son Shah Alem, and went to his assistance with 20,000 men. A big battle was fought, in which the prince and Mir-Iways were victorious, their opponent, in despair at a lost cause, stabbing himself with a dagger, and thus, as our author quaintly puts it, "quitting, by his death, all pretensions to the Empire." Shah Alem thus became the new Great Mogol, and Mir-Iways, seeing him established on the throne of his father, journeyed to Candahar, where he was received with great rejoicings.

It was in A.D. 1712 that the Emir, Muhamad Bakir, fell sick of a fever and died. It was in vain that the most skilful Arabian physicians, who were present at his court, were summoned to assist him; the fever did its desperate work. Poor Guny's grief at the loss of her husband was unbearable, so intensely had she loved her lord. Scarce a year passed away when she likewise died. Mir-Iways mourned their loss and honoured them in their funerals with great solemnity and pomp.

There is something impressive about that family gathering around the aged veteran's dying bed. He had sent for the rest of his sons, which he had by his other wives and concubines,

and in their presence had appointed Mir-Iways to be his successor, laying his commands on them that they should acknowledge him as their liege-lord. He told them that for their maintenance he had appointed lands and revenues, and they all agreed to accept their brother as their Prince.

Mir-Iways had enlarged and strengthened Candahar, but he still found it too narrow a field for his ambitions, and turned his eyes longingly upon Persia. Our Mir-Iways was a man deeply versed in human nature. He read men as others read books, and his insight shewed him that there was no cloak for ambitious designs so ample in its folds as that afforded by religion.

As must be well known to the reader there are many sects amongst the followers of the Mahomedan religion, and the chief and most powerful are two :—the Sunites or Additioners, who add the Sunam to the Al-Koran and the Alishirs, or sect of Ali, who accept the Al-Koran as their chief guide, and allow of no addition to it. A mortal hatred reigns between the professors of the two sects, hardly surpassed by that evinced by the Puritans against the Roman Catholics, and *vice versa*.

Mir-Iways knew that at that time the Kingdom of Persia was in a miserable condition, owing to the bad government of a badly brought up king, who ruled under the title and name of Shah Soly-man or Selim the Fourth.

As a boy he had been debarred by his tutor from reading the accounts of famous men, or affairs of state or war, and from such knowledge as is becoming and fit for a young prince, with the design that those interested might be sure, in case he should happen to be king, that he would leave all to his ministers, and not take the reins of government into his own hands, or make innovations. Selim the Fourth was a little man, very fond of pleasure and somewhat craven in spirit, so that he frequently composed difference between Indians, Turks and Arabians, through his Governors, by offering sums of money. He was more afraid of the enmity of the Turks than that of any other nation.

The weaknesses of this weak ruler were well known to Mir-Iways, who had made a careful study of them. He knew that the real ruler was the Prime Minister, Achemaal Daulet. Mir-Iways determined to lose no opportunity and to spare no pains to gain over this important agent to his side ; so he promised him that on condition that he joined the sect of the Sunites he would be promoted to the crown.

This promise he never intended to keep. He knew that if he could once get a footing in Persia he would be able to bring it about that the Prime Minister should be destroyed by the king himself. His craftily laid plans were kept secret, so that nobody knew of them till they were put in execution.

It was about this time that rebellions broke out all over Persia ; first came the Tartars, under their leader, who robbed and plundered everywhere ; then came a revolution, under a Persian nobleman who attacked the town of Sjamachie, which town, under ordinary conditions, paid the king a yearly revenue of a million crowns from the silk trade carried on there. It is said that on the taking of this town 120,000 men were cut to pieces, including two hundred Russian merchants, who traded there in tin, lead, copper and fur, whose reserve capital in ready money amounted to over a million. The successes of the rebels were so great that he proceeded to take another town which he succeeded in capturing. Then came the Imam, or Prince of Macao, who rose in insurrection in another place, conquered some countries and intended to go to Kirman to plunder there an important trading town.

The time now seemed ripe for Mir-Iways to thrust in his sickle. This he prepared to do by setting out from Candahar, with a well-equipped army and making straight for the Province of Kirman. As he marched along he gave it out everywhere that he had come to help the reigning king to restore quiet, and quell by force, if necessary, the malcontents. He said that he would assist to secure the king on the throne, if he would forsake the abominable heresy of Alishir and profess

the true religion of the Sunites. Many believed in his statements and all along the route to Kirman he was joined by loyal Persians. The capital of the province was at that time, very famous, for the finest Persian stuffs that were made in that country. Wishing to secure the town peaceably if it might be, but at all hazards to secure it, Mir-Iways sent a herald to the Commander, informing him that since he did not come as an enemy, but as a friend, he might deliver the town up to him.

The Commander, however, did not appear to be quite so willing to give it up. Our hero, therefore, besieged it, and of course, took it.

All such Persians as were of the sect of Ali were plundered but the Sunites were spared, and when the town was taken the rest of the towns surrendered, one after another, and so fast that, in a little while Mir-Iways was master of the whole Province.

Between the design that Mir-Iways entertained of falling on the Shah of Persia, and its execution, there stood one man, *viz.*, the Prime Minister, Achemaal, whom it will be remembered, our diplomatist, with the usual Eastern disregard for truth, had promised the throne.

This Achemaal, who had played into the hands of Mir-Iways by delaying as much as possible the preparations for opposition, suddenly desired to alter his tactics, apparently believing that it was not likely that Mir-Iways would be at the expense of so much treasure and blood to make him king. This change of front was immediately reported to Mir-Iways by his spies. Now, thought the Prince, I must cry 'check' before the traitor had time to make another move. Our author tells us that Mir-Iways made use of the following stragem :—

He cast his eyes upon a trusty Persian, whom he gave a letter to Achemaal, in the name of the Prince of Macao, and since he was sent only as a messenger, and consequently no great harm was

to be feared as likely to come to this person, he ordered him that he should cause himself to be intercepted, as by chance by a party of the king's, intending by that means that the letter might fall into the king's own hands. In this letter he wrote in the name of the said Prince of Macao that "it was now time jointly to execute their design, wherefore he should secure the king's person and his Princes and himself would, with his other allies, soon be at Isfahan, and order everything for his mounting the royal throne."

The letter, as Mir-Iways had intended, fell into the king's hands; Achemaal was immediately made a prisoner by the king's command, and his eyes were put out but his life was spared until the king could discover his accomplices. Then was pronounced his doom of execution.

The puller of the strings that led to the downfall of the treacherous Minister remained unsuspected, for how was it possible to suspect Mir-Iways as being the cause of these disorders? It was in the fitness of things that he should feign to be deeply grieved at the king's conduct, whereas he was secretly overjoyed at the opportunity presented to tax the king with tyranny.

The Shah fondly imagined that by the execution of the traitors he had firmly established his tottering throne, but he had not given sufficient weight to the importance of the personality of his late Prime Minister, who had been a great man in the kingdom, and yet had been hurried to death without even a form of trial! Inquiries were made of the Prince of Macao concerning the letter he was alleged to have written, and, of course he positively denied the sending of any letter at all. The people were now irritated beyond control against the Shah; their irritation became mortal hatred which the allies of Mir-Iways did all in their power to foment, and succeeded in bringing to boiling pitch.

Now was the moment selected by Mir-Iways to strike the unpopular monarch, whose people held him in contempt as a

ruler, on account of his insolence, neglect and luxury, to which they added tyranny and some imputed heresy.

Drawing his army together, our Prince decided to march directly on Isfahan. His choice lay between two roads; the one led him through provinces bristling with governors and chiefs, still loyal to the king whome he would of necessity have to engage; and the other lay through deserts and unbeaten tracks. He chose the latter, sending before him his Tartars to prepare the way, himself following with the rest of his army, and spreading reports on the path that it was not his intention to deprive the king or his family of the crown, but to draw him over from the heresy and superstition of the Ali to the true faith of Muhamed. He stated too that if the king would embrace the "true faith" he would confirm him on the throne and return home with his troops. By this assertion he intimated that he was appointed by God to avenge the prophet Muhamed, and to punish in the severest manner such Persians as had blasphemed him. His manifesto which he caused to be scattered all over Persia, makes curious reading. We give one or two short quotations.

"We, Muhamad Mir-Iways, a Shade of God on Earth, Great Emir of the most famous trading town and whole Province of Candahar a great Conqueror and a great Subduer assisted by Heaven, as also a zealous destroyer of all such heretics as are not of the faith of the Sunites; a Prince born at a time of a great conjunction of some planets, and begotten during the influence of the most auspicious stars, a refuge for all true believing Mussalmans, and a victorious trophy for a sanctuary for unbelievers, whether Christians, Jews or Sabeans humbling themselves to us; and an opener of the gates to a place of rest, who also is appointed a disposer of the lives of millions of men,—We, Muhamad Mir-Iways, do acquaint you hereby, that your present wicked and heretical Shah has not only formerly persecuted and by clandestine endeavours aimed at the life of my father (upon whom the Lord have mercy) and likewise

committed great enormities against him because of his pure and true Sunitian religion, but also, contrary to all treaties, carried on his wicked machinations against the lawful son and heir of him, *viz.*, against our own self, even in our infancy, so that we have been obliged to seek protection and safety of his most Sublime Majesty, the most powerful king of all kings on earth, shining in all the four corners of the world, namely, the Padi-Shah, Great Mogol of Indostan. But because the divine vengeance could not any longer forbear to punish such, and many a thousand other crimes of your king: and your Shah being beside by reason of his effeminate weakness and lascivious laziness, unfit duly and with prudence to govern such an ancient and renowned learned and civilised people as you Persians are (tactful this!); therefore God has raised us to deliver you from the tyranny, the heresy, and the vicious government of your Shah." The manifesto goes on to demand immediate submission to Mir-Iways together with the payment of the "usual tribute to our Pashas whom we shall send to you." Those who submit are promised that in "company with many millions of Mussalmans" they shall ultimately be "happy and merry for ever" in Paradise, whereas those who "do pertinaciously refuse to obey us" will not only be in time "hauled away by devils from top to bottom into the dark black stream of Hell-Fire and be always roasting on the fire without dying; but you'll also be hunted up and down in all your houses and temples, in all beds and baths, in towns and villages, in castles and strong towns, in woods and fields, upon the highest top of steeples and in unknown holes of steep rocks; nay in hollow caves of the earth and in the narrow holes of savage creatures," and so on, *ad infinitum*, the conditional curses gathering in fierceness and intensity as they proceed. The manifesto concludes with the statement that "who does but submit and is obedient will have safety, protection and peace; but whoever endeavours to escape, or will accept of any assistance from the Russians to oppose us, shall certainly repent it."

This manifesto had an almost immediate result in bringing to the standard of Mir-Iways great numbers from all parts. At this critical moment there arrived in the camp (Mir-Iways had halted his army near Mahomedia) a Russian Embassy, who when admitted to audience told our Prince that his troops and allies had plundered a Russian caravan coming from China; by which action the Russians had sustained loss to the extent of five millions, and now demanded reparation and satisfaction. Mir-Iways was too wide awake to be taken in by such childish representation, so he smiled at the embassy and said as he dismissed them: "That as for himself he would maintain a good amity with the Czar, who had been represented to him as a wise and brave Prince but in case the Russians would in the future send caravans again to China, he would advise them to make first an alliance with all the Tartarian Chams, particularly with the Grand Monarch, thereby to obtain the liberty of a free passage through and near their countries or else to send some good troops to guard the caravans as he heard the Dutch and other Europeans were accustomed to do by sea, who always sent a good fleet with their merchantmen to the Indies and finally that he could prescribe no laws to the Uzbegians, his allies." Then he marched with his army into the Province of Iraq—properly the ancient country of the Parthians and ever, as he marched, his followers increased. On he would go to Isfahan, in spite of the generals of the Shah of Persia who had determined to oppose his progress.

The eldest son of Mir-Iways was now about seventeen years of age and well-skilled in the art of war. His father ordered him to march away before him with twelve thousand men, and himself followed with most of his troops, leaving some behind for a reserve.

On the first day of March, 1722, the forces of Mir-Iways met those of the Persian Shah, and routed them entirely. The rout was sign enough for all the towns round about, which yielded one after another to the invader, without striking a

blow. On went the victor to the capital of Isfahan, the place of the Shah's residence. So sudden was his arrival that the monarch had only just time to retire with two hundred men to a strong castle near by. Here he only remained for a very short time, as he did not feel himself safe there.

Nobody knows for certain, our author declares, what became of the Shah. Mir-Iways caused a search to be made for him in all directions, sending out spies to look for him, but all to no purpose. Reports as to his fate were as numerous as diverse. Some said he went to Bagdad and died there; others that his eyes and the eyes of one of his sons had been put out upon the borders of Turkey; yet others that he was secretly in a castle not far from Isfahan, and others still that he went to the Czar's Court, and acknowledged the Czar as Emperor, and also promised to cede to him the Lake Daria, famous for its riches, but as the Lake is located in Tartarian territories, and did not belong to the Shah, it is difficult to credit this last statement.

Mir-Iways no sooner arrived before Isfahan than he determined to lose no time in seizing the suburbs. Some of these suburbs were very wealthy, rich Armenian merchants dwelling there and paying tribute to the Shah, their steward being entrusted with the work of gathering it in. Isfahan itself was not prepared to admit the invader within its walls, and pluckily prepared for its defence. Mir-Iways would not reduce it by arms but by famine, and meantime his army must live. So taking up his quarters in one of the richest of the suburbs, he called for a "free gift" from the rich Armenians, forgetting, however, to name the sum he expected to receive from them.

They were all commanded to deliver five hundred young virgins of the best of their families. Some spy informed Mir-Iways that the ladies selected for the fulfilment of this order were neither the most beautiful, nor of the best families. This would not do for our hero. He immediately commanded those repsonsible for the selection and delivery of the tribute to

be beaten on the soles of their feet with the bastimado, and to be kept as prisoners till the handsomest women of the first rank had been picked out.

A keen-sighted diplomat and general, Mir-Iways clearly recognised that he would have against him the Czar of Russia. He, therefore, wrote to the Ottoman Porte, and "recommending" himself to the "Grand Signior's favour," informed him that he never intended to deprive the Shah, or his family, of the crown, but rather to maintain them in their state; he was nevertheless resolved to induce the Shah to forsake the superstition of Ali, and to embrace the true doctrine of the Musselman and to introduce and propagate the same all over the kingdom. And because the Shah was not at all qualified to govern, and was withal a great tyrant—his eldest son being even worse than himself,—and therefore both very much hated by the States of the Kingdom, these latter had chosen the youngest son for their Shah. Therefore Mir-Iways informed the Grand Signior that he did not intend to maintain the crown for himself, but for the young Prince, and asks that he shall not be regarded as a usurper but as protector, and he requested the Porte to assist him in his design. This letter gave great satisfaction to the Porte, and the pretence also brought Mir-Iways additional credit amongst many of the Persians. The Czar of Russia, thinking that a good opportunity presented itself to put his country's commerce on a sure footing with the Great Mogol's country, by taking and securing a good port and some frontier towns on the Caspian Sea, veiled his real reasons with assumptions of friendly zeal on behalf of the fugitive Shah, and himself accompanied an army of 100,000 men to Astrachan. This move of the Czar could not, however, prevent the surrender of Isfahan. This event happened on October 13, 1722.

"Our Prince shewed great clemency at this surrender (declares our friend, the author); for all the inhabitants were taken in protection and maintained in their liberties and privileges; and the European inhabitants were well treated above all others....

As soon as Mir-Iways was master of the town and had brought matters therein to order again, he took the young Persian Prince and girded the scimitar on him, according to custom, to show thereby that from that same time he was to be the Sovereign of Persia; and he knew at the same time so to cozen the whole nation that they declared him publicly Protector of the Kingdom and tutor of the young king, which title he has still; and what with the increasing assistance of the Tartars, and what with the submission of the remaining Persians, he grows stronger from day to day."

This was written in the early spring of 1723. Our interesting author concludes his story with a sketch of the town of Isfahan, the Persian capital, describing minutely the royal palace there, and he writes his 'Finis' beneath the following suggestive statement:—

"In the meantime 'tis certain that the Turks had conceived great jealousy towards the Czar's progress even before the arrival of this Embassy, and that Mir-Iways made all preparations to drive the Russians back out of Persia. But as to what has passed since, the newspapers have not been in agreement with each other, and what at one time has been positively affirmed has been as positively contradicted at another (there were no penny daily papers circulating in Britain at this time may be!); so that nothing of certainty is to be gathered from them. Although the Czar has given some very strict orders not to divulge anything, there is no doubt but that some further news to be relied on will be received from Persia by some means or other."

(What did occur is recorded by the historian, and is available to all students of Persian history.)

Our author at this stage in the career of his hero, Mir-Iways, seized the opportunity that presented itself, and, with the assistance of the Russians set out to return to his own country.

IS IDEALISM REFUTED ? *

There is now a widely current belief in the philosophical world that Idealism has lost its old prestige. It is no longer given a place in the forefront of philosophical speculation, but is supposed to have exhausted itself and pushed to the background by better equipped competitors. Realism, pragmatism, voluntarism, behaviourism, Bergsonism—ever so many isms recently invented are now in the ascendant. Idealism is looked upon as a bankrupt institution, a thing of the past, an exploded theory or a futile and frivolous type of speculation. In words like these or in even stronger and more bitter ones has the death-knell of Idealism sought to be sounded and its refutation driven home to us.

Reviewing all the varied and strenuous attempts that have been made to disprave and discord Idealism we may notice two forms of opposition to the idealistic creed. The first is a frontal attack directed to the very foundation on which the massive superstructure of Idealism stands. It questions the validity of the basal principles of Idealism. All the main grounds on which Idealism is based are subjected to the most relentless criticism. The attempt is made to demonstrate that Idealism is supported by no solid ground, but is built on quicksand. The second is a sort of side attack which aims at exposing the defects and inconsequence of the Idealist's philosophy. The point pressed here is that Idealism offers no adequate solution for many facts of the real world and certain problems of actual life. It stands condemned by the presence of evil in the world. The questions of individuality and freedom, the reality of time and

* Paper read before the Indian Philosophical Congress, 1926.

progress are stumbling-blocks to Idealism of the absolutistic type, if not to all. It is proposed in this short paper to examine the first line of argument which is employed as a basis for the refutation of Idealism.

What is Idealism? Much depends on the answer to this question. What is professed to be the refutation of Idealism does not, I venture to show, touch the essence of genuine Idealism but only certain specious forms of it. Modern Idealism asserts two general principles. According to it, the ultimate reality is mind. Idea, Experience, Reason, Consciousness and Spirit are the various terms used by different idealists to express the mental or spiritual character of ultimate reality. It is the prime source from which all things arise, for which they all exist and by which they are sustained. It follows next that between mind as the ultimate reality, on the one hand, and the finite things and beings, on the other, there subsists a necessary relation of correlativity as between subject and object. The world of things has existence as a system of objects necessarily related to mind. It has no independent being apart from relation to the unity of a living universal experience. On the other hand, the ultimate reality as a mental or spiritual principle is the subject of experience of a world of objects. The unity of its life and experience is meaningless apart from its relation to a variety of contents in other real things and beings. The reality of things, therefore, does not lie in their independence of all minds. It consists in their objectivity in relation to a subject of experience. The reality of the ultimate mind or subject, again, lies in the activity of evolving and experiencing a world of objects. Reality and rationality, the objective existence of things and their subjective reference are reciprocal conceptions.

Now, let us consider the attempts to refute Idealism as sketched above in its bare essence. One such attempt consists in tracing the cardinal doctrines of Idealism to the Berkeleyian principle: *esse is percipi*, and then showing that "in all the

senses ever given to it, it is false." As Dr. G. E. Moore observes :

" That wherever you can truly predicate *esse* you can truly predicate *percipi*...is.....a necessary step in all arguments, properly to be called idealistic, and, what is more, in all arguments hitherto offered for the idealistic conclusion."

It is here held that the Hegelian principle of the correlativity between subject and object is none other than Berkeley's principle of '*esse est percipi*' but thinly disguised. The Idealistic view of the spiritual character of reality resting, as it does on this argument, ends in reducing the objects of experience to aspects of experience or ideas of the mind. Modern idealists do indeed admit a distinction between a sensation or idea and its object. But they "are not thereby absolved from the charge that they deny it." Their view of the inseparable relation between ideas and objects, their conception of the two as forming an 'organic unity' land them logically in the same position as that of Berkeley's subjective idealism. "That Berkeley and Mill committed this error will, perhaps, be granted : that modern Idealists make it will.....appear more probable later."

Whatever of truth there may be in the above argument against the Idealistic position, it hardly contains anything to convince us of the truth of its conclusion. What is urged here is that modern idealists commit the same mistake as Berkeley in that "*esse* is held to be *percipi*, solely because what is experienced is held to be identical with the experience of it." But a levelling statement like this cannot be accepted as true in any possible sense. It rests on a radical misunderstanding of the position of modern Idealism. A theory of subjectivism or metalism of the type worked out by Berkeley is indeed open to this charge. With Berkeley the principle of '*esse is percipi*' is a psychological truth. It is the result of an introspective analysis of the conditions that make the world actual to us.

And since Berkeley (following the lead of Locke's empiricism) could accept only empirically verifiable conditions, he had to reduce the *esse* of things to our actual or possible perceptions of it. So far we can understand how *esse* is equated with perception, how what is experienced is identified with the experience of it or how blue is held to be identical with the sensation of blue. The position of modern idealists, however, is altogether different. I say this through no love of settled opinion or favouritism but in a spirit of fair criticism. That modern idealists admit a distinction between idea and its object, that it is no part of their intention to identify the two and also that they expressly assert the actuality of this distinction is to be admitted by the most perverse of their critics. It remains to be seen whether from any of their assertions the identity between idea and its object follows as a logical consequence. Such an assertion, it has been urged, is contained in the idealistic view of the relation of inseparability or organic unity as subsisting between the idea and its object. To say that two things are inseparably related or that they constitute an organic whole is to deny their distinction. Hence it has been pressed by the critic that the idealists' assertion of inseparable relation or organic unity between idea and object leads logically to their identity. As Dr. Moore says :

“ When, therefore, we are told that green and the sensation of green are certainly distinct but yet are not separable, or that it is an illegitimate abstraction to consider the one apart from the other, what these provisos are used to assert is, that though the two things are distinct, yet you not only can but must treat them as if they were not.”

But it is too much, I think, for any logic to prove identity from inseparability. The idea of inseparable relation requires (1) two things that are somehow distinct and different from each other. It is meaningless to speak of the same identical thing as inseparably related to itself. (2) It requires also that their relation holds good in all times, places and conditions, and that

one cannot be separated from the other without prejudice to the existence and nature of both. This is illustrated in the relation between substance and attribute, cause and effect, genus and species and the like. Nowhere in the conception of inseparable relation do we find anything that forces us to the conclusion of identity as its logical consequence. Far from this, it requires the distinction between two units of existence, howsoever alike they may otherwise be. Nor is it sound reason to say that two things cease to be distinct and become identical because they form an 'organic unity' and because it is an illegitimate abstraction to consider the one apart from the other. An abstraction may become illegitimate when we attempt to assert of a part that which is true only of the whole to which it belongs. But Dr. Moore is not right when he says that this principle is used to assert "that whenever you try to assert anything whatever of that which is part of an organic whole, what you assert can only be true of the whole," and "this can only be because the whole is absolutely identical with the part." What is true of the whole cannot obviously be true of the part. But from this, it follows by no means that what is true of the part of an organic whole is true of the whole itself and therefore the two are identical. All that can legitimately be said is that what is true of the part is true of it as a member of but not as identical with the whole. Hence even if idea and object be organically related and cannot be considered apart, it does not follow that they cease to be distinct and become identical. What is true of the idea is true of it as a distinct unit that refers always to an object and what is true of the object is true of it as another distinct unit always referred to by idea. It does not, therefore, appear from the above argument that modern idealists make the same mistake as Berkeley and that they deny the distinction between idea or experience and its object in spite of their best intentions to the contrary.

Another formidable attempt to refute Idealism consists in attacking the Idealists' principle of correlativity between things

and mind, or, between object and subject. That all things are necessarily related to mind or that their existence depends on their relation to some mind is an idle and unfounded assumption. Things have an independent existence of their own. True, that they are sometimes known by us thus enter into the cognitive relation. But this is no part of the essential nature of things. It is an accidental and adventitious quality of things. They can and do exist in all their glory even when there is no mind to know them. The last vestige of the cognitive relation may disappear and yet things exist as no whit less real. "Many tulips are 'born to blush unseen' for ever." To say that a thing known at certain times must be known always is as foolish as to argue that because the letter 'a' occurs in the third place of words like 'place', 'that', etc., it is to be defined as the letter occurring in the third place of words. "This specious argument," Prof. Perry says, "may be conveniently described as 'definition by initial predication'." It may be that the *knowledge* of things is not possible apart from their relation to mind. All conception and predication of things must be by the mind. "It will be convenient to call it 'the ego-centric predicament'. But this does not prove that the *existence* of things is dependent on their relation to minds." All that it proves is that "One cannot *conceive* things to exist apart from consciousness, because to conceive is *ipso facto* to bring within consciousness." But this is a redundant proposition. It means simply that a conceived thing is an idea and an idea cannot exist except in mind. "But what the idealist requires is a proposition to the effect that everything is an idea, or that only ideas exist. And to derive this proposition directly from the redundancy just formulated, is simply to take advantage of the confusion of mind by which a redundancy is commonly attended."

The above anti-idealistic argument has the merit of clearly bringing out the real point at issue. That matter exists as well as spirit, that things are not mere ideas of the mind or

that the objects of experience are somehow other than experience will be readily admitted by modern idealists, if not all. But the moot-point to decide is: How do things exist? Do they exist only as related to mind, as present to consciousness? Or, do things exist independently of the relation to any mind, the cognitive relation being one of the many contexts into which things may indifferently enter? Idealism, while it grants the distinct existence and objective reality of things, holds that they are necessarily related to and not independent of mind. It is plain that all the things we speak about or anywise refer to are related to our minds. However much we may try to get a thing existing apart from mind, we not only fail but also see how doomed to failure all such attempts must be. No sooner than we get at the thing it becomes related to our mind. A man cannot leap over his shadow. The bird cannot soar above its wings. There is then no gainsaying the fact that all the things we anyway point to are related to our minds. But the question still remains: Is this relation of things to mind a necessary or an adventitious one? Is it inherent in the very constitution of things? Or, is it only an accident that sometimes befalls them but touches not their essence? Now so far as the finite mind is concerned, it cannot, I think, be said that all things are necessarily related to it, or, that they do not exist when out of relation to it. At the same time that we cannot point to any thing without bringing it into relation to our minds, we are convinced that the thing existed before and would continue to exist even when my or your consciousness disappears. Who among you would doubt the existence of your pen at the intervals no man takes notice of it? No doubt a thing stands related to our minds as often and as long as we deal with it in any way. Nor can we conceive anything as existing apart from relation to our minds. But to conclude from this that the thing must always be related to our mind, that its existence is dependent on our consciousness of it is indeed to commit the fallacy of 'definition by initial predication' or that of the

argument from 'the ego-centric predicament.' But idealism does not stand on such slender grounds. Its principle of the correlativity between mind and things or subject and object is no mere induction per simple enumeration. Nor does it require to reduce things to ideas in order to vindicate their necessary relation to mind. It is not held here that all things are necessarily related to mind simply because every observed case of a thing is a case of a thing related to our minds. This, as Prof. Perry observes, is an induction that 'proceeds entirely by Mill's "method of agreement"' which is invalid unless supported by the "method of difference," that is, the observation of negative cases' which are not available in this case. To my mind, the principle of correlativity between mind and things has an ontological basis. All things, all material and temporal existences, are necessarily related not to your or my mind, but to the absolute mind which is the rational ground of all existence, the creative energy evolving and operating all things. Things do exist. There is no doubt about it. But their existence has its ultimate basis in the life of the universal reason that is the source of all the world's power and energy. Modern science tends to show more and more clearly how the substance of the world, material and mental, is not to be found in a number of inert and indivisible atoms but a system of forces or enegies. "In the material universe," says Sir Oliver Lodge, "we now know there is nothing but groupings of the two electric charges. Enormous in number, they form the ultimate units of which everything is built." If we are not to court the insuperable difficulties of materialism, we should admit that the universal energy constituting the substance of the world is the power of reason, the activity of mind or spirit. All things of the world as products of the creative activity of the absolute mind are necessarily related to it in some such way in which our ideas are related to our self. This, however, does not imply that as products of the absolute mind physical things are no better than the ideas of our mind. From psychology we learn how

the effects of mental activity take the form of ideas as well as that of innervation and bodily movement. Mental activity involves both immanent and transitive causality. As Prof. Stout very well points out, mental activity involves mental change, innervation of muscles, muscular contraction and bodily movement, and lastly, consequent mental change. The mind is as good a source of ideas as of force or energy. It is not a paradox, then, to say that the absolute mind contains both the ideal form that constitutes the order and the realising energy that is substance of all things and beings of the world. There is, therefore, no use in labouring the point any further that modern Idealism does not reduce all things to ideas, but maintains their distinct existence in necessary relation to mind or spirit. In answer to the question: Is Idealism refuted? we are, therefore, to say ' No ' for all the arguments so far considered.

SATISCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

PERFUME

He passed so near to me, that I could see
 The latent fires that glowed in his dark eyes ;
 Then my heart leapt and soared unto the skies,
 And wàs at one with radiant memory.

Oh ! what a rich, sweet, spicy perfume feast
 Of jasmine, cardamom, and sandalwood,
 And *otto dilbahar*. It was so good
 To breathe again the essence of the East.

Strange how the subtle scent that emanated
 From Eastern form, in Western raiment clad,
 Led me down paths of thought, not wholly sad,
 Unto a goal where joy and pain were mated.

Perfume and memory go hand-in-hand,
The one invokes the other, as a soul,
Pouring the love-wine in a crystal bowl,
Makes of another soul the last demand.

So I forgot the grey and sodden street,
The fog that wrapp'd me in a heavy pall,
The drizzling rain, the mis'ry of it all,
The clogging mud that clung about my feet.

And I returned to where I most belong,
Where dark-skinned faces welcomed me and smiled ;
To lands whose symbol is a little child ;
Where love is passion-full and man headstrong.

For one brief moment, urged by some unknown
Hypnotic influence, I left the West
And sought the climes, where poet-souls find rest,
Drugged by a scent on sooty breezes blown.

Drugged by the magic of the Orient
That claims me, and will never let me go,
Because She knows I understand Her so,
And am not prompted by mere sentiment.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

PROFESSOR DASGUPTA ABROAD

The Sixth International Congress of Philosophy had its sittings in September last at the Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Sixteen nations of the world sent their representatives there. Prof. Ś. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., was invited in May last by the VIth International Congress Committee to contribute two papers on Eastern and Western mysticism and on Philosophy and International Relations at this Congress and the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, also invited him to deliver the Harris Foundation Lectures¹ for 1926. The Government of Bengal appreciated the compliment that was paid to the Bengal Education department by such an invitation extended to one of its members, probably the first of its kind and in response to the special request made by the Congress Committee and the Northwestern University, placed Prof. Dasgupta on deputation out of India and the University of Calcutta also nominated him as a representative along with Professor Radhakrishnan at the Harvard Congress.

Dr. Dasgupta started for America on the 28th July, 1926 *via* France and England. On his way through Paris he halted there for a few days and worked in the manuscript department of the Bibliothèque National and discovered three very rare Sanskrit manuscripts, *Jvālāvalī Tantra*, *Marmmakallikā Tantra* and *Pratyaksha-didhiti*, a commentary on the *pratyaksha* part of *Tattvacintāmaṇi* by Raghunath Siromani. In England he spent a few days in Cloane, Scotland at the country house of Lord Haldane as his guest in company with the great English philosopher and his brother Professor Haldane the famous biologist of Oxford discussing many philosophical problems of the east and the west.

Dr. Dasgupta arrived in New York on the 10th September and two days later Professor Montague drove him in his car from New York to Boston a distance of 240 miles along with Prof. Dewey, Mrs. Dewey, Prof. Weyl of Zurich and Prof. De Los Rios of Spain.

Indian philosophy is very little known in America and though there were sections on Arabic and Jewish philosophy, there was no section on

¹ The Norman Waite Harris Foundation, Lectures, one of the foremost of the American Foundation lectures, were started in 1906. They are open for all subjects and they were always delivered by men of outstanding abilities in different branches of Science and Art in Europe and America.

Indian philosophy at the congress. In spite of the lectures of Svami Vivekananda and the Vedanta societies little impression has been made on the Universities regarding the problems and solutions of Indian philosophy. Dr. Dasgupta in his paper on "Eastern and Western Mysticism" analysed at first the main concepts of Hindu, Islamic and Christian mysticism and showed that they were essentially the same and that the cry of mysticism was the cry of religion and that the essential tone of mysticism was a tone of the psychological temperament of the human mind. The paper was listened to with great attention and received with the warmest applause. The way in which the fundamental validity of the mystic consciousness was proved in the paper as being the source of religious consciousness touched some of the tenderest spiritual chords of the audience and during the days that followed Dr. Dasgupta was the happy recipient of thanks and gratefulness from the many philosophers who attended his lecture. The eminent psychologist of Iowa, Professor Starbuck read a paper in the same section on "The empirical study of Mysticism", in which he tried to show on the basis of laboratory results that the mystics—by which he meant those who believed in church doctrines or those who had the vision of God and the like—were found deficient in intelligence tests and were consequently in the American phraseology dumb-bells. In the discussion that followed Professor Dasgupta pointed out and Professor Starbuck accepted it, that Professor Starbuck's remarks had no application to the true mystics. The true mystics are not mere visionaries, nor were they content with a mere dreamy vision of God, or faith in church doctrines, but oftentimes the mystics have been hard logicians and dialecticians who developed their religious consciousness by lifelong efforts after rectitude and moral perfection and that mere delusionists in religion were not mystics. Not only it was impossible for any one to have a Jesus Christ or a St. Francis of Assisi for the laboratory experiments but the so-called intelligence tests could not in any sense be considered as being true tests of intelligence for people who failed in one kind of tests may be very successful in other kinds of tests and one could not exhaust all kinds of tests.

In his lecture on "Maya and Brahman" which Dr. Dasgupta delivered in continuation with Prof. Radhakrishnan's lecture on the same subject, he brought together all the important problems regarding the origin of knowledge, the theory of being and the status of the objective world and compared and contrasted some of the important concepts of the Vedanta and Buddhism with the analogous problems in contemporary American and European thought, of Bradley and Bosanquet,

Hume, Berkeley, the Neo-realists and the Critical realists. This speech was very much appreciated by the eminent thinkers of the congress.

On the 17th September, the concluding day of the Congress, a farewell dinner was given by the Governor of Massachusetts to the members of the congress about 500 in number, the representatives of 16 different nations. Of the foreign nations only six scholars were chosen for special introduction at the dinner by the Governor and they were asked to convey messages of friendly greetings to the congress on behalf of their respective countries. These were Prof. Smith of Oxford, Prof. Dreisch of Germany, Prof. Enriqi from Italy, Prof. Krozłowsky from Poland and Prof. Dasgupta from India. Prof. Dasgupta was asked to speak first. In his speech he thanked the authorities of the Congress and regretted that India had politically no direct share in bringing about world-peace, but yet the heart of India was always there and that India was optimistic towards the end that by the appreciation of the best of one another and by intellectual fellowship and friendship the reign of the spirit would prevail and the kingdom of God attained on earth. The Boston Herald concludes the report of his speech with the following quotation: "I think Boston will now know us and our philosophy better than she did, I also trust that India will more than ever participate in these international deliberations, for nothing will do more to elevate mankind than such meetings as these."

One way by which the popularity of Professor Dasgupta may well be guessed is the fact that before he left the congress he received invitations from about 25 different universities in different parts of America. But the time at the disposal of Prof. Dasgupta being limited he could accept only the invitations of those universities which were on his way to the Northwestern University where he was to deliver the Harris Foundation Lectures at Evanston, Illinois or near about that place. A few of these universities were anxious to have him there for some years which however he could not possibly do and some of the younger lecturers from the American universities are now seeking ways and means of coming over to Calcutta to read philosophy with Prof. Dasgupta.

Besides the lectures that Prof. Dasgupta delivered at the Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, he delivered several lectures at the Hamline University, Minnesota State University, Carleton College, Grinnel College, Iowa State University, Chicago University, Michigan State University, Detroit City College Auditorium, Ohio State University, Ohio Wesleyan University and Columbia University. The total number of lectures that he delivered came to about 70 lectures on different subjects of Indian philosophy, Indian spiritual life, Indian Mysticism,

Indian education system in the past and other kindred subjects of Indian culture and also on subjects of comparative Indo-European philosophy. Everywhere he had the most cordial reception both by the university people and the educated community and the students in general. In some places the enthusiasm created by his lectures spread in other circles also. Thus at Chicago the most important commercial magnates of the city including seven presidents of Railroad companies, many rich bankers and presidents of big companies including the Mayor of the city gave him a big banquet reception and wanted to hear from him the spiritual message of India. He never flattered the American people but plainly told them what he felt about them. Thus the St. Paul Daily News represents him as describing the Americans looking like "a child which must look at everything in the world in a great hurry without differentiating as to what is good and fitting and what is bad and useless—as the nation grows older it will learn to look into things more deeply. Spiritualism is the great gift which India may make to America. There are two kinds of spiritualism, objective and subjective, the former being well-known in America in the form of hospitals, welfare institutions and all the vast number of things which make for the welfare of humanity. Subjective spiritualism won by meditation and quietness is naturally lacking because of the youngness of the country." Again describing the nature of true education in the Hamline University he said that "the Euro-American nations are often baffling some of most important ends of education by putting emphasis on efficiency as the goal of education. True education is a system of self-development in which the demands of sense-gratification should be subordinated to the intellect and intellect should be subordinated to the demands of the higher ideals of the spirit. A right system of education involves the development of personality and all teaching must grow round the person of the teacher." The president of the Hamline University as also the other members were extremely impressed by his lectures and all the important members of the faculty assembled to give Prof. Dasgupta a hearty reception and convey to him a very hearty appreciation of the ideals he preached and the manner in which he impressed them.

In his lectures in the Minnesota University he pointed out how the caste system in India grew out of a need of keeping a separate class of people called the Brahmins for memorising the Vedas. In dealing with the inequalities of caste he said that the caste system seldom implied any hatred between the castes and that India was certainly better in this respect than America which, with all her boasted civilisation, did not hesitate sometimes to lynch the dark Negroes—a barbarity which would

put all savages to shame. He deplored the want of education among the masses but yet emphasised the fact that in spite of their want of education the poorer classes of India were not wholly uncultured, for the culture of the ages and the teachings of saints had unconsciously filtrated themselves into the messes. In spite of the fact that there is compulsory education in America and that America is at present the richest country in the world, it is yet a country of crimes of the most shocking and abominable description whereas in India in spite of want of education and the great poverty of the country there is much less of crimes in India than in America or in any European country.

In the Carleton College Prof. Dasgupta delivered four lectures on "Hindu Religion," "Hindu Ethics," "The Spiritual Life of India," and "Heraclitus and Buddha." It is not possible for us to give summaries of these lectures in this short space. He differentiated Hindu religion as the special religious tendency of the people of India, as distinguished from other religions which draw their sources from the teachings of their particular prophets after whom their religions are named. This tendency consists firstly in undertaking the greatest and keenest efforts after moral greatness and while observing the moral social and other duties gradually trying to transcend by superior self-control and moral achievements and having the ultimate aim of realising the liberation of the spirit conquering all desires. Spiritual realisation through contemplation is the highest aim of Hindu religion, but this aim can only be realised through the successive stages of self-elevation and that can only be done by facing squarely all the ordinary duties of man living in society and it is only in the very highest stage of moral perfection that a man can transcend the duties of the social stage. The enthusiasm of the students and the eagerness of the teachers to hear Prof. Dasgupta on these various aspects of Hindu spiritual life proved that the zeal for knowing the higher Hindu life was no less in this centre than in others.

In Grinnell Prof. Dasgupta was asked to lecture on "Social Aspects and Mysticism," "The Notion of Christ" in the vesper service on Sunday and on "Spiritual Life and Internationalism."

From Grinnell he proceeded to the Iowa State University and was asked to speak there on "Comparative Indian and European Philosophy." In most of these Universities he had to speak extempore and he did not often know the subjects on which he might be asked to speak before the various kinds of audience that he had to address. In speaking on comparative Indian and European philosophy Prof. Dasgupta laid stress on the fact that in India philosophy had grown from a desire of spiritual quest and the conceptual and the argumentative parts grew later by

mutual conflict, while in Europe philosophy grew merely out of a scientific curiosity of getting at a rational scheme of the universe and that it has never transcended that stage. The aim of Hindu philosophy had always the pragmatic aim of betterment of life's ideals and spiritual realisation, and it is only in its later developments that it had a body of conceptual speculations which anticipates practically most of what has developed in the West as philosophy. All objections raised by the Iowa philosophers were answered by Prof. Dasgupta in the most satisfactory manner.

Prof. Dasgupta then proceeded to Evanston, Illinois, where he stayed for nine days and delivered the Harris Foundation Lectures and various other lectures before the University clubs and other associations and select gatherings and also at the University of Chicago. The Harris Foundation lectures on Hindu Mysticism are being published by the Opencourt Publishing Company and are expected to be out within a few months. It is not possible to give any synopsis of these lectures within the short space here. His arrival in the city was announced in the newspapers as "Sage of India arrives the city" and for the few days the local newspapers were full of the accounts of his lectures and personal descriptions and photographs. Long before the time of the lecture the Harris Hall was crowded far beyond its capacity on all the days of the lecture and many people had to go away everyday disappointed for want of accommodation. On the concluding day the president spoke of him in the following terms—Dr. Dasgupta came to us from the heart of the Orient to lift for us the haze of mystery which has surrounded its religious beliefs and customs. His great mastery over the Sanskrit language in which the philosophical literature of India has been written combined with his thorough grasp of European philosophy makes him the greatest living authority on Indian philosophy and surely he has proved to be one of the most popular men among all the Harris lecturers. The Harris lectures were given on the Vedic, Upanishadic, Yoga, and Buddhistic mysticism and also on the Bhakti mysticism of Gita and Bhagavat and also on the mysticism of Chaitanya, Kabir and other great saints of Bhakti.¹

¹ The N. W. University, Illinois, have already addressed the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University thanking them for the invaluable services rendered by Prof. Dasgupta and expressing their high appreciation of his personality and scholarship and his great work in America in furthering the cause of International goodwill and scholarship. The letter to the Vice-Chancellor has already been published in the proceedings of the Syndicate.

After finishing his lectures in the Northwestern University and the Chicago University he proceeded to the Michigan State University where he spoke on "Education and International Relations and also on "Spiritual Life in Education in Ancient India." From there he proceeded to Detroit and delivered a lecture on "The Spiritual Message of India" at the City College Auditorium. A few quotations from the newspapers will suffice to show the way in which he was received in these parts of America. Thus the Detroit News with the headline "A foe of prejudice—Indian Educator opens new road to old culture" says, "Prof. Surendranath Dasgupta is the third of the great Indian thinkers to visit America, but unlike his predecessors he bears no message in the sense of propaganda. He may rather be considered as India's first philosophical ambassador to the Western world. The poet Rabindranath Tagore during his last visit to the United States several years ago made little attempt to interpret the culture and philosophy of old India to the West. He confined himself to political and social problems. Another great Indian thinker Swami Vivekananda was specially a religionist and a propagandist. Prof. Dasgupta espouses no narrow special interests but seeks to open up to the more scholarly minds of America that vast body of Indian philosophical literature of which for thousands of years the Western world has been unaware.....Prof. Dasgupta is a young man as internationally known scholars go. He has a remarkably expressive face, yet a generally reposeful manner. He wears the conventional white turban, long frock coat and a small gold wrist watch. He avoids narrow cults and ceremonials and talks simply. He is known both as a philosopher and a mystic and in his learning has arisen above prejudice of caste, creed, and nationality."

From Detroit Prof. Dasgupta proceeded to Ohio State University, delivered three lectures on "Origin and Development of Hindu Thought, Buddhistic Mysticism and Hindu Ethics" and on "The Reality in the Vedanta." From there he proceeded to the Ohio Wesleyan University and delivered three lectures on the different aspects of Indian spiritual life. He had however on account of his throat troubles to undergo an operation at a hospital in New York and had to cancel all his other lecture engagements at many of the other universities and on the eve of his departure from New York could only deliver one lecture at the Columbia University at the importunate request of Professor Montagu of the Columbia University. Professor Dasgupta scrupulously avoided all invitations from lecture bureaus, concert organisers, who generally organise lectures for most of the lecturers in America. He restricted his activities only in the universities though he was sometimes obliged to speak before some non-academic bodies who wanted to receive him and

do him honour such as the Hindusthan Association, the Friends of the East and the West, the Chicago Club and the like.

Returning from America Prof. Dasgupta came to England and accepted the invitation of the Vienna University to deliver a few lectures at that University, on "The Spiritual Life of India," "Indian Mysticism," "Approach to Philosophy in India and in Europe," "The Spirit of Indian Art" and also left a paper for the Vienna Medical Society on "The Medical Culture of the Ancient Hindus." The enthusiasm with which the cultured public of Vienna received him may well be judged from a few translations of quotations from the most famous daily of Vienna, the Neue Freie Press. Thus with the headline "Embassy of India to Europe" the Neue Freie Press goes on to say, "A few weeks after Rabindranath Tagore's visit, the cultured circles of Vienna has again to welcome another famous guest from India Dr. S. N. Dasgupta of Calcutta who gave yesterday his first lecture on "The Spiritual life of India" at the crowded banquet hall of the university. We are very naturally tempted to draw a comparison between the poet and the philosopher. Tagore appeared before his audience in clothes hanging down and made his lectures with priestly ceremony while Dasgupta appeared in an elegant European dress. The beardless of Dasgupta animated with a lively play of feelings, the warm gestures of an orator, the dramatic and high flown manner of his extempore delivery made an impressive contrast to Tagore's solemn and quiet manner. Dasgupta began in an obliging conversational manner with an amiable bow for the Austrian scientific learning and the culture centre of Vienna. Then turning to the subject of his lecture he occupied himself at first in dealing with a deep conceptual analysis of his theme in the manner of a philosopher. Speaking about the spiritual life of India he discussed the significance of the term spiritual and the complex of ideas associated with it. With a peculiar clear voice which sounded even more expressive by the emotional touches of his lecture, he spoke in a distinctly clearly accented English. Whenever he tried to make a difficult and abstruse philosophical concept clear and comprehensible to his hearers there was always a beneficent smile playing on his face. He sketched at first in a general manner the fundamental ideas of Indian philosophy. Does the pleasure mean the highest in the scale of values? It is true that food and drink, nice clothing, beauty of the body affects with great force on our senses but the control of desires, an active love of our neighbours and all round charity stands higher. Philosophy in India is not merely an affair of the educated upper classes but also of the people in general; even the peasant who smokes his tobacco after his day's work broods over the affections of

sense and the ultimate aim of life. Dasgupta then summarised the message of India to Europe, as being the appreciation of the spiritual good as being independently higher to the mundane good of pleasure. It was a very impressive moment when the philosopher in European clothes suddenly began to sing in a holy voice a song of his far home—the ancient wisdom of the Upanishads in the sacred beauty of which the lecture ended.”

The University of Vienna also officially paid its tribute of respect and appreciation by officially presenting an address of thanks and high esteem to Prof. Dasgupta, a translation of which document (German) is given below.¹

“The Academical Senate of
the University of Vienna.

Very respected Professor Dasgupta.

It gave us great and sincere joy when we learnt that you so kindly accepted our invitation to give some lectures on Indian philosophy in our University and we feel very much obliged to the Calcutta University and the Education Department of Government of India which you officially represented at the Vth International Congress of Philosophy in Boston for having allowed you to accept our invitation on your way home and so we had the pleasure in welcoming in you not only a great scholar so well-known and highly esteemed in Europe and one of the best authorities on Indian philosophy but also the official delegate of the Government of India and of one of the most prominent Universities of India. The Vienna University at which G. Bühler, one of the most important of the Indologists and L. Schroeder, an enthusiastic admirer of the spiritual thoughts of India, worked, knows how to esteem properly the honour of your visit and sends its warmest thanks to the bodies which you have represented here and to you personally. The University express its special thanks and appreciation for the excellent lectures on “Indian Spiritual Life,” “Indian Mysticism” and “Approach to Philosophy in Europe and in India” which you gave at our University. The thickly crowded audience and the extraordinarily keen attention with which your

¹ The Vienna University has also addressed a letter to the Chancellor of the Calcutta University similar to that written by the Northwestern University expressing their gratefulness to the “old and honoured University of Calcutta” for having permitted Prof. Dasgupta “so highly esteemed in Europe” to accept their invitation to deliver his lectures at that University by which the great interest that is felt in Vienna for India has been made deeper and their ties with India “closer and more cordial.”

lectures were listened to have very well proved how great an interest there is for India in our University and in Vienna the old centre of science and art and you must have also marked what a deep impression your speeches made on your hearers both by their contents and by the masterly manner in which they were delivered.

We hope that the success of your lectures and the thanks and the recognition of one of the oldest of German Universities of glorious traditions together with the sympathy which you have gained in the academic circles of Vienna, though not perhaps wholly sufficient may yet be a valuable satisfaction and compensation for you for the time you have spent for us and the troubles you have undertaken. And we shall consider ourselves happy if this visit of such a distinguished Indian philosopher to our University will form the starting point for the development of close and firm relations between the Vienna University and India.

Vienna, 11th December, 1926.

From the Rector of the University of Vienna,

W. MOLISCH,

Seal of the University of Vienna."

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It is on very rare occasions that such a high distinction is conferred on a foreign scholar and we are not aware if any such distinction was ever conferred on any other Indian before.

S. C.

AN ASPECT OF THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN BENGAL

In this monograph an attempt will be made to draw attention to a feature of our village life which has in recent years come into prominence to such an extent as to threaten a revolution in our agriculture and our rural problems. As a student of researches into the field of labour economics four years ago, it occurred to me how widely divergent the problems of labour were in our industrial and agricultural areas. On the one hand one could perceive the dance of the three merry devils drink, debauchery, and disease, leading to a de-humanising influence on the labour power of the province, while on the other reigned supreme insufficiency, ignorance, inefficiency, insanitary conditions, and want of co-operation. A closer touch with the villages, however, reveals to me a state of rapid transition and reconstruction. The old order of human element is fast yielding place to the new, and the established doctrines about rural life are quickly losing their force. The rigidity of the caste-system, the joint family, communalism etc., is almost a spent force in the economic life of the villages and above all the ideas of *Laissez Faire* and contractual relationship seem to predominate over the old conception of status and guild. The study of Indian Economics has, therefore, to be remodelled on the basis of these new experiences.

My statements herein might appear to be directly contradictory to some of the conclusions drawn by many of our revered older scholars and investigators, and consequently I submit that my findings are more or less tentative in character, and that I have yet to study many parts of the country at first hand, before I am entitled to draw bold general conclusions. My studies are based on an intensive enquiry into typical areas in the eastern portion of the districts of Murshidabad and Nadia supplemented by information from other districts of central and

Eastern Bengal. I have noticed that *Rarh* portion of Bengal as also parts of North Bengal where only one crop is raised, the population is particularly conservative and slow to adopt to changing conditions, and their standard of living is yet extremely low. It is, therefore, with some hesitation that I make any general remarks that may be applicable for the whole of Bengal.

The factors of Agrarian life in our province are as elsewhere, the following :—(1) Land with its problems of fertility, situation, communication, and fragmentation; (2) Tenancy and land-lordism; (3) Capital and credit through the *Mahajan*; (4) Live-stock; (5) Seeds and grains; (6) Methods of agricultural work and implements; (7) Irrigation; (8) Sanitation; (9) Markets with their problems of innumerable intermediaries and transport; and above all (10) Labour.

Although the influence of none of these factors on our rural economics may be neglected, and although no scheme of agricultural reconstruction can be made without proper regard to all of them, it is almost universally admitted in Bengal that the problem of labour is the greatest problem with our villagers at the present moment.

Agricultural labour power in Bengal is composed of two sets of people, namely, the peasant proprietors, and the landless labourers. The Permanent Settlement and the tenancy laws have created a large number of tenants and sub-tenants who often do not work on the soil with their own hands but either employ servants “*Krishans*” and day labourers for the cultivation under their own supervision or give out their land on the “*Barga*,” “*Bhag*,” or metayage system to small peasants and landless labourers. A small proportion of the workers are casual labourers who stick to agriculture on busy seasons, or move about in gangs from one district to another in search of more lucrative employment or temporarily go over to the mills, to railways or to other public works, *e.g.*, the construction of roads and tanks.

Whatever be the constitution of the Labour force in a village it is almost invariably found that the agriculturist is hard pressed for hands. In some parts this difficulty and want of labour is acute and chronic while at others they are of a more or less temporary character.

This difficulty of labour is one both of numbers as well as that of efficiency. The Census of 1921 in Bengal shows a slight increase in the total population, but the number of persons available purely for cultivation does not seem to have increased. Since 1911 the number of ordinary cultivators and dependents has increased from 29,748,666 to 30,543,557 but the number of farm servants and field labourers having declined from 3,660,000 to 1,805,502 the total agricultural workers have fallen by more than a million in number. The ordinary cultivators in Bengal number about 9,274,927. There is thus only one hired labourer to every five of cultivators. In Eastern Bengal the percentage is still lower. Moreover, the area of land under cultivation is slowly on the increase, adding to the distress from scarcity of labour. The dearth of workers is so acute that I have seen many a village, last year as well as this year, where jute could not be steeped, and crops could not be reaped till many weeks after they were ready.

This scarcity is believed in some quarters to be due to a larger migration to industrial work. From a study of some of the more typical villages, I have discovered, however, on the contrary, that so far as Bengal villagers are concerned, generally speaking there has been very little exodus to the mills and industrial areas. Depopulation of large villages on account of influenza, malaria, and kala-azar has been a potent reason for the shortage, but the most cogent factor is that many families of landless labourers have now grown to be peasant-proprietors.

Turning to efficiency on the other hand the picture is far more gloomy than is ordinarily believed to be. The labourer in Bengal villages is singularly careless, idle, ignorant and

improvident. The incapacity is both physical as well as mental. In physique the average Bengali villager has deteriorated to an alarming extent. The sturdy rustic who can carry a load of two maunds is scarcely to be found, and the proverbially strong races of "goalas" and "pathans" have declined in vigour. The reasons are not far to seek. A region, where more than a million people are swept away annually through malaria and similar preventible diseases, cannot expect a better physical condition from those that survive. As Dr. Bentley has very ably demonstrated in his book on "Malaria and Agriculture" in Bengal, the two are very closely correlated to an inverse ratio and the decline in health is reacting on agricultural production, a fall in which again is cumulatively increasing bad health. But all parts of Bengal are not equally affected with malaria. There is yet another reason for the physical deterioration. The Health Officer of the District Board of Murshidabad, who has been studying the question for some time past, is of opinion that social conditions and customs of marriage are playing no less important part in bringing about loss of vigour in the manhood of Bengal. The landless Mahomedans in this respect are better off than the Hindus, and hence their health is generally superior to that of the latter. Widow remarriage, prevention of child-marriages and inter-caste marriages and fusions are now imperative necessities for the rural Hindu population, while amongst the Mahomedans the laws of inheritance, that lead to a constant disintegration into uneconomic holdings, must be remodelled.

This inefficiency has also re-acted on the psychology of the modern village worker. When he is not working on his own land for higher profits, he will hardly exert himself and the carelessness is so great that he will not lose the least opportunity to idle away the time or to otherwise rob and exploit his employer. Some of the older villagers from whom I have obtained evidence declare that the modern labourer has acquired a very unhealthy sense of irresponsibility in their work and,

unlike their forefathers, have little scruples in cheating their employers in various ways. Thus, while the peasant proprietor will work on the land from early morning till evening with two hours' rest in all for taking food, smokes etc., and will hardly put in any thing less than eight hours' work in the day, the average labourer will go to the field at about 8 or 9 A.M. and will come away by 1 P.M. thereby putting in little more than four hours' work. In some parts an extra one or two hours' work may also be done on busy seasons in the afternoon. And the nature of work done and its quality is so bad that the payment that is made for such labour is very often unremunerative to the employing agriculturist. An anti-class feeling is also slowly developing in the minds of the land-proletariat. Drink and debauchery however are yet unknown to most of them.

I may be ridiculed in making these statements, by some ultra-enthusiastic sympathisers of labour, but, while I yield to none in my desire to see the condition of the masses of my countrymen improved, I must be bold enough to state facts as they are and must call what is black, black. And I hope to be excused for the same. The average rates of wages are highly fluctuating in different parts of Bengal. In the *Rarh* tract the wages vary from 2 annas per day on "slack" days, to about 12 annas or even Re. 1 per diem during very busy season. In some parts the lowest and highest wages range between 4 annas to 8 annas per day and for harder work the rates run up to even Re. 1 per diem. The average rate is 6 annas for the day in Central and Eastern Bengal. Sometimes the labourers are employed under piece work system and in such cases the income per head often goes above a rupee per day, as the workers exert themselves most under such circumstances. The money wages have thus increased largely during recent years.

Simultaneously with this rise there has been an increase in prices as well. It is, however, noticed that on the whole the village labourers as well as the cultivating peasants are now better fed, better clothed and better housed than what they

were ten to fifteen years ago. Their standard of living has decidedly improved of late and luxuries and comforts, amusements and pleasures of various kinds are fast growing in the villages. Fine clothes, trinkets, shoes, kerosene lights, and cheap imported stationery are more and more entering into the rural homes through the fairs and bazars, and during leisure hours more amusements are being indulged in. In these respects absolutely landless workers seem to be even better off than the small peasant cultivator who has worries and responsibilities which the former have not.

In the matter of food the average country workman now-a-days usually takes vegetable dal fish or meat and milk or *ghee* at times with his usual rice or bread, which his forefather never obtained. At the same time the way of living of village middleclass people and of the tenants and subtenants that do not work on the soil themselves, has gone down so much under sheer economic pressure that the gulf between the two broad classes of villagers, the semi-“bhadrloka” and the “Chasha” or cultivator, has narrowed down to a large extent.

In housing again, a similar improvement may be noticed among the agricultural workers, while the tenements of the middle class are ill-kept and dirty.

In education, however, the transition has not been so remarkable. Although the rural labourer has appreciated the pleasures of better living in various ways, yet their expenses for educating the young have remained almost negligible, compared to those of the superior classes who, in spite of a declining economic life are compelled under tradition to spend a lot on fruitless education of the younger generation.

Coming to the problem of indebtedness, I have noticed that the decrease in the liabilities of the cultivators has not been commensurate with the increased income. The general tendency of course has been towards a lowering of the rate of interest and loans, and the usual practice of “Dehri” and “Duni” business is on the decline. Civil disputes arising out

of indebtedness have also become much less in number than formerly. And these are not certainly due to an increased poverty of the villagers, nor to an increased activity of the co-operative movement.

But much is yet to be desired along these lines. The cultivators on the whole are extremely improvident. A good harvest and high prices bring in a large income to them one year, but soon they spend the whole sum away on newer luxuries and social and religious festivities etc. There are of course many exceptions to the above and the reports obtained are so conflicting that it is very difficult to come to any general conclusions about the course of indebtedness. This much, however, can be safely asserted that the indebtedness among the semi-Bhadraloka classes and among those that do not work at the plough themselves is fast increasing.

In conclusion, I beg to submit that in the rural areas the condition of the actual cultivators is brightening up, even without the help of the Agricultural Commission, while that of the other classes is darkening. The productivity of the soil and the methods of agriculture have not improved, but high prices are bringing in comparatively more income from the soil and consequently a greater attention is now usually being given to cultivation, manure and seeds than in older days.

The difficulties of labour has re-acted in a very unfortunate manner on the different classes in rural society, and it appears at times, as though the labourers, who are on the upper hand, are exploiting the land-owning classes, and taking revenge for the exploitation of labour in the industries. This state of things cannot make for a healthy reconstruction of the villages. Those young men that are now being asked to go back to the villages must be warned as to the necessity of working on the plough with their own hand, and they must have the necessary physical and mental equipments for the work, otherwise their distress will know no bounds, and they will come back in a few

years to their old services and will again swell the ranks of the unemployed, more dejected and broken down.

At the same time a scheme for sanitary improvement and mass education must be actively taken in hand to give steadiness to the improvements in the condition of rural labour. And, above all a systematic endeavour should be made to reconstruct our broken-up social edifice and to consolidate the disintegrating forces of our agrarian life.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

MY KINDRED

My kindred are the stars of heaven bright,
Revealers of the joy lying deep within,
While senses tire and body is quenched in night,
They speak of Faith and worlds of light we'll win.

My kindred are the flowers of dale and hill,
Reminding of the piety there's in love,
That meekness is a cure for every ill,
When all is barren beneath and bleak above.

My kindred are the lowly humble dust,
Awaiting patiently the last great day,
When all we'd known and loved betray their trust,
Alone unvaried is its welcome gray.

NALINIMOHON CHATTERJEE

CHANGES IN ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

Under this head the complex organisation of communities, the vast natural resources of the country, the natural advantages of climate, soil, configuration, harbours, and the quality of the people specially its educational traditions and intellectual baggage have to be studied. While these are the basic factors of the economic environment and organisation of a country, its very efficiency depends upon the shares allocated to the different parties whose joint efforts have produced the requisite commodities and upon the presence of institutions influencing the productive capacity of the man and the smooth course of the cycle of exchanges which governs the transfer of commodities. If the dynamic concept of economic progress can be successfully analysed it would become apparent that all the economic changes will be due to an alteration of the industrial basis of society, inventions, new processes and combinations, specialised methods of producing and efficient means of distributing goods. The higher productive capacity of the nation and the organic development of the society can only result out of improvements in the general means of communication, the development of the money market and these are the results of the conscious organisation on the part of the entrepreneurs of the society. Modern business requires intricate economic organisation and as Justice Brandeis of the U.S.A. Supreme Court has said—

“ The field of knowledge requisite to the more successful conduct of business has been greatly widened by the application to industry not only of chemical, mechanical and electrical science but also the new science of management ; by the increasing difficulties involved in adjusting the relations of labour to capital ; by the necessary intertwining of social with industrial problems ; by the necessity to expand the scope of Federal

and State regulation of business..... This new development is tending to make business an applied science.”¹

The mere existence of natural resources, or requisite capital or skilled labour is not sufficient, but business organisation has to be improved. Carver says—

“ Communities and nations have remained poor in the midst of rich surroundings fallen into decay and poverty in spite of the fertility of their soil and the abundance of their natural resources merely because the human factor was of poor quality or was allowed to deteriorate or run to waste.”²

It is not industrial inefficiency alone that can explain our relative backwardness as an industrial nation but that the essentials of economic organisation of business enterprises are not understood. The eight essentials in any business enterprise are proper manufacture, proper organisation of the company, sufficient capital, well-defined business policy, suitable factory and well-designed plant, loyal and efficient staff, trained accountant's department and an efficient selling force. The “swadeshi” stimulus of 1907 ushered in many business ventures but not one has been scientifically organised on the above-mentioned principles. Except a few cotton mills, a few coal companies and the Tata Iron Industry the other business ventures do not pay adequate attention to the business organisation of their enterprise. They try to solve their own problems in their own way. There is a lack of system and a method in running business. This can be had only if there is adequate leadership. Hence the cry for more Tatas, Rajendranaths, and Pochanawalas. Similarly the premier industry of the country-agriculture suffers from several defects and the backwardness of the Indian agriculturists is due to their inability to alter the time-honoured organisation of the industry.

¹ See “Business as a Profession,” pp. 2-4.

² See Prof. T. N. Carver “Principles of Economics,” p. 174.

The Interaction between Man and Nature.

In the absence of business leadership the work of creating utilities out of the natural resources of the country inevitably suffers. The possession of vast natural resources is the essential requisite for building up a vast and complex economic organisation. "There can be no bricks without straw," and economic progress cannot be achieved without the indispensable raw materials. India comprises a vast area of 1,802,624 sq. miles. So far as extent is concerned it equals all Europe minus the European Russia. Sir John Strachey remarked so early as in 1878 that "India by the extent and favourable conditions of its territory is capable of producing almost every article required for the use of man."¹ The richness, the extent, and the variety of India's agricultural products and raw materials² are undisputed facts. Coming to environment the geographic determinants, climate,³ soil,⁴ and the general topography of the land are so favourable but "man can transform the environment." The federated activity of man and his intelligence can enable him to find an economic meaning in the diverse natural forces that surround him. If only an increasing use of scientific knowledge is made the Indian people would be able to conquer the environment instead of allowing the environment to transform them.

Flora and Fauna.

The richness of the Flora of India would be evident if it is known that 1,700 species of flowering plants grow in this

¹ Quoted From V. Ball's "Economic Geology."

² See the U.S.A. Department of Commerce publication as regards India's natural resources.

³ India stretches from 8 deg. N to 35 deg. N and lies in the Torrid and Temperate Zone. While she has a variety of altitudes ranging from the sea-level to 29,000 ft., and she has a great variety of temperatures. The lowest temperature is recorded in Rawalpindi at 28.2 deg. while the highest is to be recorded in Upper Sind,—126 deg.

⁴ For the chief kinds of soil in India see the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. III, p. 8 et seq. See also Sir G. Watt "Commercial Products of India," p. 608 and other pages. See also the "Oxford Survey of the British Empire,"—Asia—p. 116,

country. On account of different climatic variations ranging from Arctic cold to Tropical heat many plants can thrive in India. It has been estimated that 576 European genera can flourish in India and about 760 species are indigenous to India. There are about 4749 woody plants of India consisting of 2513 trees, 1429 shrubs and 807 climbers. Her vegetable life is no less varied. Coming to the Fauna of India the Census of the live-stock recently organised states the position of India in this particular aspect. According to Blandford we find that there are "1,229 genera and 4,100 species of vertebrates and the country is rich in fisheries. The mineral resources of India according to the Indian Industrial Commission are sufficient to maintain most of the "key industries."¹ In addition to the vast resources India has vast sea-coast and large river systems to facilitate the external and internal transportation. Hence there ought to be no anxiety as regards the availability of mineral, vegetable, or animal resources to increase her economic strength, facilitate her industrial progress and secure national prosperity. Barring the human factor the environmental surroundings and conditions, *i.e.*,² the physical, climatic, geographic, geologic, mineralogic, vegetable and animal conditions are propitious and varied enough for the attaining of an efficient stage of economic prosperity. But nothing strikes so curious as the inexhaustible bounty of nature and the inability of the Indian people to successfully exploit these resources.

It has too often been stated that the geographic factors destine India to be a great agricultural country. The excessive heat saps the energy and interferes with the regularity of labour. The fertility of the tropics makes the country static, as less effort is needed to maintain life. There is consequently overpopulation leading to low wages.³ Vast plains are really unfavourable towards economic progress delaying the transition

¹ Blandford "The Fauna of British India."

² V. Ball, Sir T. Holland, and Mr. Coggin Brown say the same thing.

³ See H. T. Buckle "History of Civilisation in England."

from the nomadic stage to the sedantary life.¹ According to Prof. Cunningham "the soil fertility, other other great natural resources only give an opportunity for but cannot produce or maintain a high and cultural civilisation." Prof. Patrick Geddes says, "Place, work, and Folk act and react upon each other and tend to produce the state of civilisation existing in any society." The place factor determines the work of the people of the area and these two determine the people, *i.e.*, their manners, customs, morals, institutions, habits, intellect, skill and physique. He however attaches supreme importance to the place factor although he admits that "folk" can react on the work and the place.² It has already been shown that India possesses a varied topography yielding many climatic variations and natural resources. The rainfall varies from 3 to 460 inches.³ It is the lack of scientific intelligence that is disabling the Indian people to successfully exploit their material environment and release the dormant and latent powers. Buckle's remark⁴ that "nature in India seems to have impressed on man on all sides with a sense of his own insignificance and helplessness is significant but "still nature can be made to obey our behests. But the realisation of this faculty is contingent upon progressive intelligence, more industrial energy, improvement in foresight and other psycho-physical factors which can only be developed out of an educative process, better machinery and tool age, well-planned economic organisation and better banking facilities to take advantage of the suitable environmental resources. As one

¹ Petrarch, the Italian poet, says "that plains cannot produce poetry even." But the remark is purely an exaggeration.

² See The Indian Journal of Economics, Vol. III—p. 42.

³ No other country in the world is so dependent on rainfall as India. The government budget is nothing but "a gamble in rain." Too much of rain produces flood and sweeps away harvests. Too little of it produces drought and shortage of food-stuffs. Men as well as cattle die in untold numbers during famine times. It is not only its sufficiency that is important but its arrival should be timely. The annual average rainfall is 45 inches and if it does not rain in due season there is a failure of crops.

⁴ See also Sir B. Fuller "The Empire of India," pp. 281 and 323.

social philosopher has said that "land, climate, food-supply, the resulting modes of work and industry no doubt dominate the social life of early societies as Karl Marx and Frederick Le Play have shown but in advanced countries and civilised societies their influence tends to be increasingly modified by the very different internal forces known as vital impulses and mind forces and by the growing consciousness of purposes and aims on the part of a rational society and its members."¹ Until then no steps for augmenting the production of the community would be fruitful. The objective ideals of mankind as understood up till now are the improvement of mankind and human breed by Eugenics, the improvement of occupations and activities by Eutechnics and the improvement of surroundings by Eutopias. The adverse influences of place, work, folk,—known as environment,—function and organism or as Le Play terms them, Lieu, Travaile and Famille can be conquered to a great extent by subjecting them to the influences of such agencies as practicable Eugenics, wise eutechnic ideals and wholesome eutopian surroundings.² Our economic progress must be on and along these lines.

The economic destiny of a nation lies largely in its own hands. Economic progress is not a blessing to be conferred by some mysterious power from without. It can be earned by clear vision and hard work and constructive utilisation of human powers and natural forces. It can be realised only by making social changes comparatively easy. The time wasted on non-progressive activities has to be curtailed.³ If there had been galloping industrial development and economic evolution in the

¹ See E. J. Urwick "Philosophy of Social Progress," p. 53.

² See J. A. Thompson "The Control of life," pp. 257-264.

³ Just as Prof. Giddings has calculated series of Time-schedules for every adult American an attempt should be made to see how our adult population spend their time. This can be done by noting the ways in which every minute (for a month or a year) is spent and then by a careful analysis of the grand total it can be calculated how much time is being spent for conscious economic and social advance. I would venture to suggest that most of our time is spent on the routine of self-maintenance or "growing a belly" A part of our leisure time might be devoted to sports and for acquiring health,

XIXth century Europe it has been due to the abolition of privilege, establishment of equality, freeing of thought and expression, scientific discovery applied to human amelioration and a multiplicity of forms of insurance.¹ A French Professor gives a more elaborate analysis of causes responsible for the economic and social progress in Europe.² It is plain then that economic progress can be achieved only if there is intellectual and institutional progress. Persistent and conscious effort ought to be made to improve the causative conditions that make possible our economic progress. We must lift ourselves by our own boot-straps. This is the meaning of "conscious evolution."³ Personal growth and national prosperity are alike dependent on individual effort. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore says—

"The womanish *shakti* which has made us hoard our treasure in the *zenana* store-room should be banished and in its place the undeny-

ing for our cultivating religious philosophy or dabbling in politics. The study of household budgets and the construction of a series of time-schedules would give us an arsenal of facts from which we can calculate how the surplus energy, leisure and money are being spent.

¹ See Prof. E. A. Ogg "Social Progress in Contemporary Europe."

² M. Dellepienes' list is as follows—"Amelioration and generalising of material well-being, spirit of enterprise, high development of social and industrial man, disappearing and disapproval of duelling, and bullying occupations, interest in civic life, strict performance of duties as citizens, annulling of the influence of politicians, absence of electoral corruption or narrow chauvinism, disdain for plutocracy, prestige of intellectual elites, sentiment of security for person and property, respect for law and the principle of authority, elevation of the level of popular education and reduction of the number of illiterates, spread of scientific curiosity, moderation in expenditure for luxuries, spirit of order and discipline, love of work, aversion for bloody spectacles (bull fights, pugilism and cock fights) rise in the average duration of life, decrease of pauperism, begging, vagabondage, prostitution, alcoholism, morphinism, tobaccoism, criminality, insanity, suicide, gambling, illegitimacy, infant abandonment, abortions, tranquillity, and general optimism, faith in progress and confidence in the future.

See Review "Internationale de Sociologie" Jan'y, 1912—pp. 21-22. If these facts are scientifically co-ordinated we find a change in Government, in education, in religion, and in the family.

³ John Morley says, "The World only grows better even in the moderate degree in which it does grow better because people wish that it should and take the right steps to make it better." See 'Essay on Compromise.' In another place he says, "The doctrine of evolution should not be misunderstood as to believe that the world is improved by some mystic and self-acting social discipline which dispenses with the necessity of pertinacious

shakti of old, which made us undertake perilous voyages abroad, which made us international by spreading our religion, philosophy and science and which endowed us with masculine adventurous curiosity, should be revoked once more and our samajaic follies which make us deny full rights to our own countrymen—the depressed classes, which make the zemindar consider the tenant as his own personal property and which make our men in power glory in keeping subordinates under their heels, should be corrected.”¹

The adaptability of Western Nations.

One thing that has to be grasped is the go-ahead character of the Western nations in adapting their economic organism to changed conditions. As soon as it was discovered that methods of peaceful individualism were hopeless the system of syndicated organisation came to prevail, together with it, attempts to safeguard the interests of the public were devised. The German nation stands unrivalled in this matter of organisation. Their great organising ability, which seems almost a natural gift with them, is to be seen not only in the field of their giant manufactures, or medium-sized industrial businesses, or in skilled handiwork but even in the field of agriculture. Neither the English nor the French agriculturists can display that systematic co-operation, joint action of agricultural boards, schools, loan banks, granaries, and diaries as to be met with in the field of German agriculture.³ There is a close system of syndicates, cartels, employers Federations, zone compacts, price agreements and a complicated machinery of spheres of business and subordinations. The United States of America is another country which possesses such businessmen who understand the organisation of trusts and syndicates just as well as Germans do.

The English nation tacitly admits that other countries have gone ahead even in manufacturing industries. The

attack upon institutions, which have outlived their time and interests that have lost their justification.”

¹ Dr. Rabindranath Tagore “Greater India,” p. 26-30.

³ See F. Naumann “Central Europe,” p. 116.

British Iron and Steel industry has become dependent on semimanufactured German material. This is the case with all industries requiring specialised skill, taste, initiative and technical knowledge. The British nation is confining itself more to textile, machinery, naval construction, mercantile marine, international commerce and high finance. But the recent war has opened their eyes to the grave defects arising out of this excessive concentration in favour of industrialised occupations. Not only has the English nation been trying to develop her agriculture but it is now realising the advantages of learning these things. Says the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy after the war—"Conditions after the war are such that a further huge growth of syndicates and close business affiliations of all kinds seem practically certain in every industrial country. The process gets new stimulus from converging factors. The scale of organisation and production in the war made all vigorous minds conceive bigger possibilities than before. The load of taxation to be carried compels business interests to broaden their shoulders and strengthen their sinews. Higher wages urge on the effort for more efficiency and therefore for more economy in every matter except the wage-bill." England is thus forced to follow foreign examples and may perhaps improve on these examples as it had done in the case of compulsory insurance extending it to the solution of the unemployment problem itself. Thus in the Western industrialised countries the original days of handicraft have gone yielding place to modern mass production with its large output, rapid output and cheap output due chiefly to the machine and the individual genius of its contrivers. The massing of capital, the massing of men and the play of the brain have been its accompanying features. The limited company drives out the individual small owner-producer in the matter of all industries.¹

¹ See Mr. E. T. Good "Financial Review of Reviews," January, 1925.

"The prosperity of a nation depends on its industrial production per head of the population. Before the war we had developed a tendency to fall back upon the vital

This individual evolution is running parallel to the political evolution of mankind. Trustification is nothing but contemporary Imperialism embodied in the economic sphere.

India in a transitional Stage.

A clear and forcible idea of some of the economic and social conditions prevailing in the XIXth century can be obtained by reading the late Mr. Ranade's description :

"There is the prevalence of status over contract, of combination over competition. Our habits of mind are conservative to a fault. The aptitudes of climate and soil facilitate the production of raw materials. Labour is cheap and plentiful but unsteady, unthrifty, and unskilled. Capital is scarce, immobile and unenterprising. Co-operation on a large scale of either capital or labour is unknown. Agriculture is the chief support of nearly the whole population and this agriculture is carried on under conditions of uncertain rainfall. Commerce and manufactures on a large scale are but recent importations and all industry is carried on on the system of petty farming, retail dealing and job working by poor people on borrowed capital. There is an almost complete absence of a landed gentry or a wealthy middle class. The land is the monopoly of the State. The desire for accumulation is very weak, peace and security having been unknown over large areas for any length of time till within the last century. Our laws and institutions favour a low standard of life and encourage subdivision and not concentration of wealth. The religious ideas of life condemn the ardent pursuit of wealth as a mistake to be avoided as far as possible....Stagnation, dependence, depression, poverty—these are written in broad characters on the face of the land and its people."

matter of output. Relatively to our natural resources we had nothing to boast of in 1913. But to-day with still better machinery, with a larger population, with great arrears in housing and other things to make good and with a larger load of debt we are doing even less work, producing fewer commodities than in the year 1913. Per unit of labour, our output of food and clothing, coal and manufactures, railways, ships and houses in the bulk, is far below that of our fathers, not to say grandfathers, who had nothing like the mechanical appliances we possess. This is not the way to prosperity. It is the way to bankruptcy."

¹ See M. G. Ranade "Indian Political Economy," a paper read before the students at the Deccan College.

With the lapse of time considerable changes have occurred in the socio-economic conditions of the life of the people and though the communistic basis of economic life has changed to a certain extent still his concluding remark holds good of the present-day conditions of our society. Coming to some of the noticeable changes¹ we find Indian society is passing from the fixed hereditary skill to free contract and the hardened cake of traditional custom or *achara* is being slowly melted by the development of free thinking and individual judgment. The undivided joint family system, "joint in food, and estate," is still functioning to a certain extent. The individualistic tendencies due to changed economic conditions are on the increase. The customary relationships between the borrower and the money-lender in India have been transmuted into a legal relationship and the general adaptation of British legal practices and judicial methods in India have not been altogether a complete success.² The economic habits of the rural people especially the common use of village woods and wastes have been superseded to a certain extent by the forestal economy of the British Government. Speaking of the

¹ See H. Dodwell "Economic Transition in India." "Economic Journal—1910, Vol. XX.

The number of companies on the registers in the United Kingdom on December, 1918, were about 87,000. The new companies registered in 1917 were 3,963 and in 1918 the number was 3,504, there were fewer new companies in 1918 but their nominal capital was £127,870,495 as compared with £67,813,926 and the average amount increased from £17,111 to £36,495 which indicates the increase in the size of the units of organisation.

This increase in the size of commercial units is, of course, universal, for example in the Netherlands in 1862 there were 284 companies with capital of 330 ms francs and in 1912 there were 7,660 companies with 6,095 m. marks capital and in 1913 there were 5,487 with 21,921 m. marks. In Switzerland in 1901 there were 2,056 with 1,181 m. francs capital and in 1917 there were 5,056 with 3,884 m. besides foreign companies in Switzerland numbering 91 in 1901 with 1,093 and 139 in 1917 with 1,642 ms. francs capital. This was notwithstanding the fact that between 1902 and 1909 Switzerland nationalised railways representing a capital of 1,200 m. francs. Quoted from C. D. Burns "Government and Industry," p. 165.

² See J. R. MacDonald "The Government of India," p. 207. See also Keir Hardie "India,"

vicissitudes of village administration under the British Rule Dr. Radhakamal writes—

“ The steam roller of a bureaucratic administration was applied for levelling down all common rights the village claim to preferential occupation, rent or compensation was scrupulously denied. Even the common lands were assigned in favour of individual proprietors on full assessment. The forces at work favour the extension of cultivation, grazing becomes scarce and valuable lands cease to exist or seriously deteriorate. The village employees have ceased to be the employees of the village and even the village communal labour has been taken up by the compulsory Labour Act, Madras. The superimposition of the Governmental machinery of administration has often led to a duplication of the village police and magistracy, the friction and waste involved therein.”¹

The creation of a central government which was stretching out its hands on all sides in the shape of excise, the forest, the settlement and similar departments undermined effectively the socio-economic organisation of the village and has tended to drain away the village revenue resources to the coffers of the Imperial Exchequer which only surrenders quite a small proportion of it back to the village.² In addition to this the drain from the village in the shape of the lawyer's fees, court fees, stamp fees which hitherto remained in the village when the ubiquitous “ panch ” was all powerful is undermining the prosperity of the villagers. The cost of education which some of the village families bear in order to enable their members to seek government service or seek a University degree is another pecuniary burden on these families. Hence the lack of funds contributes to the decay of village education, village sanitation,

¹ The British Government has been committed to the policy of Decentralisation, thereby meaning the transferring of the power of the bigger administrative unit to the smaller ones. This is not the real solution. The building up of the political structure should commence with the autonomous village and district units as the centre. National autonomy must be built as in the U. S. A. upon provincial autonomies. Otherwise mere decentralisation of power leads to increase of petty bureaucrats and the perpetuation of strict control over the whole system of administration by the bureaucrats as before.

² See K. Vysarao “ The Future Government of India,”

village pasturage, village irrigation, village granaries—in a word village prosperity and plenty.

The village labourers, although they are inefficient and unskilled, still aspire to better their conditions and it is this that is acting as one of the causes for emigration out of the village. Indian labour has almost become economically dearer than European¹ or American Labour on account of its unskilled nature. While the scarcity of labour and high prices lead to higher wages, the industrial labourers generally do not show much comparative² efficiency. So far as cotton operatives are concerned it is estimated that the Indian labourer turns out only $\frac{1}{5}$ of the product of the Lancashire operative. Another fact about Indian labour is the nature of its bad distribution.³ Some provinces are congested while others stand greatly in need of labourers. It is to overcome the conservative nature and immobility of labour that Sirdars are appointed to attract labourers to the different mills. Many of the industries have to face the problem of obtaining steady labour, as life in the towns is not liked on account of bad housing conditions and the possibility of living with families is denied to them on account of the high cost of living, the monotony of work and the subjection to stricter discipline in factories. Indian labour is immobile and the rigid caste conditions do not permit the shifting from one occupation to another. Of late the movement of the lower classes to invade the occupations of the higher

¹ See Dr. L. C. A. Knowles "Economic Development of the Overseas Empire."

"Indian labour is expensive in the sense that it does not easily respond to any stimulus like that of competition of higher wages and good conditions or professional pride or delight in efficiency and finish. It consists in fact of human material of an almost uniform grade, traceable within certain limits and for definite purposes but not rich in unexpected possibilities and almost devoid of enterprise and initiative."

² This is the case with unskilled labour. So far as trained labour is concerned Dr. Gilbert Slater says that the Tata Iron and Steel firm operatives who receive 8 *as.* per day turn out as good work as their English confreres in steel works in England but there they obtain several times higher wages. Dr. R. K. Das speaks highly of the efficiency of the trained labourers. But as a whole the Wage Census of the Bombay Presidency points out that the quality and artistic and industrial skill of the labourers have fallen.

³ See The Moral and Material Progress of India, 1917 Report, pp. 1, 7, 25, 83.

classes has become marked. Several of the Non-brahmins of the Madras Presidency have given up their caste occupations, and using political privilege as a lever they are trying to invade the professional occupations of the Brahmin class. Again the Touch-me-notism tendency is responsible to the overcrowded state of the Panchama people in their traditional callings. Except the Chamār or leather workers other people have not become permanent wage-employees owing to the caste restrictions. Thus the present state of Indian labour can be described as heterogeneous, abundant in some parts, scarce in other parts, difficult of self-organisation and always on the borderland of poverty, hunger and ill-health. The old hygienic customs are given up and there is an unwise imitation of the western habits of life in the cities. The new landlords created in our midst and the exploiting financiers are tending to evict labourers out of land and the semi-hemi-demi labourers can never become industrially efficient without special training. These and other changing features of our society must be readjusted on a new plan affording universality of opportunity to all people to get educated and thereby improve their own condition. "Justice for all and injury for none" ought to be the motive force guiding our people in the scheme of economic re-organisation.

India should copy the example of other countries.

India unfortunately remains impervious to the useful examples of other countries. The art of formation of Joint-stock companies has not been learnt to perfection. This principle was first learnt in the industrial boom days of 1906-1909. During the boom days as in 1919-20 the country becomes filled up with Joint-stock companies whose capital bears no fair relation to the assets. These companies are solely launched by unscrupulous men for purposes of filching the substance of the poor ignorant investors. The country soon becomes strewn with the wreck of such companies. There was a recrudescence

of such a mania in 1918-20 and several crores of rupees have been knocked off by nefarious swindlers and company promoters. It is folly to become morbid over past stupidity. Nor is it wisdom to regret over the snail's pace at which we are progressing. Every ounce of energy is needed in the task of re-organising our store of capital actively in a workable programme for economic advance. The Government's duty is to pass a stringent company law regarding financial trickery preventing dishonest flotations and securing a greater degree of publicity of their transactions. The joint-stock organisation is the means by which the requisite capital and business ability can be combined in due proportion and if this task is ill-performed production cannot be carried on effectively. It is not only necessary that the companies should be carefully formed but Indian directors well-versed in organising the business on economic lines have to be trained in large numbers.

Other countries.

The limitations of Joint-stock companies indicated by Adam Smith are no longer true in the modern days. It is not routine trades admitting uniformity of methods like banking, insurance, canal making, water-supply business alone that can be conducted efficiently on a joint-stock basis. It is applied almost universally to every kind of business and the principle of association is the keystone of modern western society. In America as well as Germany there is a "gradual supersession" of individual by joint-stock enterprise. The business administration of these units is being constantly improved so as to check the incidental evils of mechanical and routine methods of company administration. Men of high principles, business experience and sound judgment are playing the role of directors of the Jt.-St. companies. The principle of forming committees of directors to manage special items of business is being successfully applied. The employees of the companies are

sometimes given direct interest in the prosperity of business and by other means their loyalty to the company is secured. Thus the formation of private companies into Joint-stock companies is being rapidly affected. Formerly this movement was considered as a retrograde one and as adverse to "national prosperity and industrial leadership." It is not private management alone that can care for efficiency, progress and economical management. Provided there is the right sort of plastic and elastic form of Jt.-St. organisation there is bound to be an *esprit de corps* in the officials of the company and all the advantages of the private form of management can be annexed by it in addition to the internal and external economies which are denied to the small-scale private forms of business units.

Taking our country into account we find that the company form of organisation is not the prevailing form of business organisation. If we reckon the large-scale industrial units we find that there are 15,606 establishments of which 667 are government owned ; 3,292 are owned by registered companies and the rest are owned by private individuals. Private persons own jute presses, cotton ginning mills and manganese mines. The company form of management predominates in cotton mills, jute mills, coal mines, tea and rubber plantations, metal and machinery workshops.

Political freedom facilitates economic organisation.

Changes in economic organisation or industrial organisation can be easily affected in any country if it really enjoys freedom. Taking the U.S.A. into account its economic progress has been due to national endeavour to attain economic self-sufficiency helped to a large extent by a national government. The war has accelerated the pace of these changes and as Prof. Chapman observes, "the changes of an age have been packed into a few years." The Indian Government performs the part of a step-mother and the people do not realise as yet the

duty each one bears towards every other in an organised society. Hence the lack of intelligent co-operation and want of trust in the abilities of their own countrymen. These defects are in no small degree responsible for our industrial backwardness. Our shyness in parting with our capital for industrial purposes, the dearth of technical experts and organising entrepreneurs are no less responsible for the same. The textile industries as cotton, jute, silk, hemp, and wool could be satisfactorily worked by the Indian people provided the proper economic organisation of the business enterprise is brought about. Just as India is rich in the raw materials of the Textile industry so also her wealth of oil-seeds, rice, hides, minerals, medicinal herbs can be turned into semi-manufactured goods in this country alone. Instead of that they are allowed to be exported and imported in a manufactured shape at high costs varying from 100 to 500 per cent. of the actual cost of the raw material. Political power is essential to develop the economic capacity in the right channels. A thoroughly representative government including labourers would be in a position to set right the material conditions of life in a great way so that industrial efficiency can be improved in the long run. It is due to the lack of political power, the people have not been able to carry out the specific recommendations for the promotion of the indigenous industry made by the Indian Industrial Commission. The recommendations of the Stores Committee would not have been brushed aside. The recommendations of the Jails Committee, Deck Passengers Committee, Mercantile Marine Committee and Beggary Committee are still hanging fire. The solution of the Indianisation problem recommended by the Royal Commission on Public Services is proceeding at a snail's pace but even this has lately been considered as having gone too far.¹ It is political power alone which would enable the development of the indigenous industries on right lines and to secure the due

¹ See the Report of the Inchcape Committee.

rights of labour and tone down to a great extent the miseries arising in the transitional stage from one stage of economy to another as in our case. But it has been well said that "applied economics is not all politics," nor can political salvation remedy to a great extent the lack of sound organisation on our part. Both labour and capital have to learn much and the unorganised labour of India is decidedly worse off than the organised and united labour of the western countries but even with the united strength of the Trade Unions at their back they have not been able to improve their position and their appalling poverty still remains unsolved.

Other Changes in Economic Organisation.

The present-day economic organisation of the western countries is mainly that of capitalistic production in the chief industries and except in agricultural business industry is based not on the family footing idea but on the business basis. The defects of the capitalist industrial order have been pointed out by the economists and the industrial organisers as follows: Firstly, there is the insecurity of tenure attached to industrial work. Secondly, there is dull monotony of work and a tireless repetition of work. Thirdly, there is the enslavement of the workers who have no power to control the processes of production. Fourthly, there is the degradation of the workers arising out of the sense of dependence and suffering involved during days of unemployment. Fifthly, there is no scope to develop the personality of the workers, their higher character and conduct. Self-realisation is denied to these workers with the result that they are deindividualised and undeveloped either from the mental or moral standpoint. Sixthly, there is shoddiness of work and in some cases there is restricted output of workers resulting out of the anxiety of the employers to maintain a nominal rate of profit. Seventhly, the relationship between the employer and the employee becomes depersonalised. Eighthly, some of the

employers tend to become incompetent and selfish as they lag behind their competitors in the matter of industrial technique. As a consequence of these unhappy results reformers have been seeking to change the method of economic organisation so as to deprive the industrial system of its baneful features. But before their attempts can be studied it must be recognised that several of the above evils are generally exaggerated and the industrial system is held responsible for the intensification of some evils originally existing in the society. For instance slum squalor arises out of faulty system of land owning but as the industrial system intensifies these evils it is held responsible for this evil. The lack of taste in modern dress is supposed to have resulted out of the mass production of these articles but really it is due to the "barbaric and eyeless" system of education.

The reformers do not propose to revert to small-scale production and restricted markets as in the Middle Ages. They are anxious to retain the advantages of the system of large-scale production. The industrial system has enriched the age with better and more efficient means of communication and transport agencies. There is larger and more variegated supply of food. The distributable surplus has enlarged on account of machines being utilised as the means of production. The industrial system affords opportunity and freedom from the sole duty of acquiring the necessary needs of life. The standard of life has arisen to a certain extent and cleanliness, food and shelter are secured and enjoyed to a greater extent than before. It might be that beauty of surroundings and ease of manner have not been universalised by this industrial system. Hence the attempt is not to overthrow this system of industrial production but to bring about a change in such a manner so that the evils might be removed, the self-development of the worker secured and the excellence of the product of the service safe-guarded. Industry is understood as a public service and the interests of the consumers are no less important than the one of the workers or the employers. The general

tendency is to bring the consumers into closer contact with the workers and it is the representatives that have to guide production instead of the present agents of the merchants, or financiers.

Social conscience has been awakened in those countries and we find that industrial legislation is undertaken with the view of relieving the sufferers to a certain extent from the evils of their "balked dispositions" and unnatural suppressions of their instincts.* The Western States aim to moralise the industry. Humanising the occupation and the increasing of the leisure of the workers tend to give scope to the workers to achieve self-realisation to a limited extent at least. The modern Western States tend to administer the Factory Laws, Unemployment Insurance, Truck Acts, Company Acts, Bankruptcy Acts, Registration, Commercial treaties, Currency and banking practice in such a way as to secure the moral excellence of the workers and the highest possible achievement of the workers. The States do not rest content with the negative one of administering laws for securing law and order but such other acts are passed so as to humanise and civilise life. The Trade Unions and the Employers Associations tend to co-operate with the State in this important duty. The Indian State has to expand the conception of its duty from the purely negative one of administering law and order alone to that of securing humane and civilise life for the great majority of its population.

Attempts have been made in other directions to secure the main object of remedying the evils of the capitalistic system of industrial production. The emphasis is levied on co-operative associations. Co-operative consumers associations are likewise a protest against the capitalistic order of industrial production. They aim to give precedence to the interests of the consumers to those of the producers. The economic organisations of the wage-earners, the organisations of the employers and the co-operative movement have been ushered into existence mainly as a protest against the dominant evils of the capitalistic

production. Coming to co-operative production it has been realised that very few commodities fall within the scope of this movement. Except in the case of simple handicrafts which have to produce for municipal bodies or the state or buyers associations there is not much chance for successful working of this kind of production.

Modern Guild Socialism similarly aims at making the Trade Union work the whole industry as a co-operative productive association. Building guilds have been formed in England and in Germany. Though it has successfully worked in this trade not every trade is likely to be organised on this basis. It would be suitable in all cases of handicrafts and of production of products where delay would not be causing serious harm to the parties concerned. But if production involves higher technical knowledge and keen business organisation it is bound to fail in all such kinds of trades or business.

Industrial Germany has evolved still another form of economic organisation known as jointly-controlled Associations where science, the employers, the employees, the State and the consumers are represented in the management of this business. Thus modern developments in the different countries tend to follow the direction that is suitable to the condition of their industries. Economic organisation not only varies in the different industries but from country to country and from one stage of development to another always depending on the industrial background of the society. The task before the Indian State, the Indian Employers, the Employees and the consumers is to organise the different industries in a suitable manner so that the real ultimate object of all work which is the ideal development of the ideal man might be achieved.

There are at present few common organisations between the Government and the Indian people aiming at the progress and general welfare of society. The aims of the Government and the people are not identical, hence there is no supplementing of each other's activities, and no national programme of political

power, social betterment and economic progress has been chalked out.

Changes in Power.

Another noticeable feature in the economic life of the western countries is the changes of the industrial areas resulting out of the application of new sources of power and substitution of new processes. The stock examples of this tendency are the metallurgical and the textile industries. When coal was discovered the iron industry was shifted from the forest regions to the coal producing areas. When the power loom began to displace the hand loom the cotton industry forsook the cottages to find accommodation on the banks of rivers and streams. It is now the fond expectation of some scientists as well as the economists to decentralise manufactures carried on a large scale by the application of electricity as a source of power instead of coal or fuel oil which are now widely used.

As a matter of fact economic progress in the field of industry depends on the ability of the people to discover new and cheaper sources of power. Originally man utilised his body as the only source of his industrial power. Gradually he learnt the art of taming the animals and animal power is still an important factor in several of the countries. According to Carver the animal power in the U.S.A. was greater than, until after the year 1910, the steam and water power used in manufacturing.¹ Winds and waterfalls have generated power to a certain extent which has been very often used in propelling ships and driving machinery. But now dependence is placed on steam generated from or out of coal and other fuel. Of late fuel oil has been considered as a desirable source of power specially fit for navigation purposes.² Electric transmission of the power in the

¹ See T. N. Carver "The Economy of Human Energy," p. 182.

² The change from coal to oil as motive power in the North-Western Railway which terminates at Karachi is noticeable and the electrification of the two railways running into Bombay is also a praiseworthy feature. See paragraphs (19-21), Report of the Indian Coal Committee,

streams that run uselessly to the sea has become an accomplished fact in several of the western countries, Sweden and Switzerland being notable examples in this respect.

The ambition of the modern scientists is to outdo the notable experiments of Archimedes, who according to tradition, succeeded in burning the Roman ships that besieged the city of Syracuse by reflecting Sun's rays on them from huge mirrors. Solar physicists propose to "study the Sun and the solar system for discovering and mastering the great source of energy stored up in that great unexplored engine of energy" If their desire is accomplished solar engines may be perfected so as to displace oil, coal and electricity generated out of water-falls or rivers.

A similar quest for new and cheaper power and for shifting industrial areas to favourable localities should be the main object of the Indian industrialists. The possibility of developing cottage industries by affording cheap electricity as the source of motive power has been pointed out long ago but nothing has been achieved in this line. Only a rough survey of the possible hydro-electric sources of power has been undertaken. But there would be a desirable progress in this line in the near future as the people have realised the advantages flowing out of the successful functioning of the Sivasamudram Falls and the Gersoppa Falls. Three other schemes are in contemplation and the the most important of them being the Andra-Valley Scheme. It is not mines alone that can be benefited out of this application of electricity. The lighting of cities and the supplying of cheap and effective source of power can be had out of the successful working of these hydro-electric installations in our country.¹

It is a well-known fact that the tariff in future would be based on the requirements of the industries and the revenue

¹ See the Preliminary Report of the Hydro-Electric Survey in India.

It points out that the Himalayan Region is the area of "white coal" and if cheap electric power is to be generated, paper making, pencil making, glass making and timber sawing can be developed on a large scale. Cheap rope-ways and cheap railways can be started with the hydro-electric power.

consideration alone would not influence its course. As the tariff wall is built higher and higher the tendency would be for the foreign capitalist to come in and set up his plant. If we take recent English Duties into account we find that the Ford Motor Car Manufacturers, in order to escape paying these crushing duties, have opened their factory in England itself. A realisation of this possibility makes the I. F. Commission apprehensive of the future and it has accordingly made the suggestion that "no foreign country should be allowed to monopolise profits due to a policy of protection in India and at the cost of the Indian consumers." Thus the raising of the tariff can act as a force in the matter of changing industrial areas and in the near future we might notice the entry of foreign capitalists into this country and one benefit would be the utilisation of the cheap power that can be generated out of the different resources we possess. Under their guidance we might notice the erection of machinery and up-to-date plant, wise employment and direction of the labour force, methodical way of placing and accepting contracts, purchasing raw materials and selling the finished products. Although these advantages can be secured the policy of associating Indians in the work of developing the country's resources should be forced on the foreign capitalists. The Indian people must themselves discard the non-modern features of her economic organisation. Just as the intellectual hope and the political future of India depends on the introduction of modern ideas in the social organisation which tend to break down the isolation of caste organisation and create human equality in its place, so also the economic future of India lies in the securing of a better balanced economic organisation than at present and the modernisation of the economic processes of productivity, exchange and distribution. A better balanced economic system for India would be one where excessive dependence on old-fashioned agricultural industry is curtailed, where the lack of capital and efficient labour and skilled management is remedied, where the

equalising of the bargaining powers of capital and labour is secured and where all the factors of production are duly and proportionately combined as to produce automatically satisfactory results. The means for creating a better balanced economic system is a popular system of universal vocational education, universal opportunity for communication, universal enjoyment of comforts and conveniences produced by an efficient industrial system and a better redistribution of population among the different occupations. Our population is mainly engaged by their own labour in supplying their own modest needs. There is no great concentration of landowning, no great differentiation of economic functions, no clean-cut distinction between the different economic classes, no great number of people depending solely upon weekly wages, no large number of industrial cities, and certain amount of unemployableness are some of the characteristics of the modern economic organisation of India. These features do not give rise to the problem of distribution but the moment India becomes a land where there is a great widening of the gap between the different social classes, where an urbanised, industrialised and commercialised community exists and when it is filled up with teeming factories and warehouses, the problem of distribution would become pressing and acute. Political changes as the enfranchising of the labourers instead of the present system of nominating few people to represent the labourer's interests would accentuate the problem of distribution and a serious attempt would be made to turn the scale in their favour.

Our economic organisation has to be modernised. It must be recast just as education, sanitation, industry, manufacturing and agricultural social habits, and the State's duties have to be done in the light of recent experiences and requirements. The economic organisation itself must be in competent Indian hands under British guidance and direction but never under foreign direction, ownership and control. There should be a complete importation of foreign skill processes and methods of

work into our own country. The Government itself has to play an important part in fulfilling this duty and earn the title of economic Providence.

By changes in economic organisation plutocracy and poverty, the twin evils of capitalistic societies, are being rendered harmless. High wages are leading to a wider diffusion of prosperity, health and a higher state of civilisation. The present economic revolution in the United States of America is ushered in by the successful working of the Labour Banks¹ and the higher strategy of Labour Organisations has succeeded in harmonising the interests of the capitalists and the labourers, and has done much to mitigate the harsh features of a soulless capitalistic system. Should not India follow the footsteps of other countries and by adapting her economic organisation reap similar material benefits?

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

¹ See T. N. Carver "The Economic Revolution of the United States of America," also chap. on "Worker's Banks" by Richard Boeckel in his book entitled "Labour's Money."

THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION BEFORE THE WAR*

It is with a very deep sense of honor, and an abiding sense of pleasure, that I have accepted the invitation of the Senate of the University of Calcutta to give this series of lectures on "Current International Co-operation." I should be delighted at any time to have the privilege of meeting with so many of my fellow-students whose interests run in the same channel as my own ; one whose highest ambition is to do the work of a scholar cannot find anything more to his liking than to meet with his colleagues and to outline to them the direction of his thinking, in the hope that he may evoke criticisms and suggestions which will set him more directly on the road to the common goal. But my pleasure on this occasion is increased because of the privilege I esteem it to be to meet with you inside the portals of this great University, which is known throughout the world for its hospitality to learning, and which so worthily guards the traditions of an ancient and enduring civilization.

• I am the more delighted because the Senate of the University has permitted me to take as the subject of my lectures a topic which is of such common interest to the students of our time, whether they be gathered at Calcutta or at Harvard, or at any other active-minded center. It is a subject which the differences in the methods and manners of Eastern and Western universities do not compel us to approach in any different spirit. It is a theme of vital interest, and I think I may say of the same vital interest, to the peoples of both the East and the West. It opens to the thinking men and women of our genera-

* Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University, January 31, 1927.

tion, in whatever country they may work and under whatever flag they may live, the richest opportunities for the exercise of political intelligence, political ingenuity and political imagination ; and in the long run, I suspect that it may depend upon those of us who live in the close companionship of ideas, and of books that generate and transmit ideas, rather than upon the activities of so-called " men of action," whether our generation will live up to the opportunities which recent events in world history have made for us.

I feel sure that the scholars of this University share with us at Harvard a general appreciation of the great changes which have come about in international polity during the course of the last one hundred years. But it is so easy to neglect the recent events of one's own and of immediately earlier times, and the temptation is always so strong to ignore the significance of recent happenings in the direction of political thinking, that I must ask your indulgence for a brief review to serve as an introduction to our consideration of the present problems of international co-operation. It can only be unfortunate, I think, that so many people in the West continue to discuss international affairs in terms of world conditions that have long since passed away, and that conceptions which may have served existing realities in previous times persist in dominating the approach to problems arising out of conditions vastly dissimilar. If I seem to belabor an introduction which deals only with the patent facts of modern international developments, I hope you will attribute my zeal to my contact with Western minds which have so often failed to take account of these facts.

A few weeks ago, indeed it was during the course of the present month, a very significant announcement was made which seems to me to challenge the spirit with which we would approach the solution of present-day international problems. It was heralded by the daily press in many continents that facilities have now been completed for the opening of telephonic communication between London and New York, and on January 7,

1927, a regular telephone service was established across the Atlantic Ocean. Perhaps most of us have become so accustomed to the feats of modern science that the event did not startle us; many Western peoples, at any rate, live so constantly in a world of "thrilling news" that it was probaly greeted with little more than a commonplace interest. But those of us who are searching for the international realities of our time may well pause to understand its significance. It is hardly more than a short half-century since the first successful telephone service in the world was inaugurated, and the fact that such a big development could have been achieved in so short a period may serve to remind us of other changes which have come about in the world during the past hundred years.

I think it is not too much to say that two outstanding things in the past century have served to revolutionize the conduct of international relations. The first was the improvement in transportation and communication, of which the London-to-New-York telephone service is the most recent testimony. In the course of the past century, inventions have made it possible for the seas to be laid out as lanes of travel for giant steamships which are to-day connecting all the continents with regularity and speed. Voyages which in the days of sailing vessels but a few years ago required months, now require but weeks and even days. No part of the world is separated from other parts by un-traversed seas. The ocean has become a great world's highway, upon which countries exchange not merely their products and their populations, but their ideas as well. In the course of the past century, also, many continents have been covered with net-works of railways, which have greatly facilitated not only exchanges among the people within a country but also exchanges between the peoples of different countries. In but a few years of railroad development—it is barely a century since the first railroad began to be operated—belts of steel have made it possible for one to travel

in a few days from Vladivostok to Madrid and from Quebec to Mexico. Territories widely separated, which a hundred years ago were without any contact whatever, have been brought into daily and intimate relations.

Improvements in communications have been fully as significant as the improvements in transportation. The first successful cable across the Atlantic was completed in 1866, and since that time cables have been laid to connect all the continents. Land telegraphs throughout the world have made it possible for people in vastly remote regions to be considering almost simultaneously the same events, and to a large extent thinking the same thoughts. The wireless telegraph has been developed even within the last generations; yet hardly a ship sails the seas without it to-day, and few are the peoples who do not depend upon it for following world events from day to day. Last Christmas Eve I found myself on the Syrian Desert at a place some two hundred miles from the nearest settlement in any direction, and there it was possible for me to be in touch with almost any other part of the world by means of wireless. I could not resist the temptation to ponder upon the caravans which through long ages have been passing Rutba Wells, and to ask myself what those men would have thought of an invention which would have made it possible for them to overcome the desert silence and imprisonment so easily. The development in modern broadcasting has now proceeded to such a point that in many parts of the world one may actually "assist," as the French say, at gatherings of his fellows across the seas and in remote countries.

Such changes in transportation and communication have necessarily profoundly changed the relations of peoples with each other. Few if any peoples now desire to hold themselves free of their influence, and in most countries the life of the ordinary man has been quite revolutionized. The world has greatly dwindled, as compared with what it was a century ago. Distance has ceased to be a barrier to communication. Men

live in vastly extended areas, they know what far more of their fellow-men are doing and thinking, and they have become members of a community which is no longer bounded by a mountain, or a river, or a sea.

A second event of the past century which has greatly changed the world in which we live was the industrial revolution. A hundred years ago, most peoples were mainly dependent on their own production for their livelihood. The seas were widely sailed, and in some countries there were people whose wants might be satisfied from the riches of other lands ; but the masses of people in most countries had no facility for disposing of their products abroad in such a way as to permit them to share in the enjoyment of what other peoples might send them in return. With the coming of machine industry, however, accompanied as it has been by the development of mechanical transportation, the world has made a division of labor which was never possible in ages past, with the result that broadly speaking, the resources of the whole world are to-day available to all the peoples of the world. No people in the world is quite content now to live by itself. This has meant greater complication in the lives of most peoples—their wants have increased and their dependence on peoples in other lands has grown proportionately.

In many countries, the ordinary man draws for his daily living upon the wealth and the labor of peoples who are very remote from him, who indeed were wholly outside his world a century ago ; and he finds in consequence that the return for his own labor depends upon the wants and conditions of those who supply his needs. I presume that my own country is one of the most nearly self-supporting in the world ; and yet there are few Americans whose daily living is not in some way dependent on what the peoples of other countries are willing to buy and to sell. An American travelling in the East cannot fail to be reminded of the extent to which, in a brief period of a decade or two, the American automobile has created and has

come to fill a universal need ; yet the American automobile in itself represents the contributions of many different peoples, and if the East's supply of rubber were suddenly discontinued the automobile industry would all but collapse. Certainly you in India have not remained free of such results of the modern organisation of industry ; for if I understand the meaning of the "khaddar movement," it is in itself a recognition of what I am trying to point out. Whether we like it or not, whether it be deemed good or bad, whether we want to encourage or to discourage it, whether we would call it progress or the opposite, the result of what has happened in industry has been to create for all the peoples of the world an interdependence of which their ancestors did not dream a century ago.

These changes of the last hundred years have created a new world society. All of the peoples of the world have been drawn into a single world community which bears little resemblance to the world of separate and self-contained states upon which the nineteenth century dawned. It is a community in which relations between different peoples have become much more intimate, their common problems have become much more numerous, and their need for common action much more urgent. It demands, in consequence, a new kind of political organization. The state organization of the eighteenth century has by no means lost its capacity to serve many of the political needs of such a community ; but it would be astonishing indeed if one should find that it still proved itself an adequate form of political organization when so many changes have occurred since it was evolved. The political conceptions of the eighteenth century may have served very usefully the political realities existing when they were developed and applied, but it does not follow that their usefulness continued after those realities had yielded place to others. But such are the loyalties of men that political conceptions which have once proved their usefulness, are not lightly abandoned, and long after the beginning of the changes which I have attempted to describe, the problems of this new

world society continued to be approached by methods similar to those which had previously proved successful.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the world had practically no international organization. The Grotian system of international law was a great cementing force, though Grotius' distinction between good and bad wars was never really accepted. Even after the beginning of the industrial revolution, and long after the changes in transportation and communication were well under way, politicians continued to think of states as sovereignties wholly independent of each other, whose relations knew no restraints except those which had grown up out of the diplomatic traditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, little thought was given to the new problems of the widening world community, nor to the new possibilities of common action directed to their solution. The large international congresses of the earlier half of the century, assembled in each instance to deal with acute political exigencies, did attempt some international legislation—the Congress of Vienna in 1815 promulgated legislation as to international rivers, and the Congress of Paris in 1856 laid it down as a rule that “free ships make free goods” in time of war. But no machinery existed for periodical legislation with reference to the common interests of the various states, and it was long after scientists and merchants had begun to build the modern unity before lawyers and politicians began any corresponding activity.

Efforts to deal with the problems of the growing international community commenced soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, and by the beginning of the twentieth century they had resulted in the creation of a new body of world law which had carried us far beyond the classical system of Grotius. One of the first needs to be met was that which sprang from the establishment of telegraphic communications. In 1850, two international telegraphic unions were formed, one comprising France, Belgium and Prussia, and the other comprising

Austria and some of the German States. In 1852, a convention was signed at Paris which formed a single telegraphic union of all the continental European states which had state-controlled telegraph systems. But it was not until 1865 that the International Telegraphic Union which we now have, was formed. For more than half a century, this league of nations has served one of the primary needs of the modern world, and it has developed a great system of international law of telegraphs, applied by a well-organized system of periodic international conferences served by a permanent staff of experts with headquarters at Berne.

It was about the same time, also, that attention began to be directed to the postal needs of the new world community. The extension of industrial and commercial activity during the first half of the nineteenth century had greatly increased the volume of postal communications, and the casual and costly service of private enterprise was superseded by governmental administrations. But years had to elapse before attention was given to the organization of these administrations into an international union which alone could face the problems of widely extended communication. Bilateral postal conventions were negotiated by various states from the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it was not until 1863 that the first general postal conference was held, on the invitation of the United States of America. Even then the creation of any permanent method of dealing with international postal problems was stoutly opposed, and in France particularly fear for the disturbance of vested interests postponed the beginning of effective co-operation. The Universal Postal Union was organised by twenty two national postal administrations in 1874, however, and since its beginning in 1875, for more than half a century, this league of nations has functioned with such remarkable success that it now includes practically all of the countries of the world. No people would think of being outside its service to-day, and I take it that no one would now contend that a merely national

organization of the world's postal services would suffice. In effect, the world community is being served, and on the whole well served, by a world postal service locally administered in each country. The latest convention of Stockholm of 1925, is an elaborate body of world law, the existence of which was in no way foreseen a century ago.

As it so frequently happens, the fulfilment of one need creates another. The world community in which people were in daily contact by post and telegraph began to feel the need of some common standards to facilitate the exchange of goods and the expression of elemental conceptions. A century ago there were no common standards of weight and measure, and without them trade was crippled and interchange restricted. Merchants and scientists appreciated the need of them long before the politicians would give it their attention; but after some years of agitation, a diplomatic conference assembled at Paris in 1875 and created the International Union of Weights and Measures—another league of nations which has functioned successfully now for more than half a century, and which fulfils to-day an essential role in our world society. If any of you has ever had the privilege of visiting its headquarters at Sevres, near Paris, and if he has studied the measures taken there for the standardization of various units in daily use throughout the world, I am sure he will not think that I am exaggerating when I say that the result has been the creation of a single world language in a very extensive field. The world meter means the same thing to-day in Tokio and in Timbuctoo; gram has the same significance in Moscow and in Melbourne. When one recalls that in Italy alone, there are some ten or more different kinds of miles in popular usage, he may appreciate what this means to science and to trade—in short, to interchange throughout the world community.

In many other fields, efforts to organize world society have been fruitful. The international union of railway freight transportation, organized in 1871, has largely confined its activities

to the continent of Europe; and perhaps one who has but recently travelled through India and has several times had to get up in the night to change trains because of differences in guage, will be forgiven if he is tempted to wish that its standardizing influence had been extended to other parts of the world as well. In 1833, an international union was formed for the protection of industrial property, and its activities are now correlated with those of the union for the protection of literary and artistic property, formed in 1886. Since 1890, some forty states have co-operated in maintaining at Brussels a bureau for the collection and publication of customs tariffs. In 1905, an International Institute of Agriculture was created at Rome. Since 1851, international sanitary conferences have been meeting with irregularity, and a six conference at Rome in 1907 established the Bureau International d'Hygiene Publique which has since had a continuous existence, though it was reorganized during the course of the past year. In various other fields, efforts more or less continuous have been proceeding since the middle of the last century, efforts both official and un-official, directed times to the creation of inter-state governmental machinery and at times only to the creation of an inter-state law left to depend for its observance on the action of national governments.

In one part of the world, an attempt was made to form an inter-state organization which through the agency of periodic conferences and a permanent bureau might devote itself more effectively to meeting the needs of a part of the international community. In the early half of the nineteenth century, the various states in North and South America had a community of interest in their opposition to threatened European aggrandisement. In 1826, a conference of American states was held at Panama, and it was then envisaged that other conferences should follow. But it was not until changes in transportation and communication had greatly extended their common interests that the idea of separate union of the American states could make much appeal to politicians. The first Pan-American conference

was held at Washington in 1888, a second at Mexico in 1902, a third at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, a fourth at Buenos Ayres in 1910, and a fifth at Santiago in 1923. An International Bureau of American Republics was established at Washington in 1888, and is now known as the Pan-American Union. The results of these conferences have undoubtedly contributed to the maintenance of smooth and amicable relations among the American states. The conferences have elaborated numerous conventions, some of which have proved to be of little importance, and many of which have never been generally ratified. The Pan-American Union, itself, is without the support of a treaty and depends on the resolutions of the various conferences for its continued support; it therefore leads a hand-to-mouth existence, exercising little administrative power. Moreover, the Conferences of American States are limited by the geographical feature of their organization. The fields are relatively few in which provision can be made for inter-state relations without the co-operation of countries outside America. The world community has not grown up on the divisions of the hemispheres. Important as are the accomplishments of the Conferences of American States, therefore, their significance can easily be exaggerated when one is drawing a picture of international co-operation, and such exaggeration has not infrequently crept into the recent discussions of a "United States of Europe."

The great volume of international co-operation between 1850 and 1914 may perhaps be described as a nascent international government of the new world community. But there were such gaping lacunae in the political organization of the world before the War, contests over markets and territories had become so sharp, such bitter hostilities had been nourished, that in the more important relations between states, there was nothing that could by any stretch of imagination be called government or a tendency towards government. An international anarchy prevailed, in which each state declared its freedom to act as it

pleased, and recognised no outside restraint. The states of Europe did occasionally send their representatives to important international conferences; the Algeciras Conference in 1906 succeeded in reaching a temporary settlement of a difficult situation in Morocco, and the Conference of Ambassadors of London in 1913 could patch up a makeshift for Albania. And the two great Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 successfully advanced the arbitration movement and less successfully modernised certain features of the laws of war. But these efforts did not succeed in establishing any system of conferences nor did they face the problems of which nations were likely to seek solution by force. With plenty of facilities at hand for pursuing common action, the world of states was without any political machinery for beginning it in 1914. It was wholly without any assurance in advance that a conference would be able to meet in time of crisis, it was without a developed technique for handling the business of a conference, and it was without adequate methods of following up decisions which might be taken by a conference. The early years of the twentieth century were therefore years of recurring crises, and the crisis of 1914 led across Armageddon.

But the way had been paved by the experience of the various international unions for important departures. All of these unions had grown up along much the same lines of organization. Periodical international conferences meeting at stated intervals exercised a general legislative power, and in many instances departures began to be made from the requirement that unanimity should exist before such legislation could become effective. Whereas it had been difficult in the beginning to get the original conference assembled, and the earlier conference always developed difficulties, it came to be accepted in most of the unions to which I have referred that conferences should provide for their own re-assembling. Gradually ways came to be found more easily for avoiding or escaping difficulties. In some of the unions, the conference provided for smaller conferences, meeting

with greater frequency and exercising a limited competence, Most of the unions maintained, also, permanent bureaux entrusted with authority to deal with interim problems, conducting the necessary liaison between the various states, and in some instances, such as that of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union, charged with administrative functions of a high order. These bureaux were sometimes under the control of a single government—the bureaux at Berne were placed under the superintending control of the Swiss Government. In some cases as in that of the Union of Weights and Measures, they were manned by a personnel drawn from various countries and placed under the supervision of an international committee. In some of the unions, also, elaborate provision was made for the arbitration of disputes which might arise, and a recent postal arbitration between the United States of America and Norway is an example of the success with which such compulsory arbitration has often been attended.

Such unions represented within the fields of their activity a limited but a very efficient international government. If their work had been better known in the community which they served, they ought to have resolved many doubts about the possibility of effective international co-operation by peoples who differ from each other in race, in language and in traditions. And it is a bit surprising that so little account was taken of these unions in the few anticipations of a more general league of nations which were voiced before the war. If their activities left untouched the principal pre-occupations which absorbed statesmen during the early years of the twentieth century, they may nevertheless be taken as the harbingers of post-War organization. It was inevitable that at the close of the War, the efforts further to organize the world community should follow the paths chalked out in the preceding half-century.

Before the world tragedy which began in 1914, many voices had been lifted to cry the need of a law-and-order organization.

of the world community. Such hopes had been greatly quickened by the assembling of the two Hague Conferences, and they were fastened immediately before the War upon the assembling of a third Hague Conference in 1916. If that current of events had not been interrupted, it seems quite possible that some more effective organization might have been forged out of the Hague Conferences themselves, though without the pressure of some great necessity it might have proved difficult to find escape from the quagmires into which eighteenth century dogmas, and particularly the dogma of state equality, had led. Perhaps the idea of world organization was as prevalent in the United States of America as anywhere else, and two prominent Americans, Mr. Andrew Carnegie and Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, persistently urged the formation of a League of Peace. It was the easier, therefore, for American opinion to develop during the years of America's neutrality in the War, to a point where President Woodrow Wilson could make it America's chief insistence at the Peace Conference of 1919 that a league of nations should be formed to maintain the peace that was being ushered in. The role of that League of Nations in the world society of our time is to be the subject of my next lecture.

If I may recapitulate this review of the international co-operation which preceded the League of Nations, I hope I have sufficiently described the era in which a world of separate peoples became transformed into a world community, which evolved in time an elaborate system of co-operation for the protection of some of the interests which all peoples had in common. Improvements in transportation and communication went far toward annihilating the effect of distance in holding men apart, and the industrial revolution broke through the barriers which separated states and made the resources of the world available to all. In spite of the political and legal conceptions which prevailed, the nineteenth century succeeded in developing a new type of political organization to serve the common interests. Some of the international unions which

were created have stood the tests of a half-century of experience. The conference method of handling international affairs was tried in various fields, and it served at the close of the War as the basis of the League of Nations. Fortunate indeed are we of the present generation upon whom this new experiment depends, and the opportunity to continue the organization of the world on a basis of co-operation and mutual aid is rich enough to challenge the most romantic desire for political adventure.¹

MANLEY O. HUDSON

¹ A chapter from *Current International co-operation*, to be published by the University of Calcutta.

ETHICS OF FEMINISM

The progress of modern societies, Sir Henry Maine declared, has been from status to contract. Nowhere has the truth of this dictum been demonstrated with better success than in the history, progress and tenets of the modern Feminist movement. Few problems have, in fact, ranged humanity in hostile camps in greater numbers than those connected with *the revolt of the woman*. One half of humanity is seething with discontent and recriminations against the other. This wide cleavage brought about by the attempts to overthrow man's superiority, so-called, has been the main achievement of the feminist movement. From the very nature of its claims, feminism has induced thinkers to reconsider and revise their judgment on the existing order of things and on the opinions entertained about them till now. Prof. A. R. Wadia, in his challenging book, *The Ethics of Feminism*,¹ has discussed with great ability the principles and pretensions of the woman's movement.

The author has sought to "study the foundations and take stock of feminism," and adopts a critical attitude towards the revolt of the woman. The book is divided into three parts. In the first, the problem and the basic ideas of the movement are stated. The next sums up its effects. And the last examines the movement from the point of view of marriage and motherhood. Everyone of the social aspects has been reviewed. Professor Wadia has taken great pains to state his case with impartiality, and has brought to bear on the subject a scholarly study of the feminist literature.

Feminism, as we know it, is essentially a product of the West. The French Revolution, the fruitful mother of all that savoured of anything revolutionary, did not fail to induce new

¹ *Ethics of Feminism*, London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., pp. 256. Price 10-6.

hopes and fresh visions in womankind, which found expression in the startling challenge thrown out by the pioneer feminist, Mary Wollstonecraft in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. The steady feminist advance since then is one of the striking phenomena of our time, and led naturally to speculation on its causes and consequences. No doubt, as in all such cases, these causes and consequences are varied. First of all, there was a general social movement that followed close on the heels of the revolutionary wars. The stimulating effect from the whole change in the political and social atmosphere which came with the crumbling of petty absolutism, culminated in the adoption of representative institutions in all the countries of Europe. Thence began the percolation of democratic principles to the mass of the people. All the countries emerged from the Napoleonic wars with a new sense of strength and confidence. The feeling communicated itself to the field of politics and social relations. Vigour, enterprise and boldness showed themselves. A spirit of conquest in all directions seems to have spread through the people, bred or at least nurtured by the military conquest.

Is it fanciful to suppose that consequences of the same sort appeared in other directions as well? Slavery was attacked, prison reforms were instituted, the Industrial Revolution set in. With the general unrest, it is no accident that the ensuing years showed a spirit of daring, a sudden and successful activity among the women. The women felt inclined to descend into the gladiatorial arena of life not merely in the guise of the *retiariae* as heretofore, but as bold *sicariae* breasting the open fray. Before long she successfully assailed what had been considered man's close preserves; the last fortresses that had managed to hold out have succumbed to her assaults. The colleges, the universities, the professions have been thrown open to her, and the lingering disabilities to her entry into politics that remained swept out of existence. Woman's equality with man in all these spheres has been conceded point by point,

though with considerable hesitancy and reluctance. The vast literature about feminism, the catching hunger-strikes of the suffragettes, their stone-throwing, their militancy, indicate the importance to which the movement has reached. These have set serious students of human affairs a-thinking. Concomitant with these features of the emancipation from her age-long shackles, have been at work certain other factors that make us halt before congratulating them on their achievements. The widening of the woman's activities, the consequent depreciation of the family, the decrease of marriages, the corresponding increase of prostitution and illegitimate births, are some of the modern tendencies about movement that cause grave concern about the direction towards which matters are drifting. Add to this Monsieur Bertillon's statistics, and, no wonder, the conservative thinker breathes out a sigh of regret at the passing of the old ideals and the old order of things. Are these the symptoms of the diseases of the age? Or do they signify the approach of a new era?

Before answering these questions, Professor Wadia reviews the basic ideas of the feminist psychology—liberty and independence. These alluring terms represent only half-truths. He exposes the fundamental weakness of the unqualified individualistic conception of liberty which ignores the supplementary, though not the less important, character of the woman's functions at home.

The author next proceeds to discuss the effects of feminism. In this examination the attitude taken up is that a differentiation on the basis of reproductive functions in the physiological make up of man and woman determines their spheres of activity, and that any trespass committed against the limits inflexibly fixed by nature is promptly visited with the penalties that she implacably exacts. Thus the feminist attempts, says the author, in the realm of the professions have been attended with devastating effects. Under the regime of the modern indiscriminating courses of teaching, the woman has emerged with

no less disastrous consequences. "The path of modern education," says Mrs. A. Colquhoun, "is strewn with the dead, the mutilated, or devitalised bodies of women, whose physical well-being has been sacrificed before the Moloch of examinations." The chief function of female education, concludes the author, is to produce good women, and that education is far more comprehensive than that of the man: it must be wide enough to embrace all the manifold interests of a home. He quotes the success attained in this direction in Germany and Japan. But the feminist might with equal fervour reply that the undesirable consequences appeared because she trusted herself to the tutelage of man who proved a traitor to her interests. What special courses had the man offered the woman side by side with those that he designed for himself?

In much the same strain, Prof. Wadia deprecates the entry of women into industry, the adverse effects on the well-being of homes and children, the resultant industrial exploitation of women, and their entry into the professions. He has explored all the sides of the question, but has not laid sufficient emphasis on the fact that the entry of women into industry has been precipitated to a large extent by forces essentially economic in character. We don't seek to quarrel with him in his chief criticism:

'From the standpoint of race and family, a woman from the age of twenty to fifty ought to be a domestic specialist, but a specialist who has her vision ever ready to receive new impressions and who has her feelings to love humanity in her children, whose heart beats true to the call of nature and humanity. She will be the Modern Woman in the true sense of the term. She has the spirit of synthesis and constructiveness and service in her. The so-called Modern Woman is only a tinsel mimic, a secondhand copy of man and as such is neither a man nor a woman.' (P. 110),

The author closes the second part with a searching analysis of the home life under the feminist regime and the problem of the 'Damaged Goods'—a scathing indictment of the evils

that the woman's movement has generated. The new home life under feminist principles has other, more far-reaching effects than those indicated by the author. An unstable home without a proper care for the children is an important cause of juvenile delinquency. The recent researches on this sociological problem have served to confirm F. Ruckert's lines :

*“Wer nicht behaglich ist zu Haus
Rennt immer ins Unheil hinaus.”*¹

Dr. Miriam Van Waters² while discussing the factor of home life as contributing to delinquency describes all the characteristics of a healthy family, none of which would be found acceptable to the uncompromising feminist. But we, nevertheless, invite her attention to the conclusions of this writer :

“Practically no child ever brought before the Juvenile Court has a home that fulfilled the standards of the biologically healthy family group. Or, to state it differently, that home where the interests of childhood are secondary to those of business, pleasure or personal ambition is potentially a delinquent producing home.” (P. 48)

The feminist contentions make no concealment of their primary preferences. Expanding the same idea, the writer goes on :

“If the family ideal is not in harmony with reality, the effect it produces in the young may be monstrous.”

In illustration of this tendency, Dr. Van Waters quotes an actual instance :

“Patricia was the daughter, adopted in early infancy, of a man who clung to the Southern ideals of charm in women, and a mother who lived a *gay* and *fashionable life*. Patricia was intelligent and healthy. During childhood she was dressed in silken underwear, and reared with

¹ *Unbefriedigung* I, ii, 35. He who is not comfortable at home will always be running off into mischief.

² *Youth in Conflict*, Methuen, 1926, pp. 44-63.

every refinement possible. Her parents were "correct" in their morals, and clung as long as possible, to a belief in their daughter's virtue. Patricia at thirteen years of age came before the Juvenile Court having had almost innumerable contacts with truck drivers and young park loafers." (P. 57).

Part III discusses the broad problem of "Marriage and Motherhood." Tracing the evolution of marriage, the author passes on to an examination of the causes of the failure of marriage and the ethics of divorce. The fundamental test in judging problems of this kind is how far the family is affected. "The family is an integral part of humanity, and, all in all, a monogamous lifelong union best answers the moral purposes of humanity." In his treatment of the true marriage and the eugenic principles, Professor Wadia is conservatively liberal in his outlook. His main argument is considerably reinforced by the demands of motherhood and the claims of children.

There is next a critical review of the position of women in the East, which brings out the chief points of contrast with the feminism of the West. "The problems of feminism in the West are essentially different from those in the East. In the West, motherhood has to be saved from the effects of individualism. In the East motherhood as such is secure, but it has to be made instinct with the high ideal of how to bear healthy children and how to rear good children... The difference is only one of degree.... But there is one point in which the East, and especially India, easily scores, and that is the purity of its students." (P. 238).

In the last chapter is discussed the "Future of Humanity", "the problem of how to modify the institution of marriage so as to meet new conditions, especially the awakened sense of self-respect and personality in our modern women, and yet to preserve the sacredness of marriage in tact." Professor Wadia suggests changes in three directions: 1. A legal recognition of the woman's right to a moiety of her husband's income in acknowledgment of her services in the home; 2. State

endowment of motherhood ; and, 3. Its corollary, the right of the State to control motherhood or parenthood in general ensuring continuity of efficient healthy children.

In his treatment of the feminist attempt at economic independence, the author understates the role played in human affairs by the desire for distinction. Every reader of Prof. F. W. Taussig's writings can understand to what extent the whole range of economic activities is governed by this deep-rooted human instinct, which has been, in fact, the *primus motor* in the growth of civilization. In a certain sense the feminist movement is a bold demand for an opportunity to give scope for the free play of this instinct. All through the ages, monotonous, arduous household drudgery has been the woman's lot, while man appropriated to himself fields which offered greater variety, and zest of novelty, where he could win spurs, evoke the admiration of his fellows, command respect, and form the object of comment among his people. As compared with this brilliant prospect, the women's lot pales into a humdrum routine. Further, the woman's labours in the work of civilization, though the whole humanity learn the elements of everything at her hands, have been completely ignored. The woman's way of thinking, their spiritual care, their intercourse, their influence diffuse themselves through the whole of society and take their place in its entire structure. Considering all these, have men really any right to pride themselves upon our knowledge and intelligence ? Should we *without* women have advanced anything to that extent ? Their whole contribution to civilization has passed unnoticed and unacknowledged. In my judgment, it is the effectual shutting out of all scope for the play of this deeprooted human love of distinction that really explains the militant attitude of the feminist : Come what may, she too would enter the lists with the man in all the professions from unskilled labour to the politician's role. She comes in fact to earn the plaudits that have hitherto been available only to the man. If devotion to home life be recognised as meritorious

as devotion to science or literature and can win honours as in other walks of life, if rearing up of good and healthy children be rewarded by the State as masculine service of humanity is, then alone can we hope to retard the desertion of "physiologically" determined functions of women. We should not lose sight of the fact that women are as great lovers of incense from an admiring public as man. It was on account of our completely ignoring this aspect of human nature, that we have been seeing the phenomenon of women crossing over and invading man's "physiological" functions to earn the approbation of human society.

Equally interesting questions suggest themselves. The true nucleus of the woman's movement is to be found in the emancipation of the woman from the dominion of pure sensuality and from the not less disastrous dominion of masculine arrogance. From this point of view, is not the civilized woman of the future still to be created? Are all sides of the woman's nature fully worked upon and fully developed?

There is some error in judging the capacity of women from the present conditions for practical activity outside home. During the oppression of women for thousands of years a certain deteriorating influence must have been exercised. In this regard one may agree with Havelock Ellis who hopes much the development, in the civilization of the future, of an equal freedom for man and woman, and who demands that we should acquire experience by limitless experiment regarding the qualifications of the female sex for all departments of activity.

That man would maintain his position is not to be doubted. The only conceivable change would be that women too would take part in the work of civilization. They would introduce a new and fresh element into this work, and inasmuch as every woman would be brought up systematically with a view to her life's work, the work of the mother and housewife would in correspondence be more highly esteemed, than has hitherto been the case.

Simplification of the household duties, and a transformation of the technique and theory of domestic economy into a satisfying activity are other problems that demand attention. The woman loyal to her old conditions, her position is an actual enslavement by an unceasing round of petty domestic toil. There is a great necessity for devoting the same amount of finished intelligence that has been devoted to "labour-saving" in most departments of masculine activity to these domestic problems. There is a much needed emancipation of women in this sense alone.¹ On this point it is refreshing to note the views of G. Schmoller,² one of the most celebrated of the German Economists :

"Let us observe what to-day a good housewife of the middle class is able to get through in the way of domestic and hygienic activity and of the education of children and by means of the knowledge and employment of domestic machines. Let us not overlook what a one-sided way the great advances in natural science and in the mechanical arts have hitherto been devoted to the service of the great industries; what economies are still possible, if the same intelligence and knowledge are devoted to the amelioration of domestic service !.....Without this no social cure is possible."

L. A. NATESAN

¹ The lines on which the reforms may proceed are indicated in H. G. Wells' *Anticipations, Mankind in the Making, A New Utopia, In the Days of the Comet*.

² *Elements of General Domestic Economy*, Vol I, P. 253, Leipzig, 1901.

REFLECTIONS OF A WAY-FARER : PATNA REVISITED ¹

Memory is the connecting link chaining the present with the past, and how my fading memory was freshened, quickened into life, at my last visit to my native town, Patna !

How utterly different that historic city now is from what it was in the days of my childhood ! A new world of architectural splendour ; of broad, spacious roads ; of busy, lively commercial activity ; of feverish political excitement ; of social amenities and amusements greets you as you walk within its ancient walls. This new world is the entire creation of the Britishers. It is British in conception and execution. It has the air of a *parvenu* about it. It has no roots in the past ; no great historic association ; nothing which can set the heart aglow with enthusiasm or fill it with patriotic ardour. Different, very different was the old city of Patna,—the city of my childhood. I loved her old-world ways ; I loved her dust-swept streets ; her antiquated style of building ; her immobility and aversion from change ; her humming passers-by indifferent to the sound of vehicles and deafening cries of foot-men ; her variegated head-dresses ranging from heavy *Afghan* caps to airy scraps of cloth, light as thistle down ; her loquacity ; her passion for poetry and gossip ; her infinity of leisure,—Oh ! how I loved those dear, dear old-world ways and things retreating now, more and more, into forgetfulness and oblivion !

Patna is awakening from the dreams of the Middle Ages. It is verily astir with life and animation.

To the two memorable institutions of the days gone by, a prison and an asylum, His Majesty's Government has added a third, Government House, which, dear reader, somewhat

¹ December, 1926,

partakes of the character of its two predecessors of sacred memory ; for does it not imprison within its majestic walls the occupant of that Olympic seat, and does it not at times rival and even outshine in wisdom, the translucent intelligence of the asylum ? Whenever I happen to pass by that emblem of British rule I, involuntarily, take off my hat to it and pause, for a while, to contemplate its outer grandeur and inner significance.

The English are a wonderful race. When I talk of the English I include therein the Scotch, and the Irish, their senior and junior partners. Between the English and the Arabs I notice a striking similarity. They both seemingly belong to the very same brood of Imperial rulers. No Arab could be a slave ! thundered the Caliph Omar, and no Britain a slave either ! chants the perambulating child, and drum into one's ears the world-tramping sons of England. Like the Arabs the English hold a commission from the Almighty to rule the world not for their own but for the sole benefit of the subject races. Like the Arabs too they, in theory, maintain the legal and political equality of all resting under their protecting shadow, but the proclamation of the Queen is as much a legal fiction with them as was the doctrine of the equality of all Muslims with the Arabs.

Like the Arabs again they are expert colonisers and world-conquering traders. The political movements of to-day are naught but a replica of the Shu'ubiyyah movement which assailed Arab supremacy and shook the ponderous fabric of Arab Rule.

But if there are similarities, there are striking differences as well. The Arabs entirely lacked diplomacy ; they never understood spacious, non-committal speeches. Nor were they adepts in administering sugar-coated pills or in pacifying their subjects with lollipops. Nor yet did the Arabs understand, like the English, the spirit of compromise or the necessity of adapting themselves to changing circumstances. When did the

Arabs give to their subject races what the English have so liberally given to us? Bless their Souls! They have given us Reforms ; they have built Council Houses ; they have vested Indians with large executive and judicial powers. With what a shock of surprise would our ancestors look at these *terrific transformations* were they summoned to life again! They would scarcely believe the evidence of their sights and senses.

Not very long ago I remember carriages held up in Patna to let the District Magistrate's august vehicle have the road free to itself. Nor have I forgotten the weekly ceremonious calls of my townsfolk at the Commissioner's, and their impatience to cast a fugitive glance at that mighty representative of the Crown. And the over-spreading tree in the District Magistrate's house,—Oh, how many distinguished sons of Patna has it not sheltered from sun and rain while waiting for an interview with that great functionary! And once seen, never forgotten were the liveried *Chaprasis* of these fair gods, flitting to and fro with the swiftness of lightning, announcing to the patience-spent visitor that his long-awaited turn had *at last* come. Delicious were those days of the white man's undisputed supremacy and unquestioned sway. Now, alas, the Swarajists have invaded this peaceful province of captivating courtesy and soul-subduing *salams* and have infused into its loyal veins their hateful subtle poison of defiance and disaffection.

Dear old Behar, the preserve of the civilians, the home of unquestioned loyalty, the centre of unbroken security, the bulwark of British rule, thou hast fallen on evil times. Away with the Swarajists for they will alienate you from the loving care of the bureaucrats. Away with them for they will teach you the wicked ways of freedom and independence! But a voice whispers unto me: They have captured the heart of Behar, and Behar, henceforth, will be their powerful ally in the march to freedom.

I have referred to the architectural splendour of my native town. I can affirm, with just pride, that it will not only

stand comparison with many capitals in Europe but it will, to be sure, excel a good few. Apart from innumerable public buildings which adorn this rising city and proclaim the aesthetic taste and perception of its rulers, it can boast of countless private houses each an architectural gem, a monument to the massive wealth of its owner. As you walk down from the station—the only spot that has remained unchanged in that fast changing city—you see the various Manzils punctuating its neat, metalled streets. You see Hasan Manzil, Iman Manzil, Iftira Manzil, Manzil-i-Hawas, Manzil-i-Mahbuba and, dear reader, even palaces of uncrowned Sultans.

What wealth, magnificence, taste my townfolk possess and display! What splendid rivalry and emulation! What public spirit and noble patriotism! Ah! who can honestly impugn their greatness in the use of bricks and mortar? They have, indeed, inherited the genius of Shahjahan and some have even outshone him. Shahjahan, with all his imperial resources, never succeeded in bringing paradise down from heaven unto this earth. He was, indeed, content with humbler performances and simpler achievements. But despite all this spectacular display, despite the University of Patna and her imposing Wheeler Senate House, I found culture still, at a very low ebb, in my native town. Rasikh's indictment, apparently, still holds good :

میرے پاس جنس ہنر تو ہے ولی بودباش تمہی اپنی وان
کہ مہتمم بیش بہا صدا جہاں جنس ہے ہنری رہی

In one of his illuminating discourses Syed Ahmad Khan has pointed out that culture to be effective must not be concentrated but diffused. In other words it must not be the monopoly of a limited circle but should be spread over a wide and ever-widening area. He illustrates his point by a comparison and contrast between the East and the West and ascribes the greater intelligence, keener appreciation of true interest, discrimination between matters of fleeting and permanent importance,

patriotism, self-sacrifice, cohesion, co-operation, organization in the West to this all-powerful, all-stimulating atmosphere of pervading culture.

It would be far from the truth to assert or to maintain that a highly cultured set never existed here. But what Patna has lacked and still lacks is a general atmosphere of culture ; an overmastering spirit of self-cultivation ; an appreciation of literary and scientific values ; the full realization of the importance of Time and the use that one can make of it. Here Patna is where she was in the days of her poet, the lamenting Rasikh :

همرہاں در منزل ارامیدہ و غالب ز ضعف
ہا برون نا رفتہ از نقش کف پایم هنوز

What son of Patna can recall without a thrill of pride the noble disinterestedness of Kazi Reza ; the self-effacing patriotism of Moulvi Mohammed Hossain ; the encyclopaedic genius of Hakim Abdul Hamid ; the sweetly transparent character of Moulvi Md. Yahya, and, last but not least, that group of wit, wisdom and learning which contributed, week by week, to the pleasure and instruction of their people through the pages of the *Al-Punch*? From that vanished generation a yet more tangible proof of culture survives in the famous Library there, an enduring monument of its founder's unquenchable passion for learning. Nor must we pass over in silence here those forgotten worthies who have left behind works of imperishable renown. Shall we not pay our silent homage to the poetical genius of Shawq-i-Nimwi? To read him is an experience of indescribable ecstasy. In the full consciousness of his vast powers he has said and has said with perfect truth and justice :

طبیعت میں جو آجائے رانی * دیکھا دوں جوش دریای معانی
دہن سے بھر مذ موم موج زن ہو * زبان سر خشمہ شعر و سخن ہو

The sheer collocation of words enchants and enthrals one. But words are nobly matched with delicacy of thought. Sweet,

subtle, delicate thoughts, thoughts frail as a lily or fragrant as a rose, flow, with superb spontaneity, flinging you into a vortex of irrepressible joy. Oh, how our public spirit shows itself in making a park to celebrate the viceroyalty of one and to commemorate, by a Senate House, the happy reign of another ! But for Shawq and such like, no sepulchral monument—no, not even a marble slab, is voted by my learning-loving townfolk.

If such, indeed, is the fate of the dead, happier, by no means, is the lot of the living. Of these Mir Ali Mohamed Shād, last of a long vanished band, is a sad and tragic instance.

In general, literary subjects make no appeal; learning but few converts. During my stay never once did I hear a serious subject discussed or alluded to. The two topics of conversation at tea, at dinner, over wine, were the incomes of her successful sons and the fabulous wealth they have spent over their Manzils and mansions and palaces. And the zest and zeal evinced at these discussions ! None that has not witnessed these animated scenes can even remotely imagine the enthusiasm of the disputants and their facile powers of invention.

Another feature equally noteworthy is the club-like character of some of the homes in Behar. Indeed they are veritable clubs in miniature, haunts of congenial souls. Far into the night they sit sipping tea, retailing news, mostly of their own make; inventing scandals; sharpening their wit and humour upon some unfortunate victim of their momentary whim or angry passion; blessing the bounty of their host and, 'if in better spirits still, forging a distinguished lineage for him. But, apart from these domestic clubs, scenes of charming convivialities, European influence has notably manifested itself in the establishment of a mixed club for men and women. This club is the soul of Patna, for what society can really own a soul which shuts its women behind iron bars or excludes them from the enlightened amusements of her men ? Here the reformed and regenerate citizens of Patna meet for exchange of ideas; for intimate chat; for relaxation and recreation, and some for a twirl

on its virgin floor. I am an inveterate believer in dancing, its ardent advocate, and in it I verily perceive the salvation of the East. It is indeed gratifying to find that at least some others of my countrymen have also discovered, with an unerring instinct, the path of salvation.

Dancing is a grand stimulant, a delightful exercise. Research scholars assure me that it is the only exercise which the Love-Gods take when weary of human affairs. And the Love-Gods are wise; for who knows better than they that it inflames the ardour of youth; rejuvenates the flagging pulse of old age; helps to destroy timidity and hesitation, the two sworn enemies of uncurbed pleasure; brings friendship closer and yet closer; makes the wife forget the horrid temper of the husband and the husband the nagging disposition of the wife; sanctions secret loves and establishes hidden relationships; makes possible the loving clasp, the trembling embrace; gentle osculation of soft, silky hair; thrilling whispers; involuntary pressure of the thinly-enwrapped waist. Ah, dear reader, dancing, verily, is a sure cure for all earthly ills!

مصلحت نیست که از پوده برون افتد راز
ورنه در محفل زندان خبر نیست که نیست

One thing, however, distressed me; One thing cast a shadow over my joy. It was the growing alienation between the two communities. Will Behar be torn into factions; divided into hostile camps? I trust not. Never was unity more needed than now. Will *that* need remain unstriven for, unfulfilled? Wiser counsel will doubtless prevail and win the day!

In no ungenerous spirit have I said what I have said. I love thee, my native town, and love thee with unwavering love. May thy efforts be ever blessed with success! May'st thou become the home of noble causes, the nursery of noble sons! May'st thou mount to higher and yet higher renown!

The future beckons unto thee with gifts, attainable by sustained efforts, unwearying industry. Scorn not, reject not those gifts. But the voice divine bids prudence, counsels caution in thy onward march. Progress is not revolution; a sundering of the past; a mere mimicry of foreign ways and habits. Take the best and leave the rest; add acquisitions of your own to the goodly bequests of your sires; build upon solid foundations and not upon shifting sands; snap not the chain that links thee with the past but make it a continuing chain of sure, steady, unbroken progress. May'st thou become an Eden of bliss; a city of palaces, but forget not, at the same time, the quiet grandeur of the mind. Pay thy homage to thy forgotten worthies; draw inspiration and stimulus from them; urge thy living sons on to rival and to excel those that sleep the serene sleep of death within thy hallowed walls. Things of mind alone constitute the undying glory of a town, or a people and in that glory may'st thou, my native town, have thy fullest, amplest share! May'st thou become to the modern, what Baghdad, Shiraz, Nishapur were to the medieval world, a city of peace, a shrine of culture, the home and hearth of light-shedding savants of the Religion of Humanity.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH¹

THE STRANGER

Once and for all—
 One deep sweet glance :
 My eyes then trembled as to fall
 And thou too looked askance.
 Thy world could find no place for me :
 I cared no more to see.

Once on the way—
 And never again.
 Hast thou a memory of the day?
 I bear the joy and the pain.
 A glimpse for all eternity—
 So let it be.

K. P. KHAITAN

OVER-SOUL

I

Doth Rose perceive her beauteous scent,
Doth Ganges hear her lapping song,
Doth cane of sugar taste her sweet,
Doth moon at full for beauty long?
The love wherewith I love Thee, Love,
Dost Thou perceive apart from Thee?
Is it not drop of rain that falls
Upon the boundless breast of sea?

II

She bears the name, I love the name,
Without her, name's a sound.
This world of death can any love,
Unless in Him it's found?
Let love and honour for all be
But only for His sake.
He is they are and yet He be
If all to nothing break.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

Reviews

Bhim Singh—by Frank R. Sell, M.A. Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1926.

Rajput heroism has been a favourite theme for lyrical ballads and historical romances and promises to remain for ever a rich treasure-house of subjects for literary treatment, for the Rajputs made a great stand against foreign aggression and their patriotism, though local, was sincere enough. The book under review is a "Romance of Mughal times" based on Tod's Rajasthan and the author has tried to make his tale sound both as history and as romance—a difficult task, no doubt, as every student of historical romances is sure to know. It would be interesting to compare the book before us with the Bengali romance *জীবন-সঙ্গ* by Ramesh Chandra Dutt. The description of "ahairea" or boar-hunt is a common feature. Bankim had also written of the discomfiture of Aurangzebe in the only historical novel he declared he had ever written. Mr. Sell's performance is worthy of praise. Bhim Singh, Thākur Gopināth, Durgādās,—the flower of Rajput chivalry—are vividly represented in the book and the style is simple and free from bombast, the author evidently knows where to draw the line. Readers will like or dislike the modern note of interpretation, according to temperament. Akbar's speech on page 160 is a sound lesson on civics and a fair criticism of Aurangzebe's character and policy. "Not by intolerance can peoples of varied race and faith be ruled." Modern India needs to be reminded of this again and again. Graceful Ambalika and heroic Premabai will linger in the reader's memory, long after the book has been read and put aside. In the formative period of life such books should be placed in the hands of adolescent youth. The get up deserves recommendation, the papers are fine, the printing is clear, the blocks are neat and beautiful. At the end there is a map of Rājputānā, which will, we hope, help materially in visualising the incidents described.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Quarterbreed—by Robert Ames Bennet. W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1926.

The book has a dramatic beginning and a dramatic end. It is a romantic story of stirring adventures, in the midst of an Indian district in America. Love and war—gold and women—the same old story. The

motive to crime, the things that add zest to life, everything is concerned with the primary needs and emotions of human life. Captain Floyd Hardy of the United States Cavalry, is the hero of the book and after serving his apprenticeship of the camp life in the Reservation, after braving the assassin's fury and the wild, passionate outbursts of Indians, suffering disgrace and crossed in love, he recovers both honour and lost love in the end. The atmosphere is at first intensely gloomy, but it clears up towards the close. The relations of Marie Dupont, the Quarterbreed, with Vandervyn have not been sufficiently laid before the reader's view, nor is her transference of love intelligible enough. Oinna also is weakly drawn. Bristling with dangers and intrigues, though not psychological, the book will be—let us hope—worth the time spent over it, and the rifle and the automatic pistol will come as a refreshing relief to memories weary with the burden of a soul's confidences.

P. R. S.

Personality and the Social Sciences—by Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji, M.A., Lecturer in Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, pages 246.

The problem which Mr. Mukerji attempts to solve is the development of Personality which can be achieved by considering man not as an abstract individual but essentially as a dynamic being. The life of this dynamic being can be developed only by the double process of individuality and the socialisation of the uniqueness of individual life. The author arrives at this conclusion by a trenchant criticism of the present methods of social sciences which aspire to develop the individual. The group-control is essentially the process by means of which the individual can achieve his perfect individuality. It is often considered that the group is the unit and the individual person to perfect himself must actively participate in group life. "In economics," says the author, "great mischief has been done by not recognising the development of personality as the central problem." In not one of the first three of the four stages of economic theory, i.e., Naturalism, Utilitarianism, Evolutionism and Socialism has the problem of personality been understood in its true perspective. Herein the author seeks an opportunity to write a critical review of the doctrines of the Classical Economists, the Utilitarians, and the writers of the Historical School. Students of history of economic doctrines would no doubt profit much by this running summary of their doctrines.

Socialism alone realises the necessity and ethical justice of enabling each individual to realise his Perfect Personality. Though the political theorists had a profound grasp of the problem even they have failed to devise the correct means. The State no doubt aims at the development of Personality. While Economics has blundered in allowing the individual to reach his perfect personality by allowing him free play in the direction of self-interest and competition, political philosophy has likewise failed to give the correct solution in attempting to perfect the individual through the means of collective consciousness. The different educational systems have doubtless failed to tackle the problem and educational psychology has failed to "liberate the person."

Chapter VI examines the tenets of the Individualistic schools and the psychology on which Individualism is based. After all the individualists themselves admit that the perfection of personality can be achieved by "working in combination." The right kind of group should be selected and the affiliated individual can develop his true bent and genius through the co-operation and united efforts of the individuals. The different kinds of group formations are the family, tribes, village communities, cities, guilds, confederacies, nations and alliances, empires and leagues. But wider than these groups are the caste and class both of which embrace several of the previous groups.

The theory of the group-mind is subjected to vigorous and critical analysis. It is no super-individual, superior, mystical entity. The group and preferably the region is only a means to an end. The true causes of social phenomenon and social processes lie more in persons and not in groups. Some recent social experiments indicate that group organisation may help or hinder the development of Personality. Trade Unionism, Syndicalism, State-Socialism, Co-partnership, Shop-Committees, Guild Socialism, Scientific Management are all attempts to develop the labourer but all these have failed to do it. It is by labour-education, i.e., by appealing to the play instincts, suppression of pugnacious instincts, appealing to the co-operative impulses and persuading the labourer that production has to be increased and educating technically as to give incentive to the work, instincts of the labourers that the personality of the labourers can be developed. The new educational ideas starting with the co-operative instincts of childhood wish to develop them by harmonious team work. Combined service is the ideal placed before the child instead of competition. Discipline is no longer the correcting mechanism. Freedom for the child to develop its bent is the motto of the newer educational systems. Non-educational agencies like the family, cinema, playground, associa-

tions, etc., have to co-operate with the school which is to act as the nerve centre of a region. The true meaning of social efficiency is to secure the development of the inner personality and approximate it to the social standard.

The processes of theoretical reconstruction can be indicated as follows. The Laws of Association must receive a new reorientation in the sense that the group-spirit is not the cause of all novel facts affecting individuals but by noting the changes in individuals brought about by association with similar individuals. The creative instincts must be given a free hand so that the driving forces of life may be harnessed in the right direction of development.

Neither Eugenics alone nor Euthenics will serve the author's purpose. New biological facts have to be collated before any safe conclusion can be reached as regards its help towards the development of personality.

Psycho-analysis indeed aspires to solve many acute problems of life. Social inheritance is accepted in place of race inheritance. The instinctual and emotional gifts of children are to be rationalised by force of reason. The evils of the social body are thus eliminable to a great extent. The Individual is the axis round which his world moves.

Ethics must seek to suppress the selfish individual motions. Both secular and spiritual education are to be employed in developing Personality.

Sociology deals only with the group and interdependence of the individual but for the development of Personality the individual's own achievements, experience, and his own world must be included with the above and the science of Personality must be studied in conjunction with the other social sciences which deal with processes of socialisation. It is only when individualisation is interwoven with socialisation that the realisation of personality can be secured.

The book is written in good style. In dealing with complex social causation he has shown much insight. It is full of information to the student seeking intelligent grasp of present day tendencies in social sciences. Understood in its true bearings it is specially valuable at the present time when educational pedagogy and systems are receiving fresh accretions of methods and formalisms. There is ample evidence on each page of the author's wide reading and sincere thinking.

B. R.

Ourselves

SIR P. C. RAY.

Sir Praphullachandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.C.S. has been reappointed Sir Taraknath Palit Professor of Chemistry for a further term of five years with effect from the 1st July, 1927.

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PROFESSOR MEGHNAD SAHA.

Professor Meghnad Saha has, we understand, been recommended for election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. He is one of our most distinguished graduates and he served this University as a Lecturer and as a Professor for a long time.

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THE LATE MR. F. E. PARGITER.

We regret to announce the death of Mr. Frederick Eden Pargiter who was one of the Fellows of this University and who served for sometime as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Pargiter was Boden Sanskrit Scholar for 1872; he was Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was attached to the University of Oxford as a Lecturer.

* * *

STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSE LECTURESHIP.

Dr. Douglas C. Macintosh, Teacher of the Philosophy of Religion at the Yale University, has been appointed Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecturer of the University for 1927-28.

Dr. Macintosh is the author of numerous treatises including *The Reaction against Metaphysics in Theology*, *Theology as an Empirical Science*, *The Problem of Knowledge* and *The Reasonableness of Christianity* and was awarded the Bross Prize for the Nathaniel Taylor Lectures delivered at Yale in 1925. He will lecture to this University on "Pilgrimage of Faith."

* * *

UNIVERSITY READERSHIP LECTURES.

Mr. C. K. Webster, M.A., Professor of International Politics in the University of Wales, has been appointed a Reader by the Senate of this University to deliver a course of six lectures on Modern European History and Diplomacy.

* * *

DR. HARISCHANDRA SINHA.

Our congratulations to Mr. Harischandra Sinha, M.Sc. He has just been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the report of a Board of Examiners consisting of the Hon'ble Sir Basil Blackett, Kt., K.C.B., Professor J. M. Keynes, M.A., C.B., and Professor T. E. Gregory. The remarks of each examiner are given below :

A .

I am in general agreement with Mr. Keynes' view on Mr. Sinha's main Thesis entitled "Early European Banking in India," the first part, which is the only one which really falls within the meaning of the title is, in my opinion, a strikingly good piece of work. It is valuable both for the purpose of the history of European banking in India and also for its comments on banking theory.

2. The rest of the book contains some useful original research into the details of indigenous banking in India. In a sense, this part of the book is disappointing. This is mainly because the study is incomplete and seems to be somewhat hastily put together. On the other hand, research into the

methods of indigenous banking in India and consideration of its place in the future development of Indian banking, are matters of very special importance, and further study by Mr. Sinha of this part of his subject might enable him to render a very useful service to India.

3. I am of opinion that Mr. Sinha has earned the Degree for which he applies.

BASIL BLACKETT,

7th February, 1927.

B

Mr. Sinha's main thesis, entitled "Early European Banking in India," falls into three somewhat disconnected parts. The first of them, which comprises pages 1 to 164 consists of a piece of detailed research into the history of three banks founded in India towards the end of the 18th century, namely the Bengal Bank, the Hindustan Bank, and the General Bank. In my opinion this piece of research is novel and is exceedingly well done. I am not aware that previous writers have used the material to which Mr. Sinha has obtained access. He has put out his results in a very clear manner, and has made a contribution, not only to the evolution of Banking in India, but to the history of Banking generally. He has also shown an excellent sense of the nature of banking problems in his comments upon that which he has selected for special emphasis.

The rest of the book comprises a number of general reflections about banking problems generally in India, and finally some details about the characteristics of indigenous banking. I do not think that this half of the book is of nearly as much value, judged as a doctoral thesis, as the first part. The general observations are on the whole sensible, but they do not constitute a particularly important new contribution to the subject, nor have they very much connection with Part I of the book. The details about indigenous banking do indeed convey some interesting details which are partly new. But my own feeling has been one of a certain amount of disappointment that Mr. Sinha has not been able to give a somewhat more complete picture. My main criticism is, however, that the second half of the book, from page 165 onwards, has not really very much justification for appearing between the same covers as the first half of the book.

Mr. Sinha has also submitted three subsidiary theses in the form of published articles. The first two of these do not add anything material to his claim. Indeed, the second is altogether too elementary to deserve consideration in this

connection. The last one, however, namely that on "Forward Exchange in Indian Banks," whilst it contains nothing which is new or original, gives a good, clear account of a matter which many people find it difficult to understand, and is evidence that Mr. Sinha has a good practical knowledge of exchange problems, and is clear enough in his own mind to write clearly about them.

To sum up, the first part of Mr. Sinha's book comprises a piece of research which in my judgment is of sufficiently high standard to qualify for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The rest of his submissions do not contain enough new material to constitute in themselves a claim for a research degree. They do, however, constitute a certain amount of indirect evidence that Mr. Sinha understands banking problems in India and is qualified to study the early history of banking on the economic, as well as on the purely historical side. I am prepared, therefore, subject to the concurrence of the other Examiners, to recommend Mr. Sinha for the degree for which he applies, basing this recommendation primarily on Part I, of his main thesis.

J. M. KEYNES,

17th December, 1926.

C

In my judgment, the value of the thesis submitted by Mr. Harischandra Sinha lies particularly in the historical portions of the volume entitled "Early European Banking in India." The second part of the book seems to me to suffer from a considerable degree of disconnectedness and it would have been better if, instead of making a large number of minor suggestions for the reform of Indian banking, the author had confined himself to a careful study of the indigenous money market, especially as in his covering letter he refers to an investigation undertaken by him among the indigenous banks themselves, and it would have been interesting for students of banking generally to have had his results published in greater detail.

The first part of the book, although exceedingly interesting, seems to me to suffer somewhat from a lack of continuity in its treatment. The necessary relations between the financial situation of Government and its banking policy might well have warranted a somewhat more careful treatment of the whole position of Governmental finance throughout the period of time covered by these early banks.

Although I am not always in agreement with the views on the theory of banking expressed incidentally by the author,

I think, nevertheless, that Part I of the study is a valuable contribution to the history of banking in India and warrants the grant of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the candidate. The articles submitted in support of the thesis seem to me to be too slight to be weighed very seriously.

T. E. GREGORY,

*Cassel Professor of Banking in the
University of London.*

Mr. Sinha is a Lecturer in the Post-graduate Department of this University. He belongs to a gifted family and is a nephew of our present Vice-Chancellor.

* * *

DR. JHA ON THE "ETHICS OF THE HINDUS."

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, writes thus on "The Ethics of Hindus" by Mr. Susilkumar Maitra, Lecturer, Post-graduate Department :

I have looked into the book, 'the Ethics of the Hindus' by S. K. Maitra, and have much pleasure in bearing testimony to its excellence. It supplies a clear and pretty accurate account of the Hindu Ethical Conception in all its bearings. The weak point of the book, however, lies in the omission of references to the 'original sources' upon which the whole work is professedly, and very rightly based. How keenly the want of such references is felt will be clear when we refer to page 186, where certain views of Prabhakara and Kumarila are expounded in terms so modernly scientific that one would like to compare the statement with the words of the old authors. But this is an omission which becomes marked only like a spot of ink on a white piece of cloth; and one would not have noticed it if the work had not been otherwise most commendable. The author deserves to be congratulated on his work.

* * *

DR. ABINASCHANDRA DAS.

Dr. Abinaschandra Das, Lecturer, Calcutta University and author of *Rigvedic India* and *Rigvedic Culture*, has been invited by the Gurukula University to preside over the *Sarasvati Sammelana* and the *Veda Sammelana* to be held on the 16th March, 1927 in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebration of that institution.

* * *

CANDIDATES AT THE ENSUING EXAMINATIONS.

The number of candidates registered for the ensuing I.A., I.Sc., B.A., and B.Sc. Examinations is 4145, 4459, 3093 and 1229, respectively.

* * *

DATES OF MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS.

The Preliminary Scientific M.B. and Final M.B. Examinations will commence on and from Wednesday, the 4th May, and the First M.B. Examination will begin on Monday, the 9th May, 1927.

* * *

ONAUTH NAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE.

The subject prescribed for the Onauth Nauth Deb Research Prize for 1928 is as follows :

“Law of Fixtures in British India.”

* * *

THE NAGENDRANANDINI DE MEDAL.

We have been requested to publish the following :

It is announced for general information that a gold medal called "The Nagendranandini De Medal" of the value of about Rs. 40 will be awarded for the best essay in English or Bengali on some aspect or branch of the subject "Grihineer Kartabya" or the duties of a house mother. It will be open to competition to all graduate and undergraduate female students of the Calcutta University. The essay is to be submitted to the Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, on or before the 30th November, 1927.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1927



THE ANNUAL CONVOCATION

His Excellency the Chancellor's Address¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

For the fifth and last time I address you in Convocation. If, as Aristotle tells us, it is difficult to say a second time what one has in essence said before, how can I hope to speak in this Hall for a fifth time without wearying you by repetition or traversing familiar ground? I am encouraged, however, by the knowledge that though the scene is the same as that in which I first spoke in 1923 my audience is a different one. The present Vice-Chancellor is the fourth, with whom I have been privileged to work, and though there are some professors and heads of colleges who have been present at the last four convocations the bulk of my audience—the students—come fresh to the scene every year. And since it is for them rather than for their teachers and professors that this ceremony is held I may without any apology repeat to this year's recipients of degrees the words of encouragement that I have addressed to their predecessors.

In the first place, Ladies and Gentlemen, let me congratulate you on having successfully passed the examination which

¹ Delivered at the Senate House, February 19, 1927.

has enabled you to receive at the hands of the Vice-Chancellor the certificates which testify to your academic success. Four or six years ago you passed through the entrance gate into the University. To-day you are passing through another gate which is at once the gate of exit from the University and the gate of entrance into life. I wish you all happiness and prosperity in the wider world that lies before you. Tests and competitions of one kind or another will await you even there for, as Browning had reminded us, "All to the very end is trial in life." So you will find, as doubtless some of you have found already, that life is one long series of examinations different from those to which you have been accustomed and testing other qualities than those which can be made the subject of paper examinations. I hope that in all these you may meet with the same success which you have achieved so far.

When I recall my own school and college days I am ashamed to confess that very few of the words of advice that were addressed to me by older men of wisdom and experience have remained in my memory. But there was one sermon spoken from the pulpit in my college chapel which set my imagination on fire as I listened to it and which I shall never forget. The preacher on that occasion reminded us of the impressive pageant of Empire which we had recently witnessed in London on the occasion of Queen Victoria's second Jubilee. He described in eloquent terms the representative character of that pageant, he enumerated the many lands, races and peoples who composed the dominions of the great Queen and who had sent their most distinguished men to do her honour ; he spoke of the vast responsibilities which the administration of such an Empire entailed, of the qualities of statesmanship required to maintain harmony and unity among its component parts. "And where," he asked in conclusion, "are we to look for the men who will carry on this work, shoulder these responsibilities and maintain unimpaired the great traditions of the past ?" Then he thrilled us all with these words : "If they are to be

found anywhere they must be found here. They are among those whom I see before me."

So as I gaze upon this gathering of young men and women who are standing upon the threshold of life, I feel that here, if anywhere, are to be found those of whom India will have need in the years to come. What, then, can I say to you in order to prepare you for this high destiny? There was an old Philosopher once who, when asked by his friends on his death-bed if he had anything to regret, replied "I have only one regret that in my life I did not praise men more."

I must confess that I have never derived much benefit from those preachers who addressed their congregations as the inheritors of every sin and doomed to perdition, unless they could be saved by a special measure of divine mercy, but I have been much helped and encouraged by those who honoured me with their good opinion. It is as one who believes in you, who expects much of you, that I speak. Emerson says that it is only a friend who can make us be what we can—with a friend "we are easily great, there is a sublime attraction in him to whatever virtue is in us."

It is as a friend then in this sense, as one who pays you the complement of expecting from you all the virtues, that I would address you to-day, and my only message to you is to remind you of the great possibilities which lie before you, the great things which it is in your power to accomplish—India has a very ancient civilization behind her, but she has also a great future before her. In the modern world she is only just beginning to wake out of long sleep. She has been the cradle of many races but as a nation among nations she has still herself to make and her place to assert. In Industry, in Commerce, in Science, in Literature, in Art, in Politics she needs more than ever before men and women with trained minds and upright characters—and the need for women is perhaps even greater than that for men. India needs you for her service and she expects that already in your college days you shall

have acquired some of the qualities which will fit you for that service. Some of you have just received degrees of Master and Bachelor in Law, some in Medicine, some in Arts and all of you have, therefore, begun to qualify for that last degree of all—the degree of Master of Life. I would ask you to believe that in all these matters in which you have specialized it is not the forms you make use of but the spirit in which you use them, the principles rather than the methods you adopt, which will secure for you that last degree. It is not the drugs which you dispense but the extent to which the pursuit of health is your goal that will enable you to bring credit to India as a doctor. It is not the composition of the courts or the forms of law which you practise but the extent to which justice is your aim that will enable you as a lawyer to set your country high in the estimation of the world. India will not thank you for changing the forms of her government and institutions unless thereby you can bring more health, more happiness, more prosperity to her people.

When you come to the end of life you will look back upon your college days and judge them by the rapidity or otherwise with which they brought you to that realization, which Emerson tells us comes some time in every man's education, "that envy is ignorance; that imitation is suicide; that he must take himself for better, for worse, as his portion; that though the wide universe is full of good, no kernel of nourishing corn can come to him but through his toil bestowed on that plot of ground which is given to him to till." You will each of you have your plot to till in preparing for the harvest of the future, your part to play in building up the fabric of Indian nationhood. In this work two qualities will be required of you, sincerity and tolerance—to trust yourselves and to trust others. "Trust thyself; every heart vibrates to that iron string. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age, betraying their perception that the absolutely trustworthy was seated at their heart, working through their hands,

predominating in all their being. And we are now men and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent destiny; as guides, redeemers and benefactors, obeying the Almighty Effort and advancing on Chaos and the Dark." Could any words more fittingly describe the work which awaits the generation which in India to-day is just beginning its life work? When I think of all the problems, insoluble except to the eye of faith, of all the difficulties that have to be overcome, of all the diversities that have to be reconciled, I realize how great is the need for a generation rich in individuality, sincere in purpose, courageous in action.

For individual achievement these qualities may suffice, but if you are to be nation-builders there is another which is equally essential, indeed without which all other qualities are useless. That is tolerance, trust in others equal to the trust in yourself, the willingness to concede to all men the liberty you would yourself enjoy, that power to associate with others for a common good which the Vice-Chancellor has spoken of.

However shapely and well-proportioned a brick may be, however perfect the quality of stone marble, they are useless as building material unless they possess the power to coalesce. The brick that insists on remaining a brick is useless except for the destructive purpose of being used as a missile. What India needs is not dynamite but cement, not brickbats but walls, men and women who will live for her rather than die for her. It is easy enough to die for a cause but to live for it is harder. To remain true to a cause throughout a life-time, to grow wiser and stronger in its service, to work for it always on the condition that no other is injured thereby—that is a task which will test a man to the utmost.

To such a task I hope you are prepared to devote yourselves and in the accomplishment of it to unite with all who share your ideals, regardless of the barriers of caste or creed.

Gentlemen, I have valued my association with your University during the five years in which it has been my privilege

to be your Chancellor. I have sought to serve it. I hope that within the narrow limits which circumstances financial and political permitted I have served it. The Vice-Chancellor has encouraged me to believe that some of the acts of my government during the last five years are recognized as having been beneficial. The stabilization of the Post-Graduate Department and the revision of the Matriculation regulations by which the Vernacular will be made a medium of instruction and examination are at least I hope solid achievements free from any element of controversy. The establishment of a Board of Secondary Education—a more debatable subject—has not yet been accomplished. We have, however, had several conferences which have narrowed the issues and brought the Government and the University nearer together. I am hopeful that this question is now ripe for settlement by agreement and though I may not see it accomplished I can, I think, regard it when it comes as a legacy of my period of office as Chancellor.

That it has not been given to me to see the achievement of those reforms which the University Commission considered essential will be to me in retirement a source of keen regret. It is sad to think that other Universities have derived more benefit from the labours of that commission than this one with whose welfare they were exclusively occupied. Many of the weaknesses which they deplored remain unremedied, young lives are still cheated of their highest aspirations by inadequate teaching, the constitution of the University remains unreformed. But I leave you in hope rather than in despair, for, if during my term opinion has not been able to crystallize into action, if the forces opposing change have succeeded in checking not only radical reform but even minor change, yet opinion in favour of reform has, I think, been growing and will before long express itself in an insistent demand for action. For Bengal knows that change in the present constitution of the University is essential though there is not yet agreement as to the exact nature of the change desired. This University

claims the sentiment and devotion of Bengal in a way which no other institution in the Province can hope to emulate and the public, which can now through their minister control educational policy will, I am convinced, not tolerate obstruction to reform for with their pride in the intellectual capacity of the Province they will not rest satisfied with anything but the best, nor will they allow reform to prejudice the permanent interests of the University. Changes will come and I shall watch them from afar with interest and with sympathy. And so I say farewell in hope and expectancy, confident that the harvest for which I have worked will be brought to maturity before many years have passed and that Bengal, which I have tried to serve will not rest, as I have never rested, until the grain glows golden and ripe for the harvester.

II.

THE ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN
WORLD SOCIETY

In the previous lecture¹ in this series, I attempted to trace the growth of international co-operation before the War with a view to emphasizing the fact that the League of Nations which was founded in 1920 was not cut out of whole cloth, but was a continuation of a process which began as long ago as the middle of the nineteenth century. The various public unions, of which the outstanding example is the Universal Postal Union, dating from 1875, were in themselves leagues of nations which served as prototypes for the League of Nations now launched on a grander scale. The experience of a whole half-century had pointed the road to be taken in the extension of government in the new world community, and the tragedy of the War had fastened attention on the need for that extension in such a way as to make the necessary departures possible.

Perhaps it may seem too much to say that the framers of the Covenant of the League of Nations consciously proceeded along the lines of organizations in existence before the War. Mr. Leonard Woolf's timely book on International Government published in 1916, had directed attention in English-speaking countries at any rate to the possibility of utilizing past experience in that way, and the reference in Article 6 of the Covenant to the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union is one indication of the fact that some attempt was made to profit by the successes of international organization in the past. It is significant also that the frame-work of the new experiment was fashioned so clearly by the general ideas which had given form to the pre-War unions. The Assembly of the League of Nations corresponds very closely to the general conferences of the various unions which had been meeting with

¹ Published in the March issue, *Calcutta Review*.

greater or less regularity for half a century ; the Council of the League of Nations corresponds less closely to the international committees which, as in the case of the International Union of Weights and Measures, had been meeting with greater frequency ; and the Secretariat of the League of Nations finds its prototype in the bureaux maintained by some of the unions, particularly the five international bureaux at Berne. Of course this correspondence cannot be pressed too far ; past experience had shown that some departures were necessary ; the efforts of the Hague Conferences had focussed attention on the conflict between the political dogma of state equality on the one hand and the political fact of the hegemony of certain Powers on the other hand ; and with the ending of the World War, the time was ripe for experimentation with some new ideas. But the fact remains that we had already passed through a long period of endeavour to implement the new world society with agencies whose operation was not confined to single states, and the teachings of that experience were available when the time arrived for a more thoroughgoing effort to organize the world community.

I suppose it was inevitable that as soon as the League of Nations was organized it should be invested in popular opinion with a distinct personality. People at once began to think of it as a political entity comparable in a larger way with the states which were its members. In some parts of the world there were those who condemned it as a super-state threatening to undermine the prized sovereignty and independence of national states, while others welcomed it as a super-state which might in time be guided by a world opinion which would organize itself independently of the prevailing nationalism. As soon as the activities of the League of Nations got under way, it was easy for the former group to "blame the League" for many of the throes through which the post-War world had to pass ; and the temptation was great for people in the latter group to claim "credit for the League" for any successful efforts to alleviate the difficulties of post-War reconstruction.

These attitudes of mind were encouraged of course by the wave of high idealism which carried the world through the sufferings of the War, and without which the necessary willingness to extend our international organization might possibly have been long postponed. Like so many other things in the psychology prevailing during the years of the War, this idealism became highly inflated, and the immoderate hopes which inspired people to make the sacrifices necessary for waging the War led many people to look forward to a new international order which was to be wholly dissociated from the past, and particularly from the difficulties which had thwarted progress in the later years. As a consequence, inordinate expectations were aroused, which had the effect in some instances of relieving people of that sense of responsibility which they would otherwise have felt; and the disappointment of these expectations prevented many people from lending their support to the organization of international co-operation along new lines.

Now I submit that for a truer view of the League of Nations we must regard it, not as a new political entity created in a world of states, not as having a political personality of its own, not as a state in itself, but as a new method which has been adopted by the existing states for co-operating to meet those needs of world society which cannot be met by national action. The League is not a new power erected to see that righteousness prevails throughout the world; it is not an independent state which goes behind the governments of national states to their peoples for its constituency; it is not a governmental agency with an unlimited mandate to maintain the world's peace. It is merely a device by which certain nations have undertaken to co-operate in their efforts to solve some of the problems which they have in common, and to protect the interests of the larger world community as they are viewed by peoples each of whom would jealously guard its own national existence. It is, in short, a method of co-operation, a way of living together for the states of the modern world,

I have often heard the League of Nations condemned as a league of governments and not a league of peoples. It is an accurate description in many ways, but I cannot think that the condemnation proceeds from an accurate appraisal of the present possibilities of international action. If the future holds in store some sort of world government which does not depend on national governments, I find it impossible to discover any indication of it now. The War has intensified rather than diminished the spirit of nationalism, and at the present time it would seem that progress in organizing world society depends upon the collaboration of national governments. It is to extend that collaboration, already begun before the War, that a new method has been adopted, and intelligent support of the method seems to call for our seeing it clearly as such. This does not refer to certain legal theories of the nature of the League of Nations, which may be invented to enable certain things to be done. For instance, property in Geneva has been acquired by the League of Nations as such, and to this extent it may be classed as a corporation.¹

I sometimes fear that some friends of the League of Nations, are rendering a disservice by continuing to regard it as more than a way of doing business. When some progress is made, they are tempted to claim "credit for the League," as if the credit belonged to a single political body and not to the various governments which have united to achieve a desirable end. I have frequently been asked what is the attitude of the League toward particular international problems. Such questions are based on the confusion which I would fain dispel. A method does not have attitude, a way of doing business does not formulate judgment. But with reference to any particular problem the government of each of the Members of the League of Nations may have an attitude and may seek at Geneva to have it shared by the governments of other Members. The difference is more than a difference in

¹ See 20 American Political Science Review, p. 847.

form of statement—it seems to me a difference in understanding, and in appreciation of how we must proceed to work by international action.

As a method of dealing with world affairs, the League of Nations is mainly limited to what may be done by conferences of national government representatives. The Assembly in an annual conference which is too inclusive for executive action, but which serves the world most usefully as a forum for public discussion and as an agency for guiding opinion. In seven years, it has become an accepted thing that this conference is to meet on a fixed date each year. If one studies the history of the numerous international conferences which have been held since 1850, I think he has to say that this in itself is a great advance. Before the War, it was often very difficult indeed to get a conference assembled. If one state suggested it, others frequently suspected its motives. The agreement in advance on the agenda of a conference was difficult to reach when states were limited to communication through the formal channels of their diplomatic representation. If a single conference was held, it was with the greatest difficulty that its work was continued in later conferences. Most of the international unions came but slowly to the possibility of conferences meeting at regular intervals. The first Hague Peace Conference in 1899 looked forward to the assembling of its successor; but although President Roosevelt acting on the initiative of the Interparliamentary Union sought to negotiate to that end in 1904, it was not until 1907 that the second Peace Conference was held at the Hague. A third Conference was then envisaged after the lapse of a similar interval, but in 1914 it had already become clear that apart from the War some postponement was to be made. Immediately before the War, people interested in extending international co-operation were concentrating their efforts on the meeting of a third Peace Conference at the Hague, and on the establishment of the tradition that such conferences should be held at intervals of eight years in the future. How

inadequate such a programme appears to-day! The wildest optimist would hardly have predicted before August, 1914, that within little more than a decade the world would have grown accustomed to annual international conferences at which the representatives of more than fifty Powers would be able to consider many of the current problems of international affairs. Yet that has actually been achieved to-day, and we have come to count with a degree of confidence on a session of the Assembly beginning on the first Monday in each September.

The action of the Assembly is limited not only by its size, but also by the principle of unanimity. Some of the unions to which I referred in my previous lecture succeeded in making significant departures from that principle, and the Assembly itself has established a practice of liberality with respect to certain types of resolutions which do not strictly relate to procedure. But I doubt whether much purpose is to be served at the present time by an insistence on formalization of more radical departures. It has sometimes been suggested that certain measures taken by the Assembly might be deemed to be binding on all Members of the League which do not actively dissent. No such suggestion is likely to win favour in an actively nationalist era, and premature steps of the sort might lead to an unfortunate setback. It seems enough of a task, for the present, to establish the Assembly firmly as a forum of general discussion, as a meeting place of statesmen, and as a centre for broadcasting the raw materials of world opinion. By its review of everything that is done through the Council and through League commissions, and by its control of the finances of the League, the Assembly already exercises powers which give it prestige and importance, and attempts to make it an executive body can hardly be destined to increase its usefulness.

The conference method which we call the League of Nations also includes a smaller international conference which during seven years has been meeting on the average of six times

a year. The record of these forty-three conferences is so voluminous, so many questions have arisen before them, and such frequent appeals have been made to them, that one wonders how the pre-War world found it possible to live without any analogous procedure. Yet few people had envisaged such a method before 1914, and doubtless without the pressure of a great world crisis its inauguration would not have been achieved in 1920. The recent difficulties in reconstituting the Council of the League of Nations have grown from insistencies more prevalent before the War than now ; and if the world of to-day were confronted with the task of beginning this form of organization, one wonders whether agreement could be reached at all. Yet in seven years, we have grown accustomed also to this form of co-operation, and the business of many Foreign Offices in the world is actually conducted with reference to the calendar of the quarterly meetings of the League Council.

The actual composition of the Council seems to be frequently misunderstood in popular discussion. It is often overlooked that Article 4 of the Covenant provides that "any Member of the League not represented in the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League." During the past seven years, matters affecting the interests of Members not regularly represented on the Council have arisen very frequently, and such Members have often availed themselves of the privilege of special representation. Their representatives sit on a basis of equality with other representatives, and hence the requirement of unanimity in Article 5 applies to them. But criticism of the Council has often been based on a neglect of this fact, and its supposed dominance by certain Powers is one of the unfortunate results.

One great advantage of this smaller conference has been its size. It was originally planned to consist of representatives of nine Powers, but that number was early increased to ten,

and it has now—at the seventh Assembly—been increased to fourteen. Though this latest increase is attributed to a desire “to take account in a more comprehensive and equitable measure of the principle of geographical distribution of seats,” it must be explained as due to persistent demands which could not practically be ignored, and it yet remains to be seen whether the Council will continue its effectiveness undiminished. With the privilege of special representation, each state not regularly represented on the Council could prevent any serious compromise of its interests, and the larger body has now lost a certain psychological advantage in its deliberations. The desire for regular representation on the Council gives fresh indication, however, of the prestige already acquired for this new method of international co-operation.

It is a bit surprising that through these seven years the work of the Council has proceeded so smoothly. This is not because many questions about its organisation and procedure do not still remain open. The allocation of functions as between the Assembly and the Council has never been clearly determined. The Covenant provides that both may deal “with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world”; yet the uncertainty has caused little friction since the time of the first Assembly when a conflict arose over their jurisdiction as to mandates. Nor has it been formally determined what constitutes that interest in a matter which will entitle a state to special representation on the Council. Questions as the requirement of unanimity remain open, also, and when the Mosul dispute was being heard, they necessitated a request for an advisory opinion from the Permanent Court of International Justice. But in spite of these points and others which might be mentioned, the willingness to co-operate has been such that the Council has been able to carry on, and gradually a practice accumulates itself which may serve the needs of the future. I think the Council’s success far exceeds what most cautious students would have been willing to predict

for it seven years ago, and certainly it goes far beyond what most of us had imagined to be possible in the way of international co-operation before the War. One is tempted to believe that with such a beginning the conference method has come into the world to stay.

The success of these two series of conferences—the Assembly and the Council—has not meant, of course, that all international affairs can be handled by them. In the first place, the pre-War unions still exist—Article 24 of the Covenant has not detracted from their separate status; and because of the abstention of certain Powers from co-operation by the League of Nations method, some of the unions have been greatly enlarged. For example, the Office International d'Hygiene Publique has been given larger functions by the convention signed at Paris in 1926. In the second place, new unions or autonomous organizations have been created as a part of the League itself, and the International Labour Conference which meets annually possesses an importance second only to that of the Assembly and the Council. In the third place, it has been found convenient to hold many conferences dealing with special questions independently of the meetings of the Assembly and the Council. In some cases, these conferences are called by the Council and held “under the auspices of the League.” The facility with which conferences are now convened is one of our greatest advances since the War. Suspicion no longer arises from the initiative taken by the Council; a secretariat and a procedure are at hand to assure the smooth working of the conference; and a possibility exists of having attention given to the work of the conference after it has adjourned. The special conference on traffic in women and children, the conference on the suppression of traffic in obscene publications, the two conferences on traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, the conference on traffic in arms, the conference on the simplification of customs formalities, the two conferences on the standardization of biological products, the two conferences on the simplification of

passports—all of which have been held—and the economic conference which is planned to meet this year, are outstanding examples of conferences of this type. I suspect that many people in 1920 anticipated that more of this activity might be entrusted to the Assembly itself, but it would have meant an undue enlargement of the personnel of the various delegations in the Assembly to have included the experts necessary for such varied subjects.² In the fourth place, there are some questions which because they are of special interest to a few states or to states not members of the League, must be considered at conferences held outside of this system—the Washington Conference on Limitation of Naval Armaments is an example. In all of these ways the post-War world proceeds with the task of government, and the progress since the War has far outstripped that of any previous period in the world's history.

But the development of this conference method of dealing with international affairs was not the end and aim of the League of Nations. It was only a means of serving other ends. And we should now turn our attention to some of the functions of the League of Nations in modern world society, and make an effort to say how they are being discharged.

During the progress of the World War, the conviction was borne in upon people on both sides of that struggle that some way ought to be found for nations to live together which would avoid such fratricidal horror. In some of the countries arrayed against Germany and her allies, the belief took root that such a way could be found by all the nations joining in a pledge to use their power against a disturber of the world's peace, it being stipulated in advance what would constitute a nation such a disturber. The psychology of the War itself and the necessity of creating a *moral* which would continue it, led people on both sides to think of the struggle as due to the deliberate purpose of

² The Indian delegation to the seventh Assembly has expressed the view that an assembly session is an inappropriate occasion for the conclusion of separate international agreements which are intended to be open for immediate signature. See its Interim Report, p. 38.

a single nation. I suspect that few of us view the matter so simply to-day. But when the Peace Conference met at Paris in 1919, the statesmen of the victorious countries found themselves dealing with a powerful public opinion, partly of their own creation, which demanded that every effort be made to provide for the common use of force against any state which might run amuck in the future. In the United States of America we had had a powerful "League to Enforce Peace" which was organized on that platform, and in other countries opinion had developed in the same direction.

It was inevitable, therefore, that as the League of Nations was founded at the end of the War and partly as a result of it, its Covenant should express that purpose. Article 10 of the Covenant pledges the Members of the League in a general way to protect each other against external aggression. Article 11 declares any war or any threat of war to be a matter of general concern to all of the Members of the League, Article 16 declares any resort to war in disregard of the procedure laid down for preventing hostilities, an act of war against all other Members of the League, which are committed at once to an application of certain economic sanctions and which may be advised by the Council as to their employment of force itself. These obligations were very sweeping, and they were bound to have given rise to much difference of opinion. No doubt they were as well drafted as was possible with the differences in viewpoint prevailing at Paris ; but they were not so well drafted as to leave no room for long controversies as to their meaning. They had to be studied by peoples who were accustomed to different ways of reading the written word—in some parts of the world the general language of Article 10 was given its general meaning, in others it was viewed as a model of precision which left no scope for interpretation. The result was exaggerated fears which the interpretative efforts of the Assembly have not yet dispelled, and which have been influential in keeping one country at least outside the membership of the League.

Perhaps enough time has now elapsed since the Peace Conference at Paris for one to see how these efforts to enforce peace were influenced by the excesses of the time. Certainly President Wilson's view, expressed in the heat of bitter controversy, that Article 10 is the heart of the Covenant, will hardly be shared by most of the people who during these years have borne the brunt of the responsibility for the success of this experiment. And the view seems to be widely held that the practical difficulties of enforcing economic sanctions are such as to render that provision in Article 16 of little value. Few people in countries which are Members of the League have ever supposed that Article 16 empowers the Council to control the use of their armed forces, and the crucial decisions which would have to be taken if it were quite clear that a particular country were the aggressor in a war still rest where they would rest if Article 16 did not exist. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the attempt made at Paris to enforce peace will succeed; a test has not yet come, and much will depend upon the particular way that it does come. Some purpose may be served by having this part of the Covenant formulated in advance; it may have the effect of adding to the deterring forces in some cases, and even when words do not execute themselves they sometimes serve as useful pegs upon which insistences may be made to hang.

Whatever be one's judgment of the provisions of the Covenant, I think he has to say that the use of the League of Nations method of handling acute international situations during these seven years has been so satisfactory as to warrant high hopes for the future. The record may not fulfil the extravagant expectations entertained in 1919—few were the interested people of that day who did not expect too much; but it does justify us in believing that a great advance has been made over that time when no machinery existed and no procedure had been developed for conferences in situations which threatened war. In a number of instances, the usefulness of the new method has been proved. The first outstanding

case was that of the Aaland Islands, where a question falling quite clearly into the category of matters affecting "vital interest and national honour" usually excepted from the application of pre-War methods of peaceful settlement, was handled in such a way that it has ceased to agitate the politics of Finland and Sweden, the countries concerned. It was followed by the prolonged difficulty between Poland and Lithuania over the territory of Vilna, and if one cannot yet say that this difficulty has vanished still it has not led to open hostilities. The frontier disputes between Albania and Jugo-Slavia grew very threatening at one time, and that was the only occasion when serious reference has been made to executing Article 16; but those disputes have passed without occasioning a war. The difficult question of the boundary between Germany and Poland in Upper Silesia was successfully handled by the Powers acting through the League of Nations, and if the result is not permanent, it is proving at any rate the bridge upon which the two countries have passed and are passing to more friendly relations. The occupation of Corfu by Italian forces created a very tense situation which was certainly alleviated by the conferences held in Geneva. The inability of Great Britain and Turkey to agree upon the allocation of the Vilayet of Mosul as between Iraq and Turkey, created a situation which might easily have led to war, but which was settled by an award which all parties have now accepted. In 1925, the border trouble between Bulgaria and Greece was so serious that a war would have seemed almost inevitable if there had been no recognised and acknowledged forum in which Bulgaria could seek redress for hostile incursion. In all of these cases, the League method has been employed, and employed with success. They were not all dealt with in precisely the same way. Some of them required the utilization of other agencies as well. Some of them may not have been handled according to all peoples' ideas of justice. But in all of them, the world has had reason for satisfaction that a new

method of proceeding was available and was in fact resorted to. I do not want to leave the impression that I think that a war was clearly averted in any one of these cases. We cannot see the wars that do not happen. Perhaps other ways out might have been found in every single case. Nor am I claiming any "credit for the League" for what was actually achieved. My insistence is that this record justifies our thinking that the new method is serving the needs of our time and offers prospect for greater harmony in the international community in the future. If it had been in vogue in 1914, the recent history of the world might have been very different.

It is fortunate, I think, that no attempt has been made to apply any absolute conceptions of justice in the instances which I have enumerated. The League method consists in bringing representatives of the disputing states together around a table for an open discussion of their differences; it does not mean that any specific is at hand for any trouble which may arise. Nor can we be certain that this discussion will always avail to keep the peace. It is worth a great deal to have a table ready, and the agencies of communication available for such discussion to be begun. The representatives of other Powers assert the general interest in the preservation of peace, and sit in readiness to explore possible ways of settlement. Public attention is focussed on such a meeting, and in such a situation as that created by the Corfu crisis an informed public opinion can make itself felt as a powerful deterrent to precipitate action.

It seems to be easy for a public to oversimplify many international problems and to suppose that the course of justice is clear and unmistakable; but if the experience of the last few years is studied, I think it will demonstrate the frequent necessity of trying many expedients before any settlement can be reached. It is important to have not one forum, but many; to be able to shift the discussion from the one forum to another as an *impasse* is reached in the one, and in many cases to shift

it back again. The Mosul case will illustrate my meaning ; the Council first considered the situation ; it then created a commission to visit the territory in dispute ; it reached an *impasse* in dealing with the report at that commission ; it requested an advisory opinion of the Permanent Court of International Justice ; it created a second commission to report on the maintenance of the *status quo* ; and it reached a final decision more than a year after it became seised of the dispute. Such a process requires not only machinery, but continuous and patient use of it. None of us needs to cherish the feeling that it is a simple matter to maintain the world's peace, nor indeed that it can be maintained in all cases. Instances may well arise in which the League method cannot most usefully be applied ; I am not sure that the non-participation of the United States of America and the dispute of the historic government's authority do not make the present situation in China one of them. Other instances may arise in which the League of Nations method may fail ; certainly its invariable success is not assured. But what we can be sure of, I think, is that the effort at rational solution is worth while, and if the alternative of war, which usually gives no solution at all, can ever be justified, it is only after every other possible course has been fully explored.

But the facilitation of efforts to prevent war is not the only advantage which accrues from co-operation conducted by the method of the League of Nations. Quite as significant for the future is the attempt now being made by more than fifty nations to deal with a large number of matters which require something resembling administrative action. The numerous committees and commissions now maintained on a more or less permanent basis, each dealing with some special matter of general concern, had no counterpart in the pre-War situation. It was not because the problems did not exist before the War, nor because there was no desire to deal with them ; but simply because no form of organization had been developed which made

it possible. To-day, there is hardly a week in the year when some international conference is not being held in Geneva, and the volume of constructive work already accomplished is so significant that this kind of co-operation now seems indispensable for the future.

I shall speak first of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, for it represents most strikingly the new method of asserting the general interest in matters which before the War were left to national control. It was one of the consequences of the industrial revolution that some of the peoples whose industry was most highly organized began to exercise political power over other peoples who might furnish them markets or raw materials. The continent of Africa became prey to imperialistic expansion, and many were the scandals which came out of the relations between the invaders and the indigenous population. Some of these scandals shocked the whole world. The atrocities reported to have been committed in the Belgian Congo aroused great resentment among various peoples and led to many efforts at protestation. Such was the feeling in several Western countries, at any rate, that the governments would have been moved to action if any avenue had been open for it. But there was no avenue open. There was no system of accountability in such matters. There was no way for the general interest in humane relationships to be asserted. One has only to read Lord Grey's recent memoirs, entitled "Twenty-five Years," to appreciate the difficulties which thwarted the British Government's desire to use its influence effectively toward improving the situation in the Congo. It was clear at the end of the War, therefore, that some system of accountability had to be devised before any more territorial expansions in such areas would be justified. The decision to deprive Germany of her overseas possessions is quite another matter, and I would not attempt to justify that decision. But once it was determined that a change was to be made, the interests of the international community quite clearly demanded

the creation of machinery and methods for enforcing the accountability which pre-War experience had shown to be necessary. And that office is being served to-day, under Article 22 of the Covenant, by the activities of the Permanent Mandates Commission. One does not need to think that the mandate system is perfect, he may think that it was inaugurated at the Peace Conference as a disguise for annexation, he may find the administration of certain of the mandated territories most unsatisfactory, he may object to the placing of certain territories under mandate ; but I think we have to say that if control over certain peoples by others is to be continued at all, the system represents a great advance over anything that was in vogue before the War, and that it is pregnant with possibilities of future development which may correct many evils.

No other part of the co-operation through the League of Nations has been the subject of such wide misunderstanding as the mandate system. The impression seems to prevail in some quarters that it is a method of direct government by the League of Nations, and as a consequence it is assumed that a power exists in some body at Geneva to correct particular measures of what is thought to be mis-government taken in a mandated territory. Such an impression seems to mistake international accountability for international administration. I am quite convinced that the task of a mandatory Power would soon become impossible if its every action were subject to appeal and review by other Powers acting through one of the agencies of the League. But it is quite possible that better methods of enforcing accountability than have been in practice during the past seven years can be devised. Certainly it is not enough that the Permanent Mandates Commission should be confined to receiving reports from mandatory Powers after troubles have occurred. If the recent proposal of the Commission that it be allowed to receive petitions from the inhabitants of mandated territories in exceptional cases cannot be accepted, some other method should be invented for giving to such inhabitants an

opportunity of presenting views which the mandatory may not approve.

A somewhat allied attempt is being made by the Council of the League of Nations in exercise of the power conferred upon it by the various treaties for the protection of racial, religious and linguistic minorities. In certain countries of Western Europe, the possibility of maintaining international peace is very closely connected with the treatment accorded to minorities. Any territorial readjustment in that part of the world, in 1919, would have been precarious ; but it was almost certain to be more so unless some way could have been found for assuring to the inhabitants of transferred territories a minimum of consideration for their racial, religious and linguistic traditions. In making these treaties a part of the peace settlement itself, and in conditioning the sanction of certain transfers of territory on their acceptance, the Peace Conference at Paris was but following precedents of long standing. Elaborate provisions had been drawn up at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 for protecting the minorities in several of the Balkan States, but in some instances they had proved wholly ineffective because there was no way for other countries to seek to have them enforced. One does not need to believe that the new treaties will be observed to the letter, to see that they may serve a very useful purpose. It is something that their provisions, which are far more detailed than those elaborated by the Congress of Berlin, are put in such a form that they can give the starting-point for discussions of constitutional guarantees. And it can only be considered an advance to have the possibility of the Council's consideration of cases of flagrant abuse. Such cases may under the treaties be brought to its attention by the government of any state represented on the Council ; but in practice a much more liberal procedure is followed, and any *bona fide* petition from an aggrieved minority actually receives the attention of a committee of the Council. If one compares this situation with that prevailing in 1902

when the United States of America protested about the treatment of Jews in Roumania, I think he has to say that progress has been made in dealing with this great problem which is at once local and general.

I do not propose to deal at length with the work of all of the League commissions which I am sure you will agree is very important. The Health Committee has rendered the whole world a signal service in the establishment of an epidemiological intelligence service ; and the recent organization of an intelligence centre at Singapore must have been greatly welcomed in this part of the world. Its international exchanges of public health personnel promise the beginning of a movement which, if continued, may come to mean that the whole world will in time be speaking a common language of public health administration. The Economic Committee has rendered the greatest service in dealing with the serious problems growing out of the aftermath of the War, and the success of the reconstruction undertaken in Austria and Hungary and the refuged settlement schemes launched in Greece and Bulgaria is one of the brightest chapters in our post-War history. Even when normal conditions may come to prevail in the world again, the need for such a committee will continue. The Advisory Committee on Transit and Communications meets a demand of the international community which has been long neglected in the past, as a simple enumeration of questions considered during the past year will indicate ; these questions related to inland navigation and ports, maritime navigation, the unification of tonnage measurement, safety of ships at sea, buoyage and the lighting of coasts, railways, passports, road traffic, telegraph and telephone communications, transmission of water-power, unification of law relating to inland navigation, and the reform of the calendar. The common interest of nations in such matters was recognised as long ago as 1865, when a convention was signed by various Powers for the maintenance of the Cape Spartel lighthouse on the western shore

of Morocco ; but without such machinery as has now been created, it received but spasmodic attention. The Government of India has taken a very special interest in the work of the Advisory Committee on traffic in opium and dangerous drugs, and it is within the past few days that we have read of the election of Sir John Campbell, your Indian representative, as chairman of that Committee. The people of Calcutta must also have taken a lively interest in the work of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, in which your distinguished scientist, Sir Jagadis Bose, has played an important part.

Each of these activities, and many others as well, would deserve to be the subject of a whole lecture. But I want to speak only of their general effect, and of the effect of all the co-operation by this method, on the intelligence of the modern world in its approach to international affairs. I think it is safe to say that never before in the history of the world has so much of that intelligence been directed to the solution of the problems which the peoples have in common. One excellent result of a centre like Geneva is the creation of a personnel trained in international co-operation. Officials in various governments go there and become acquainted with their opposites in other countries. Continuous contacts are maintained. Experts in the service of all the fifty and more governments are giving their time through twelve months in the year to matters of common interest to all peoples, and they serve as independently of national bias as it is possible for any of us to be. The Secretariat is an international civil service at the disposal of the various conferences, and its work is of inestimable value in increasing their efficiency. Time and again, reading the reports of pre-War conferences, I have been impressed with the need of such a service. American delegations returning from various conferences, notably the second Peace Conference at The Hague and the fifth Conference of American States at Santiago, have complained of the ineffectiveness of their efforts owing to lack of organisation. The conference method, as we know it

in the League of Nations, works because there are trained people at hand to make it work. Of inestimable value also, are the personal contacts between statesmen, who in such a place as Geneva can meet for informal discussion without the glare of headlines playing about their heads. In the sixth Assembly of the League of Nations, I counted some twenty cabinet ministers from as many countries, gathered in a single meeting.

Quite as important is the effect of this method on popular opinion. We who are students of international affairs must be specially pleased to have the documentation necessary for keeping abreast with international developments. The League of Nations Treaty Series is a mine of interest for the lawyers, who now for the first time in history have a reliable compendium of the world's treaty law. The reports of commissions and the *proces-verbaux* of conferences, usually so difficult to procure in the past, are now made available in uniform publications. The reports of the delegates of India to the seven sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations issued as public documents in this country, seem to me excellent guides for public intelligence, and the delegates of other countries could not do better than to take them as models to be followed for informing their publics of what they have attempted to do. The newspaper-reading public has better facilities for following the progress of affairs than it had in the days of conferences organised on the older diplomatic lines. In fact, publicity has had many victories since the League method was inaugurated. In the beginning the minutes of the Council were not made available to the public; but that continued only for the first eleven sessions. To-day all the minutes are made available as they are prepared. This can be better appreciated if one compares the recent methods of the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris and those of the Council of the League of Nations. The record of the former is a sealed book, that of the latter is open for those to read who will.

The results of this increase of intelligence applied to international affairs cannot fail to be helpful in the future. Not only do they promise a greater rein for rationalism in its contest with those supposed instincts of man which make him want to fight and to let off steam, but they promise also a mobilization of power directed to the development of the political experiments through which an organized world must pass. In my own field of international law, I feel that we are at the beginning of a new era, and in a later lecture I shall deal with the prospect for an extension of law and justice in the world society of the future, as a consequence of the existence of the League of Nations.

MANLEY O. HUDSON

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THIS BABEL

Of making many books there is no end and much study is weariness of the flesh ; so said Solomon the wise and never said anything wiser. Yet the world was not then the Babel of books that it is to-day. The amount of reading done by the venerable king would pale into insignificance by the side of the enormous gobbets of information gulped down by an average undergraduate of to-day, and would not fetch him a bare ' pass ' in a modern university. The few rolls that lay at his elbow would be regarded as hopelessly modest fare compared to our monstrous orgy of books. There is no doubt, therefore, what the ancient patriarch would do if he lived to-day. Instead of contenting himself with a wise saw he would stop our mischievous traffic in books by royal decree ; he would free mankind from the tyranny of the pen by putting a ban upon it, and compel authors to take up the spade instead ; he would dismantle all printing presses, ransack and burn libraries and scatter the ashes to the winds. Milk and honey would again flow in our earth and beauty and song return to life.

The wise among us have always put their heads together over the evils—more numerous than the brief seconds allotted to our mortal threescore and ten—of which we are supposed to be the victims. Every day in every way we are becoming worse and worse inasmuch as a fresh evil is being discovered and ushered into our midst. All our studies are now studies of evils. To us facts are no longer facts but have become problems and enigmas. We are sceptics and cynics before we have cut our wisdom-teeth or cut any teeth at all. We inhale doubts at every breath and are for ever ridden by the nightmare of problems. But no saviour has yet arisen to deliver us from one of our principal afflictions—books ! Term in, term out, a huge torrent of books is issuing out of the Gargantuan printing press. It swamps us and sweeps us in its raging tide and leaves us no

breath. We have books of every kind and description, of every possible and impossible activity or interest, on every conceivable and inconceivable subject. Even Mirondezza would get brain fog in the attempt to enumerate and classify them, much less to read them. We have poetry, drama, fiction, criticism, science, travel, devotion, philosophy, sport, diary, history.....books for entertainment, knowledge and edification; to laugh, weep, dream or yawn over; to read or merely to admire, disparage and talk about; to 'swank' about or decorate our rooms with; books to be tasted, swallowed, chewed and digested; to be read only in parts, and to be read wholly; books on authors and books; on books on books, on books *ad infinitum*. Even a man with Macaulay's brain and the eternal leisure of the Romeos of conventional love-stories can hardly aspire to keep his head above this onrushing stream that engulfs him and tosses him about like a blade of straw. We may plod on wearily till the crack of doom, yet at the end find ourselves precisely where we began. For, even Macaulay confessed to the weariness of flesh when, in reviewing the Rev. Edward Nares' colossal *Lord Burghley, His Life and Time*, he remarked "such a book might, before the deluge, have been considered as light reading by Hilpa and Shalum. But, unhappily, the life of a man is now threescore years and ten, and we cannot but think it somewhat unfair in Dr. Nares to demand from us so large a portion of so short an existence." Our complaint is that there are too many Dr. Nareses abroad, and no attempt is being made to control their slipshod and irresponsible fertility. Even Macaulay, who wrote like this, has inflicted on us much weariness of flesh by his encyclopaedic contributions. Wordsworth, who could, under the not too frequent visitations of his daemon, sometimes write sensible things, never does better than when he calls books 'a dull and endless strife' and advises his friend to 'close the barren leaves lest he should grow double.' Yet the same Wordsworth so often kills his Pegasus by overloading him with stuff that is only fit to be put on the back of a pack-horse.

The tendency towards overproduction is a chronic disease. Every considerable writer has been most inconsiderately prolific. And, as if we did not already have sufficient unto the life the books thereof, critics and biographers must needs speak apologetically or regretfully of authors like Sappho, Gray, Charlotte Bronte or Keats who by virtue of temperament, circumstances or premature death were enabled to escape the bane of overproduction. The only sane and sincere attitude towards such cases should be one of relief and thankfulness. Lope de Vega's plays are said to have run into hundreds. We pity the author as being perpetually hag ridden by a prolific muse who hardly gave him breathing time, and condemn as utterly lost souls readers in whom he does not produce the only possible, legitimate and natural feelings of consternation, disgust and fatigue. Not even a German critic has yet complained against Shakespeare that he wrote too little. It is also admitted by his sturdiest admirers that originality was not among his faults ; that nothing good of his age would have remained anonymous if he could only lay hands on it. Yet every year we find indefatigable Shakespearean enthusiasts patiently grubbing in the obscure corners of Elizabethan literature, and rifling his poor contemporaries of any good play, act, scene or passage that they might have stumbled into, with the sole pious object of foisting it upon their idol. As if the world has not had enough of Shakespeare and Shakespeare had not enough of such spoils ; also, as if we have not had enough of such learned futility. What we already have is cracking our shelves and splitting our skulls. We want no more of the dust of other peoples' writings that Shakespeare probably touched to gold by the alchemy of genius and that the critics invariably retouch to dross in the melting-pot of controversy. The much-maligned cook of Warburton—may her tribe increase and that of her master decay ! In manuscript Mr. Bernard Shaw's plays run into furlongs, we are told, and his prefaces into miles we imagine. As they are slightly less in print, happily Mr. Shaw has a blue pencil in his



desk beside his pen. In these hard days when so few of us have a roof and four walls to rest and stretch our limbs within, it is sheer inhumanity to expect us to house so many books, house ourselves as we cannot. At the rate books are multiplying we shall soon have bookshelves jostling out dinner-tables and libraries everywhere instead of dwelling houses. It is a positive menace. We are glutted with books. We regret the introduction of printing and wish for another bonfire like the burning of the library at Alexandria. We feel towards it like what every healthy-minded school boy does when he learns how some books of Euclid were lost. He feels grateful for what the fire did and is sorry for what it left undone. In this deluge of ink we cry for another Noah's ark.

Books are sapping our vitality and forcing us to live barren and unnatural lives. The real use of literature is that it should provoke and satisfy a keener taste for life; contribute, that is to say, to make life fuller, intenser and stranger. It should add a dimension to our experience, a vista to our outlook, and a fillip to our feelings; and by feeling more we live more. We make temporary sojourns in the world of print in order to return to the real with greater freshness and zeal. But, now, instead of books being meant for life, life seems to be meant for books. Instead of being the highroads to life they are so many back-lanes to sneak out of it. To so many among us the world of books is more real than the real world. These people incapacitate themselves for first-hand enjoyment of life and prefer a vicarious one through books. They are not alive. They are not human as they are not sensual. The springs of their feeling are frozen, the roots of their being dried up. At best they are all brain and no blood. Nothing is left of them but a cold, merely intellectual, and often cynical curiosity towards life. If that is so with readers, there are likewise some writers who, as Walter Raleigh says, exhaust themselves in the effort to write, and distil all their essence in a book. Their master-pieces have something inhuman in them, like the jewelled idols of barbarous

tribes, the work of men's hands, before which human flesh and blood are sacrificed. One wishes for more authors like Dr. Johnson the breadth and humanity of whose temper made him regard books as subordinate to life : "Books without knowledge of life are useless ; for what should books teach but the art of living ? "

It is more serious than we allow ourselves to think, this print-sickness, this constant morbid desire to escape into the realm of cold print to which so many of us are victims. It sits on us like the Old Man of the Mountain on Sindbad, and has us always in its skeleton grip. The mischief begins with the early morning when we cannot enjoy our cup of coffee without having to swallow the professional hypocrisies and propagandist lies which newspapers only can utter with impunity in their own brazen manner ; and since we pay for them we feel we would not have our money's worth if we did not smack our lips over them. In a train or in a bus instead of enjoying healthy genial human fellowship, or, what is more agreeable, composing ourselves into a short nap that we are rocked into, we invariably bury ourselves under a magazine, paper or novel. To such absurdities are we reduced that with so many of us the best way of closing our eyes in sleep is to keep them open over a book. Wonderful indeed were the Scudérys and La Calprenèdes of the 17th century who could spin out their interminable tomes of heroic adventure and sentiment, and more so the generation of valiant ladies like Mrs. Pepys and Dorothy Osborne who could go through them. In fact, our habit of reading is like the drug-habit ; only, it lasts longer. The Earl of Rochester who bragged of having been drunk continually for five years cannot clink glasses with the maniacal bibliophile burrowing into ancient lore till his last breath. The chief danger of the habit is that it is so insidious. The dupes through whom it works its mischief are so splendid—the great *pundits* among us commanding respect and admiration. We are proud of it and cultivate it sedulously. It is one of our

seven deadly virtues. The grown-up among us are inoculated thoroughly with it, and, not to spare the child we spoil the rod on many a back at school. The test of our liberal culture now a days is how many books we have got through, and not, as it should be, how many books have got through us. The literary swells and high-brows are always asking us in their usual nonchalant air whether we know this play or that novel. To say no is to meet the uplifted eyebrow and to prove oneself a back number.

The danger becomes more dangerous when we consider that most of the reading done by us is sheer frittering away of energy. It is so because more than half the books we read we do not really enjoy. We read them not because we like them but for other reasons, the chief of which is that we regard reading as a duty religiously to be performed. This motive specially colours our approach towards the great writers, the acknowledged classics. It springs out of the traditional reverence which the cunning few versed in the craft of letters have always received from their unlettered brethren in all countries and ages. The author has always been placed on a high pedestal; he has been the oracle of God, his art a miracle which it would be sacrilege to try to understand. We are never pleased as when somebody bullies us, and we invent a god to do it when there is no body else. We are over-awed in the presence of a great writer and we worship him as a god, and not love and understand him as a friend. The incense burnt at his feet by generations of critics and readers is the mist that makes him all the more mysterious, less human and more divine. The moral sense is always better and sooner developed in us than the aesthetic. We want always to be good and are seldom happy. The author may bore us and even cut against the grain with us, yet we piously flog ourselves into an appreciation of his greatness. To feel dislike we dare not as it would be wickedness, much less to speak it out which would be blasphemy. On the other hand, the more of a

penance he is, the more good he is supposed to do. Discipline which should be the moderation of pleasure has, by a curious perversity, come to mean the infliction of pain. We regard as serious or wholesome works that cause us suffering, and look with suspicion and contempt on those which frankly delight or amuse.

There is, besides, another spirit, that of snobbishness, that leads us to the study of the ancients. Few of us have the necessary imaginative sympathy and buoyancy of mind to be able to recreate the past and move easily in it. To most of us an ancient author is more dead than Tutankhamen, the ancient world more remote than Tierra del Fuego ; its fitness to us no better than that of Procrustes' bed to his victims. Yet what pride do we take in our classical education. We humbug ourselves into the belief that with it we should be superior to the vulgar who lack it. We read the ancients not out of any real love for them, but with the object of scoring off others. Everybody who reads the classics may not be a snob, but every snob reads them. This spirit exists most in the academies, the hives of so much barren industry. No author receives homage from them in flesh and blood, not until he has served his term in Hades for a few centuries and hardened into some *ism* as the illustration of some abstract notion, school, tendency or influence. They dig up from the graves obscure nonentities of past ages whom time has rightly consigned to oblivion, and turn out elaborate investigations on them. Our shelves are chock-full of them, as well as of the colossal editions of the better-known writers, compact of industry and ingenuity, including innumerable variorum readings and minute textual criticisms involving heated arguments over dots and dashes, and life-and-death struggles over commas and semi-colons. Like the Indian village-lawyer, completely innocent of English or English law, who, when asked why he was carrying big volumes of English law-books, replied 'to afraid the judge,' superior scholars in academies are producing their works to

afraid each other and the public. 'But what good came of it at last?' little Peterkin might ask of them.

Nobody should suspect us of talking light-heartedly of bad books; of nagging, as is the custom with self-conscious Litterateurs with a capital L, at the Messrs. Nincompoop and Misses Gabble-Goose among us. Their works are frank pot-boilers with no suspicion of immortality; the necessary superfluous outgrowths of a country ultimately dying of their own accord. They are harmless because they are bad. We need not be afraid of them because they are ephemeral. The really dangerous ones are the good books; those that knock at our doors for permanent lodgings. The trouble is they are both so good and numerous. They are, no doubt, gems, as some would say, the precious life blood of a master-spirit crystallised into rubies. But what should we do if we had rubies as common as pebbles, everywhere and always dazzling us with the same hard brilliance? We should grow sick of them and shove them out of the way. Matthew Arnold's cry for the best that has been thought or known was only an ingenious contrivance for self-preservation against their oppression. Yet Arnold was more than an intellectual Atlas compared to us, bearing as he did the double burden of the ancient and modern worlds on his broad back. Also, his select-the-best theory ultimately brings no relief, for there are endless varieties of 'best' in the ample fields of knowledge or thought. Arnold did not sufficiently realise this and was obsessed with only a few; hence his narrowness and critical blind-spots. In poetry alone we have, to mention only a few, high seriousness and grand style best (the favourites of Arnold), natural magic best, narrative, music, sensuousness best. All of them are laws unto themselves and any canon drawn exclusively from one is fatal to the others. Should we dismiss a haunting line of Yeats because it has not the grand style or high seriousness of Milton? None but the literary dyspeptic would feed solely upon the romantic poetry of Keats and Coleridge, and fail to

enjoy the satires of Pope and Dryden ; none but the mean would turn down gentle Lamb and dear old Pepys, the ever-delightful chatterers into immortality, because they offer no 'criticism of life.' Our minds should be like the lyre responding sympathetically to every touch. To exclude any of the great is to deprive ourselves of some of the highest artistic experiences, to deny ourselves some of the intensest moments of life. But have we sufficiently realised what this means ? And who does not blanch at the prospect of the enormous reading that it involves ? One must begin with the classics of one's own country ; and even the most audacious would shake in his shoes at the sight of the serried Oxford poets from Chaucer to Bridges. To turn away is to be haunted for ever like Hugo's Cain by the eye of remorse. Then, there are the classical literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, and of India and Palestine too, and the masterpieces of modern languages rising like peak above peak on the Himalayan ranges. By this time our pulse beats irregularly, and when we consider that liberal culture also wants us to know the best in other arts and sciences, it has stopped.

In modern times our improved methods of publicity and transport have shortened the distance between countries and continents. We are the citizens of a huge commonwealth of ideas. The English language is a medium which transmits the heart-beats of every country. Its far-flung empire extends from pole to pole. Through translations we have passports to the universe of ancients and moderns, and the responsibility of the person who would utter a word in English is now greater than ever. Who would listen to the dramatic critic of to-day if he did not supplement his Shaw, Synge, Barrie and Galsworthy with Benavente, Chekov, Sudermann and D'Annunzio, to take only a few out of a multitude. And what a wrestle it is when we read a foreign writer, the initial disappointment and displeasure, the bars of taste, custom and idea. But to be without them is like being without a limb.

And how numerous they are. They ride on the wings of the wind and come from all quarters of the globe. Anatole France inviting us to his garden of Epicurus; Maeterlink to his shadowy fountain of symbolism ; Knut Hamsun from the north, and Tagore from the east with mysterious fingers for ever writing on the wall ; Yone Noguchi from the far east stalking like a ghost; Bjornson, Hergiesheimer, Dostoieffsky, Gogol, Schnitzler, Hauptmann, Sienkiewicz..... the very names so awful, so forbidding, so remote, strange and alluring—all magic casements opening on *perilous* seas. Run away wherever we can from them, the cry is ' still they come.'

J. C. GHOSH

WHERE LIGHTS SHINE

The starlight feeds the earth with longings for the far
That lies beyond the ken, where dreams and visions are,
And teaches man to strive to look beyond the light
To where no night is named and light itself is night.

The sunlight feeds the heart with memories of the star,
And inlays work with dreams, confounding near with far,
And fills the world with light and shrouds the soul in night,
And blinds the eye of heaven with days of smirching light.

And lovelight fills the eye with visions of the hour,
When earth fades away from sight and heaven resigns its power,
And shielded from all fear, a haven of balmy rest
Makes day a fragrant candle, night a loving breast.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

HUMOUR IN SIKHISM

Humour is commonly taken to mean the sense of ridicule or mockery. But on observing the finer developments of human character, it would appear to have also a deeper significance. It is really an extreme sensitiveness to the true proportion of things, a sense that at once discovers for us whatever is out of joint in any thought or action. It is not merely a make-shift quality for leisure hours, but has a substantial value in our moral development. It bespeaks a full and strong sense of personal identity and is not incompatible with religion. Nay, explain it how we will, true humour always goes with ripeness of wisdom, and long-faced seriousness, as much as frivolity, is a sign of immaturity. Without the sense of humour virtue itself becomes self-forgetful and loses its balance. It is humour alone that can keep our sympathies well-regulated and in good turn. It is a fine collective force in our character, and works like an instinct against all excess. Without it, a man's character is always underdone or done on one side only.

It was with this sense of humour that one quiet morning, at Hardwar, Guru Nanak had begun to throw water towards his fields in Kartarpur. His purpose was to disillusion the Hindus who believed that the water thrown to the east would reach their dead ancestors in the world beyond. It was the same humour he displayed at Mecca, when he lay down at night with his feet purposely turned towards Kaaba and said to the priests who protested that they could turn his feet to any direction where God was not. He often announced his coming in a very strange manner. While coming back to India from Mecca, he halted at Baghdad. It was yet early dawn, and the people had not yet begun stirring for the morning prayers. Guru Nanak wanted to have a congregation of his own. He took himself to a high place, and in a loud sentorian voice began to imitate the famous Mohammedan call to prayer.

Hearing this new kind of Azan, the people flocked around him and listened to his preaching with more than usual eagerness. On another occasion, during his wanderings, he came upon a knot of happy children playing in the street. The sight was too alluring for him. He at once put off his gravity and began to leap and bound and shout just as the little urchins did. It must have been a sight for angels to see the grey-haired prophet jumping and singing in the company of children! And then look at the quaint dress he wore on occasions: a leather apron round his waist, a string of bones round his neck, a *tilak* on his forehead or a prayer carpet under his arm.

Guru Arjan, who compiled the Holy Granth, knew the value of humour and when incorporating the compositions of different *Bhagats* he did not discard the passages which were humorous or lively. One of the most effective and sincere addresses to God is the prayer of Dhanna the Jat, wherein he asks for his simple daily bread in this way:

“O God, I, Thine afflicted servant, come to Thee. Thou arrangest the affairs of those who perform thy service. I beg of thee to give me flour, ghee, and pulse, so that my heart may rejoice for ever. I want shoes and fine clothes, and corn grown on a field ploughed seven times over, I want a milch cow and a buffalo, and a good Turkustani mare, and a good wife. These things thy servant Dhanna begs of Thee”—*Dhanasri*.

There is also a similar passage in Kabir, wherein he throws up the beads to God saying that he can offer no prayers as long as he keeps him hungry. He lays down a regular bill of fare, which he declares to be “none too covetous.” (*Sorath*.)

As Sikhism is particular in discarding asceticism and encouraging secular life lived religiously, it has provided a free scope for developing a bright and vigorous spirit among the Sikhs. Bhai Bidhi Chand, who was the right-hand man of Guru Hargobind, was one of the most adventurous youths of the time, noted as much for his humour as for his devotion.

His "larking" campaigns were so humorously conceived and romantically executed that for him even the prosaic Mr. Macauliffe is constrained to pause for diversion.

But the most striking example of Humour playing a prominent part in Sikhism is the fact that there exists a regular order of Humourists called *Suthras*, who have carried on religious propaganda in the name of Guru Nanak mainly through Humour.

Guru Govind Singh also realized the value of humour and made full use of it in his religious work. Once he dressed up a donkey like a lion and set it roaming about the fields. The Sikhs began to laugh when they heard it braying, in spite of the lion's coat, and asked their leader what it meant. The Guru told them that they too would look as foolish as the donkey, if, with the Singh's (lion's) name and uniform, they still remained as ignorant and cowardly as before. The same love of the dramatic is exhibited by the way he exposed the futility of the belief in Durga, the goddess of power. When all the *ghee* and incense had been burnt and Pandit Kesho had tired himself out by mumbling *mantras* by the million without being able to produce the goddess, the Guru came forward with a naked sword and flashing it before the assembly declared: "This is the Goddess of power." The same grim humour was shown by him, when one spring morning, in the midst of hymns and recitations, he appeared before his Sikhs and demanded a man who would sacrifice himself then and there for his faith. He wanted to see whether the people dared to do anything beyond mere singing of hymns and reading of texts.

As was the Guru, so became the Sikhs. In the face of desperate circumstances, they often put on a fine brag—that Hannibal or Sir Walter Raleigh might have envied—and literally shouted over a difficulty. Once a small straggling detachment of Sikhs was hemmed in by a numerous force of the enemy. Then friends were far off, and there was no hope of their coming in time to save them. Yet they did not lose heart,

They took off their broad white *chaddars* (sheets) and spread them over the neighbouring bushes to make them look like tents from the distance. All the while they kept up shouting every fifteen minutes the famous national cry of *Sat Sri Akal*. The enemy thought that the Sikhs were receiving so many instalments of help and did not dare to come forward.

As a result of this brave spirit, there grew up among the Sikhs a peculiar slang, which was called the Vocabulary of Heroes. In it the things connected with the difficulties of life were expressed in terms of such cheerfulness and bravado, as if, for the Sikhs pain and suffering had lost all meaning. Death was familiarly called an expedition of the Khalsa into the next world. A man with an empty stomach would call himself mad with prosperity. Grams were almonds, and onions were silver pieces, while rupees were nothing but empty crusts. A blind man was called a wide-awake hero, and a half blind man an argus-eyed lion. A deaf man was said to be a man in the upper storey. A baptised Sikh was called a brother of the Golden Cup, which by the way, was only an iron vessel. To be fined by the community for some fault was called getting one's salary. The big stick was called a lawyer or the store of wisdom; and to speak was to roar.

There is a superb humour in all this, which breathes a full and healthy spirit. It shows that our ancestors knew, how much better than we do at present, that religion is not incompatible with brightness and vigour.

TEJA SINGH

CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION

An article written by T. J. Vaswani in an Indian newspaper on the subject of "Christian Civilisation" recently found its way to New York. The article was a statement of the findings of Bishop Fisher of Calcutta regarding the status of the Indian in South Africa, with pertinent remarks on the subject by T. L. Vaswani.

One pauses to question whether the prejudice against the Indian in South Africa is a race prejudice or not ; whether it is religious antipathy, or whether it might be called Christian prejudice because it exists on the part of the whites and the whites are Christians.

The Christian religion has, of course, one fundamental doctrine, and one only, the brotherhood of man. It has for the guidance of Christians but a single rule of conduct : *Do unto others as you would have others do unto you*. This rule of its ethics is known as the *golden rule*.

Tolstoy asked the question *What is to be done* about poverty. A similar question is confronting the world to-day with regard to the superiority (assumed or real) of the white man over the black. It is without doubt the violation of the sociological ideal, *i.e.*, the brotherhood of man, and the concept of human behaviour, the golden rule, on the part of Christians professing adherence to the faith against Indians who have done nothing to injure them that has caused the ironic ire of Bishop Fisher and Dr. Vaswani to belch forth—justifiably.

One must seek the root of the evil, as Tolstoy did with reference to poverty. Does this root have its incipience in a theory of evolution that existed before the time of Darwin much more commonly than is popularly believed ? Does it have its birth in the feeling that the stages of man's progress are from the savage to the civilised man, and in the fact that because the savage happens usually to be "black" the false deduction

has arisen that all blacks (that is to say, non-whites) are savages, a belief based presumably upon an absence of universally disseminated facts to prove the contrary ?

Mr. I. B. Sen, of Calcutta, had his difficulties when in America. He found that a great deal of prejudice against the native of India existed in even that "land of the free." He ran into still more trouble when he went on a journey to Washington, the seat of government, on behalf of Indians in America to make a plea before a body of adamant governors to establish the fact that Indians are Aryans and therefore white. It was a futile effort, in connection with a law passed in the United States before, or about the time the Colonies of Great Britain in America threw off the yoke of the mother country (1776) and declared themselves to be the United States. That law granted the boon of citizenship to whites, but not to blacks, and it is a law which has not been repealed. Just before Mr. Sen's visit to the United States, the Supreme Court of the United States, from whose mandate there is no appeal save through an Act of Congress repealing the law in question, held that the prohibitive clause referred specifically to black skins, not savages, not the uncivilized, not the truly non-white in the Aryan distinction. It meant exactly what it said.

So long as such a state of mind persists in any country, that darkness of colour indicates non-intelligence, non-culture, even the inability to attain culture even through a process of civilisation, so long as it indicates non-desirability of subjects for citizenship, a great deal of educative procedure must be undertaken. Mr. Sen pointed out at one time in an article published in Calcutta that the Japanese had won their position in the sun of the world's respect and recognition as a world power, through individualistic and nationalistic pride that would not accept an insult. That has been one way of achieving the desired end of national recognition, but it has not increased the respect of the whites in California for the Japanese labourers.

There is one means—when resort to national strength is impractical—of counteracting and removing, eventually, the ban of colour between India and the nations of the white people, at least in countries non-British where the political question is not a factor if it cannot be achieved in South Africa, and that is through propaganda, a well organized, widespread distribution of the truth. Countries like the United States have a national Chamber of Commerce. This is organized very much on the order of the city Chamber of Commerce that one finds in every city in the country, and in almost every town. It is ready at any moment to give forth information concerning the United States. A national body of publicity, or a national Chamber of Commerce in India, might do more.

Not long ago a minister of the Christian faith preaching in New York said :

“ Imperial Russia justified the holding of serfs because the people were ignorant and docile. But their just cause was gradually placed on the conscience of mankind and they were liberated. In our own country (U. S. A.) the writers of some of our best hymns preached the righteousness of holding slaves and fortified their argument from the Scriptures, but the just cause of black men was gradually placed upon the conscience of mankind. Andrew Jackson saw the struggle coming in 1830. He said to a group of his associates concerning some of their struggles with John C. Calhoun, ‘ Gentlemen, to-day the issue is states’ rights, the next time it will be slavery.’ Truth crushed to earth will rise again because it is congruous with the underlying moral order of human existence under a divine and an ethical God.”

If the question of India’s injustice might be put upon the public mind, what might not happen?

It would amaze more Indians than one might imagine at first if they knew the little that is really known of India in the western world. Let us take the United States for example. Outside New York, and perhaps San Francisco, the two seaport gateways to the Orient, Orientals are almost unknown. Chinese and Japanese are present, of course, in California, the Chinese are active in many communities throughout the country such

as Minneapolis and Chicago, in the universities there are a few hundred, perhaps thousands, Chinese, Japanese and Indians—but that is all. There are a few societies endeavouring to struggle along for the good of a so-called “union between the East and the West.” Theirs is an admirable work, but it is extraordinarily difficult in the face of financial pressure. It was surprising, when the writer was actively connected with the *Orient*, now *The New Orient*, to find many advertisers, even in America supposedly non-political as far as the British Indian situation is concerned, refusing to advertise because the journal might be anti-British propaganda on behalf of India. That a journal might exist to feature culture and not politics was unbelievable, and that India had anything but a political aspect still more unbelievable.

If Indians, and other oppressed peoples, resenting the “superiority attitude” of the whites, would face the situation which the writer believes to be due almost wholly to the absence of correct information in the western popular mind, a step forward might be taken definitely. If white humanity to-day recognizes intellect and demonstrated personal culture as the standard of its social recognition of non-whites (speaking with regard to colour, not race distinction) and the non-whites wish to receive such recognition, there is but one action possible, and that is to prove not only that they are of intellectual equality but also of intellectual superiority. This India might do.

It would be the greatest possible stride in such a direction, for instance, if Māhatma Gandhi were to tour the western world. The effect of such a tour would be, at the present stage, incomprehensible. Tagore and Vivekananda, one a poet, the other a cultist, are almost the only two Indians who have made an impression upon all America. They were unknown to vast majorities of Americans before their arrival, but they were able, nevertheless, to function for the good of India. Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, is known to Americans—as they were not known. He has received a great amount of

publicity, and his presence in the flesh would have an effect that would be not less than miraculous. He might have, also, a message that the western world would need.

India, send your leaders to America! Wend them to France, Italy, Germany! Send them not only as students, but as teachers! Let your literature go fourth into the western world. Let your support be ever increasing in strength for the individuals who are engaged in the work of spreading a knowledge of India through the western world. An India, increasing in economic strength, and giving full and wholehearted support to every institute, every society, every journal, each effort, no matter how insignificant, leading toward world-education with regard to matters Indian, will do much to do away with "Christian civilization and superiority."

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

THE FUTURE OF GEOGRAPHY IN INDIA

I

There already exists a number of excellent studies on India. Remarkable works have been produced on geology, climatology, botany, and languages. The decennial censuses of India are carried out on admirable lines and are better than any in Europe. On the other hand, India has on the whole, no real geographical studies, for no attempt has been made to co-ordinate the various sciences relating to geography.

What then is geography? About fifty years back, it confined itself to mere descriptions of the world, made for utilitarian purposes, such as we find in Gazetteers. It indicated, about any area or any particular place, what should be known by a trader, a soldier or a tourist. But to-day geography has become a true science, since, like other sciences, it seeks not only to describe but to explain phenomena. It endeavours first of all to analyse a given region and bring out the features peculiar to it. But next it sets out to disclose the factors that have made the region what it is,—the geological forces, the action of weather or of running water which model the relief of land, of climate that determines now forest and now savannahs, and of man here destroying nature and there bettering it. Further it demonstrates how physical environment acts on the organic world, especially mankind, and *vice versa*.

During its enquiry, geography has unceasingly recourse to the allied sciences that deal with nature or with man. It utilises these in order to co-ordinate them, for it is essentially a synthetic science. And it reaches new conclusions because it has a method of its own.

Here are some of the main principles which determine its method. (1) The principle of Localisation. To find out the exact place and proper limits of every observed fact. (2) That of Causation, understood in a special sense. The geographer admits that even the works of man, such as the position of

cities, the direction of routes and the extension of empires, are determined in part by natural environment. (3) General Co-ordination, which maintains that the world is a whole whose parts are closely knit together. Whatever fraction of the globe one studies one cannot separate it from the rest, for its features depend on influences which are numerous and often distant. One cannot study; say the climate of the Punjab, without considering the winds blowing over the whole Indian Ocean: neither can one know about the population of Bengal without viewing its relations with the neighbouring provinces and even with the Iranian world. (4) Evolution: This principle, so fruitful in biology, applies also (*a*) to mountains and rivers for their aspects vary with their age; and (*b*) to human activities, whose present forms can only be understood by knowing those of the past. (5) The fifth principle is that of Adaptation. Every organism depends largely for its form and extension on its physical environment. No doubt the applications of these guiding principles are still a matter of discussion among specialists, for, after all, the science of geography is still young; still they agree upon the essential points of this method.

The field is so vast that there has already arisen some "division of labour." Certain scientists devote themselves wholly to physical geography. They try to explain the modelling and relief of the earth, the direction of water courses and their regime, the facts of climate and of vegetation. On the other hand there are others who devote themselves to human geography. These while making use of the results of the first set out to discover the influence of nature upon man and of man upon nature. The former make use of geology, meteorology and botany, while the latter utilise applied economics, ethnography and history. The constant aim of both these branches, however, is to place, to localise every fact in order to explain it, to view the country as a whole and at the same time to disengage the features which are specially its own. And both need for their work the same synthetic spirit.

Let me take as an example the recent work of Dr. Arthur Geddes, son of the eminent thinker so well-known in India.¹ It is a study of the *Santiniketan* region and of Western Bengal. The author begins his study by a description of the country, at once precise and picturesque, showing the differences of aspect upon the Old Alluvial and the New. He seeks to explain this diversity ; he defines the several environments, and characterises the theatre where the drama of human activity is to be played. He indicates how environment transforms itself during the course of ages, for example the effects of deforestation and erosion in the uplands in silting up the "dead rivers" of the delta. Next he studies agriculture and industry, subjects also included in economics, but here, viewed from another point of view—that of constantly defining the influence of environment on organism, of place on work. Also, he shows how the changes in the courses of rivers lead to the decadence of certain regions and the development of malaria. Again, he describes the villages and houses, showing the part of physical factors determining the place and form of human habitation. One of the most original chapters of this study defines the regions of culture, tracing their evolution, by means of the same environmental factors, and searches for the most subtle relations between environment and intellectual activity. Dr. Geddes concludes his study by describing the work of rural reconstruction inaugurated by Rabindranath Tagore, after describing the difficulties of the present, he brings forward the remedies by a better adaptation of nature by man. It is by such means that geography which describes and explains certain of the ills of mankind, makes thus their diagnosis and prepares their rational cure.

Another thesis recently presented at the University of Montpellier, by Dr. Gopal Advani,² is devoted to a study of rural life in Sind. It shows how geography is a necessary preface to the study of scientific agriculture, how it can state

¹ Thesis for the Doctorate of the University of Montpellier, 1927.

² This and the above are published by *Librarie Nouvelle*, Montpellier.

the deed of a people, and of what practical use it is, without in any way ceasing to be a science.

Again, I may be allowed to draw attention to the studies on the population of India by Vidal de la Blache and myself, published in *les Annales de Geographie* of 1906 and 1926. These studies will show how geographers work out the facts presented by statisticians by methods of their own, in explaining, for instance, variations in density of population and in migrations.

Such is the conception of modern geography as elaborated by Humboldt, K. Ritter and Vidal de la Blache. A completer idea may be gained by reference to *Physical Geography* by W. M. Davis, the *Traité de Géographie physique* by Emmanuel de Martonne, *La Géographie humaine* by J. Brunhes,¹ and the admirable *Tableau de la Géographie de la France* by Vidal de la Blache.

Now India has as yet hardly any works which are truly geographic. Too often those so called are really gazetteers in which the various subjects are treated separately without any inter-relation. Here then has resulted a curious fact: A European savant finds it much more difficult to visualise the various aspects of India than those of China. Numerous travellers have traversed the Great Plain of Peking and have described its landscapes and some of them have even noted the relation between soil, cultivation and population. On the other hand, for the Deccan there are a number of studies, some geological, others botanical or demographic, but there is no co-ordination, not even a general description of the country. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that from the geographical point of view, India is almost an unknown country. There are materials everywhere but they are scattered and hardly any attempt has been made to build them together.

¹ This has been translated into English (New York, Rand Mac Nally, 1920). But some reservation must be made upon the conceptions of Mr. Brunhes, specially in the first few chapters.

It would be a task of immense philosophic interest to construct the geography of India,¹ owing to the diversity of its regions and its peoples and also because of the antiquity of its races and the extraordinary differences in cultural development.

It would also be of the greatest national interest. For if a country is to gain consciousness of nationhood it needs must know itself. For the past, history (with the study of scriptures) is the means, but for the present, human geography.

Geography too can reveal elements of the nation's future for it is the science that finds in natural environment permanent factors of evolution. It prepares the solution for problems that face the statesmen as in studying the material life of a people and its deficiencies and discovering the latent means of making up for these, or in tracing regional units and thus indicating rational boundaries for administration. And finally, geography can help India to be loved by her sons and by strangers too, for one of its aims is to describe the splendours of nature and to show how man is rooted to the soil of his country.

Such are a few of the aspects of geography. We hope enough has been said to bring out the greatness of the task before the Indian Universities. Calcutta has been a pioneer in national history and linguistics; why then should it not now become the same for the geography of India?

II

How then to reconstruct this geography of India? This task must fall to Indians themselves, as modern conception

¹ It may be noted that national consciousness has formed itself in other countries in similar ways. A century ago Germany owed its arousal not only to its poets like Wieland or to philosophers like Fichte, but also to the historians who after 1812 have tried to find out the monuments of the German past in order to awaken interest, too long dormant, of their fellow countrymen in the life of their country. Again after the Great War peoples long oppressed have evolved to nationhood. Jugo-Slavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Roumania are now occupied in geographical as much as historical research so that they may better understand their country and also come to love it more.

of geography is very little known in England save for notable exceptions, far less in France and Germany.

Within the next two years I hope to publish an outline of this question in the *Geographie Universelle* edited by Vidal de la Blache and Gallois. Later, if possible, I shall try to develop this into a book of 400 to 500 pages. But that, too, will be a general view rather than a detailed study, and of necessity I shall put more questions than I shall solve. Such work will be a sort of short and superficial reconnaissance of the territory to be explored. It should be followed by a series of monographs such as those of the French School (Demangeon on Picardie, Blanchard on Flanders, Arbos on the Alps, my own on Normandy and others). Such regional surveys or monographs should be the labour of young Indians. How are they to prepare themselves for such a work? I shall always be very glad to help them in this task, and here is what seems to me one of the best opportunities for their scientific preparation.

The Indian student may come to Montpellier in October when the beautiful Mediterranean autumn begins.¹ If he knows no French he may take a course, in our University, arranged specially for foreigners to initiate them into the language and the civilisation of France. On the other hand I will guide him in his reading beginning with methodology and later introduce him to the study of French regional monographs. About May he might go to Strasbourg or Paris, where he would find specialists in Physical Geography. He might spend the

¹ With its warm climate Montpellier would be very agreeable for Indian students (average temperature during the coldest months is 48°F, and that of the hottest is 73°F.) It is because of this that a number of students come from Egypt and the Mauritius. Prof. Patrick Geddes has established here an intellectual centre to bring about a union of East and West (reference may be made to an article that appeared in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, Nov., 1926). One of the University professors takes a keen interest in Asiatic sociology and another in educational problems of the East. Students will also be put in touch with orientalists in Paris, like MM. Sylvain Levi, Jules Bloch and others. While books are generously lent from the libraries of the India Office and the office of the High Commissioner.

summer in the Pyrenees or in the Alps where the Universities of Toulouse and Grenoble have organised vacation courses and systematic excursions. His second year might be passed in Montpellier with, perhaps, a few visits to the libraries of Paris or London. During this year, the student could prepare for two examinations—(1) the Certificate for Higher Study of Geography, in order to have a general idea of our science ; (2) the doctorate of the university, consisting of a thesis on the study of one of the various regions of India to which he wants to devote himself. I believe that at the end of two years, an intelligent student would be ready to begin the scientific exploration of India. Naturally, a third year could be well spent in studying, according to his tastes, geology, or botany or anthropology; in short, in mastering one of the sciences auxiliary to geography. It goes almost without saying that such a programme concerns students already advanced, or young members of university staff ; for beginners this period would be far too short.

Before coming to France, the student should be able to read French (a list of useful books could be sent him). From the scientific standpoint it would be an advantage if he had already done some geology or botany, but this is not absolutely necessary. The same applies for history and political economy. (Geography having two branches, physical and human, and it would suffice for him to know something about one of these before leaving India.)

What is more important than acquired knowledge is the spirit which makes the true geographer, a care for precision, a horror of vague generalisations, and above all the power of synthesis, the love of his country and his people and the desire to know them better. This assumes a certain maturity, together with the keenness and intellectual flexibility of youth. Let us remember that for a developing science the right start is essential : one good student rather than twenty ordinary ones to begin the exploration of India,

Further might it not be profitable to think of inviting to India an European geographer to begin this work which would be a true collaboration of East and West? For it is often observed that the inhabitants of a country do not of themselves always notice the very features of their land which are most characteristic of it, because they have always seen them, day in day out,—just as one may cease to mark the physiognomy of people with whom one lives in daily contact. It happens that in France a province has generally been best described by some one hailing from a different one. In the same way Europeans would be useful in the beginning by arousing interest of Indians to some essential problems and to show them on the spot the lines on which they may be solved.

Would it be possible for a time to associate some European geographers as professors in Calcutta University? The recent experience of Roumania has been very encouraging. An eminent teacher of the Sorbonne, M.de Martonne, was invited to one of the Roumanian universities, Cluj. He delivered a series of lectures on the method of general treatment of geography of that part of Europe. Later, during summer, he selected a batch of his best students and took them for a number of weeks to the mountains of Transylvania. Though he himself did not know the country, any more than they, he knew the methods by which to analyse these countrysides and regions. And it was of great benefit to the students to see how he worked in the field. It will be of great use to introduce the same in India : the European geographer could give a series of lectures, and later he should conduct long vacation excursions which may help the students to be educated in a concrete and living way. Thus he would not merely produce students to “ know about geography ” but at the same time he will show them how to make their own geography, teaching them to observe nature and understand it.

THE PLACE OF BERGSON IN MODERN PHILOSOPHY

There has been a tendency in recent philosophy to look for the secret of truth in other sources than reason, and we take Bergson to be a representative of this anti-intellectualistic spirit which has expressed itself in more forms than one all the world over, *viz.*, the American Pragmatism which tests the truth of a doctrine by its Ethic rather than by its Metaphysic, or again the Italian Expressionism in Art and Religion which makes Reality to be Expression itself, not the Expression of an Idea. And of all revolts against the classical method in Philosophy, we take it, that of Bergson has been the boldest. For, while all the others have shown due respect to the time-honoured ideas of Metaphysics, Bergson has revolutionised them altogether. What is history? History is, according to Bergson, an Infinite energising, not of a great Principle,—a great Power, a great Idea or a Great God,—but the Energising itself which goes on without beginning and end. What is life? Life is a portion of this Infinite Energising. And what is the meaning of History for Humanity? Humanity has only to participate in this Infinite Energising—and that is its salvation—rather than sit down, reason and classify, without end hoping for some miraculous revelation of truth. The dualisms of life and thought have, therefore, no significance for one who lives, not on any carefully reasoned Metaphysics of the universe, but, directly and straight, on this philosophic Intuition.

Such a philosophy as this, on account of its extreme simplicity, naturally appeals to us moderns, who have long lived down the Medieval Schoolmen's love for syllogising; and it appeals all the more to the special student of the history of philosophy, owing to the deadlock which has been recently created by the perfected systems of the great dialectician Hegel on the one hand, and of the great empiricist, Spencer, on the other.

For Hegel has claimed for his system, on the ground of his Logic, the final goal and the highest perfection of all philosophical doctrines which have dissolved their oppositions by slow dialectic steps through history. Philosophy, after Hegel, therefore, should cease to be a thing which apparently contradicts his own doctrine of the eternal self-evolution of the Infinite Spirit through history. And Spencer? Spencer has found the philosopher's goal as 'unknown and unknowable,' after a ceaseless classification and co-ordination of all the Sciences of his age. Intellect thus seems to have failed at this point of history to satisfy the philosophical craving. It is high time, therefore, that we should have a truer philosophy that draws its inspiration from other sources than the Intellect and is in harmony with the idea of progress and optimism which is the keynote of the modern age. And there have been attempts throughout the world,—James in America putting emphasis on 'personal psychology,' Croce in Italy on the 'Aesthetic sense,' Douglas Fawcett in England reducing the whole world to Imagination." Nietzsche has already experimented on a philosophy of Power and failed. We have in Bergson a great exponent of the present age, who has given us a beautiful, almost poetic, philosophy of Intuition which is in keeping with the energy and optimism of modern times.

It is interesting, however, to look into the fundamental standpoint of a philosopher before we try to appreciate his conclusions. Bergson always refers to the personal self, Kant to the Pure Reason, Hegel to the Idea in need of Expression. Bergson is a psychologist before he is a Metaphysician; Kant or Hegel a Metaphysician before a psychologist. While Bergson, with all the keenness of a psychologist, cannot make himself see in the world and self anything real but change and movement, Kant finds reality to be the very opposite of it,—the thing-in-itself which we, with our spectacles of time and space, wrongly see in various colours. Kant concludes after his critique of thought that to think is to get

entangled in space and time and miss the real once for all; Bergson, on the other hand, finds himself perfectly real as a moving, changing personality in time. Reality, he says, is motion itself, not the motion of a thing; change itself, not the change of a thing; because the most immediate and real fact of experience on which we have to philosophise is 'myself' which is essentially a ceaseless motion and change. The 'me' of to-morrow is no more the 'me' of to-day. Life and consciousness are absolutely indeterminate. Intellect which attempts to grasp motion in terms of geometry only, necessarily cuts up reality, which is continuous life and movement, into dead pieces. It is thus, as a Bergsonian might say, that Reasoning caused Adam's fall from the heaven.

The opposition between this new philosophy and the old, clearly, is one of standpoints, the psychological opposing itself to the metaphysical. Reality, says the modern psychologist, is of the nature of an unrest. To the metaphysician it is a perfect calm. Who is to be trusted? Yes, it is the eternal conflict between the romantic and the classical spirit in human nature. It is for history to decide whether Intuition has to be explained by Intellect or Intellect explained by Intuition,—whether the philosophy of Bergson is a stage in Hegel's Dialectic, or the philosophy of Hegel a moment of Bergson's continuum.

The final answer,—or is it ever final?—to all problems of philosophy, we believe, must come from the Intellect. There comes often a stage in the history of civilization when the human mind gets tired of Intellect, feels loth to reason, finds relief in other forms of its being,—in worship of Power, in variety and boldness of imagination and experiment. It is in such an age as this that we are living to-day. Humanity has lived a similar age in the beginning of the Renaissance, it is re-living that age at present on a more advanced and extended scale. It is only when the creative faculty of the human imagination exhausts itself for a time and the results of

its experiments settle down that some intellectual giant appears before us, classifies, co-ordinates and harmonises the results and gives us a neat system of philosophy which explains all. The world seems to progress more by a Brownian than by a Bergsonian motion—more by jerks than by a single, continuous, indivisible movement. But the present age is one, pre-eminently, of Bergson. The meaning of Bergson is plain to us. It is a protest against the false intellectual pride of the nineteenth century philosophers. It is in tune with the present age of daring. We care more for a clear ethic than for a correct Metaphysic. Let the fastidious metaphysicians of old ever quarrel and bother about points of Logic, while we Bergsonians of to-day live, energise and produce an infinite variety of Science and optimism.

P. C. KAR

STRAY THOUGHTS

A Beggar Boy.

A little boy—scarcely four, a sad slender figure—behind him his mother—a pitiable creature, in rags—with a feeble cry of want on her lips. A spectacle so touching! They come to me for alms. While they stand expecting the usual penny I look at them. My heart melts with sympathy for the stripling—his tiny face with two little innocent eyes makes a profound impression on me. Has he not a faint resemblance in appearance with my son? I like to take him up in my lap, place him close to my bosom, feel his rapid heart-beats and impart a little warmth to his unprotected limbs from my own flowing heart-blood. He speaks not a word, sees me plunge my fingers into my pocket and bring out a penny for him. I wish I could take his tender fingers, place them within my pocket and feel the tingling confusion. I place the penny in his little palm—just big enough to hold the coin—and enjoy the pleasure of his touch for a moment.

He is gone, perhaps satisfied with a penny—but I am not. He makes me uneasy. How glad would I be to see his boyish restlessness, to listen to the music of his voice and to enjoy the playfulness of his limbs! He stands before me with the curse of poverty on his head. His innocence and purity—wrapped in ugly poverty. How helpless he looks! The morning of his life how sad and gloomy when he should be happy as a lark. He moves about with a captive's chain when he should be the freest of the free. He has yet a morning and a noon while my days are about to close. And he comes to beg of me—how strange! What can I give him?—a coin, a mere nothing. I wish I could beg of him a little of his natural simplicity and artless innocence to feel the glow of childhood

once again. In my presence he gives the coin to his mother. He forgets all about the coin the very next moment and sees with wondering eyes the passing carriage.

In the evening when I wend my way home I find the mother and the child seated by the road-side exhausted—the child's head drooping with the heaviness of sleep. Would he pass the night without a morsel of food? Where would he sleep—in his mother's lap? Would he suck the milkless breast of his afflicted mother? Does any hut protect their heads from the cold night? All these thoughts make me restless. In my bed I lie as one prostrate with helplessness.

My Child.

I have a child of my own—an only child—whom I hug to my bosom at all hours of the day. When I take him up how completely he surrenders himself to me! He cannot distinguish his mother from the rest of the world as yet. His helpless state brings a world of thoughts in me. If I place him on the railings of my staircase or on the edge of the reservoir, he does not realise the danger. He is so careless of his own safety. Give him the most priceless jewel, he will throw it away if he is not pleased with it. He is naked—stark naked—but his innocence covers his nudity. In the presence of the most august personage he will play with his little limbs absorbed in his own delight. •

A burning candle attracts him and he extends his tiny fingers to catch it. His little blue eyes are so transparent that they reflect the light of heaven unbedimmed. The unmatted floor is as much to his liking as the soft velvety bed. He is an emperor in miniature. He controls every one about him. He does not hold me physically, but he has an iron control over me. I forget my work. I forget that time won't stop for me. I am helpless. How is it that a helpless little babe makes me helpless? When I come back from my work, I

find him as much unconcerned for me as if he never saw me. His little face floats on my vision and gives me an inward delight during the leisure moments at my office. No one can divine the source of my delight. The reflection of his face in my mind's eye enlivens me and opens a vista not known to my vision before.

People go to the church to enjoy the bliss of heaven on earth. But the very air you breathe is holy to me. When I am in your presence I find myself in a different world—a world so simple, so beautiful, so natural. You seem to me to be the representative of the All-holy and the kingdom of heaven lies about you. When I kiss you, the odour, as if of ambrosia, regales my senses.

When I find you lying in your mother's lap, sucking her breast, my senses become overpowered. It is a vision beatific. A divine glow, an angelic purity then dawns upon your mother's face. She seems to me an angel come down from the empyrean heights to give you the divine drink of nectar. She fondles you in a language which I never understand. I stand at a distance, not daring to approach you while you are lying in the sanctuary of your mother's bosom. Could any sight be holier than this—a child sucking its mother's breast? Could any love be purer than this—a mother's embrace to her child? Could any sacrifice be greater than this—a mother's suffering for her child?

A Faded Flower.

A faded flower—how changed beyond recognition! Where is thy arresting beauty, thy charms, thy soft petals smiling with fragrance, thy soul-thrilling form? No admiring eyes will pause and watch thee! No hand will be stretched to hold thee now! No bees will come to greet thee and no butterfly will stop to wipe away drops of sweet from thy lovely face. You have lost all except the innate sweetness of your nature.

You are supremely meek even in your adversity. This is what attracts me most and I place thee again on my bosom.

I can see marks of violence on thy person. For thee I weep bitter tears in extreme anguish. How hard that heart must be! Whoever he is, wherever found, he is accursed.

Poor flower! on my lap thou diest. Thy petals droop away one by one. How silently you pass away. The lingering warmth of your perfume is no more. Even a fairy creature like you is not spared the icy touch of death. Beauty was thy garment, and fragrance thy breath—but where are they now?

Sweet flower! Your death makes me gloomy. Is this world an empty dream, a huge Nothing where I am not, an unfathomable void? Is it a meaningless form, created without purpose?

The Rain-Drop.

I owe the rain-drops a heavy debt. Apart from the thrill of pleasure which a cool draft of air gives while whispering in my ear of their approach, I am deeply grateful to them. They suspend for the time the feverish activity born of my dissipated taste. When I am arrested by them, in the midst of a field, no shelter near-by, I feel very delighted. I surrender myself to their soft embrace. Why shall I shun them? They come for me, to give me freshness, delight and exhilaration; I voluntarily submit myself to be drenched. My mind gets relaxed and I hear their peculiar music with a rapturous soul. Streets are flooded. Little streams of water come running from all directions and transform the aerial into an earthly music.

In moments of deep silence we sometimes awake to the beauty of nature. She is calm, sober but temptingly beautiful to an observant eye. Her sports with the elements fascinate my mind. I am as much moved by a blue sky on a clear day, the reflexion falling on a clear sheet of transparent water, as by a cloudy sky vocal with the low murmurs of a grumbling thunder. The over-powering flashes of lightning followed by

loud reports of thunder are terror-striking indeed but they give to my mortal eyes a glimpse of the blinding brilliance of the empyrean when its gates are flung open.

When wind and rain come together there is a wild merri-ment all through nature, and they send a riotous mirth through me. Little children begin to dance in unison with the music,—appreciating the wild harmony in nature. The dull conventionalities of life appear meaningless to me and my heart realises a broader life—natural, true and universal.

The Dawn.

In my boyhood I could not understand how the gloom of night vanished with the approach of dawn. I attributed this to some magic in nature.

I cannot forget the indescribable charms of dawn. The moment the chorus of birds regales my ears I leave my bed and come out to welcome the infant dawn. Like a little child its steps are faltering, its presence is sweet, its face is smiling and its look is innocent and fresh. There is a divine halo in its presence. It dances with the little twigs that move with the breeze. The dark impurities of my mind are scattered away and I can see to the very bottom of my soul which vibrates in unison with the soul of outer nature. I feel a new strength in every nerve. I look at the serene vault of the blue sky and gaze with wonder at its spotless beauty. The sun is not yet up. It is still hidden in the womb of the infinite deep. The strife of life is not yet begun. The world is still asleep. Only the birds are awake. I hear the flutter of their wings. I cannot imagine why they rise with the dawn.

RASH RANJAN BASU

GLIMPSES INTO POPULAR RELIGION AND BELIEFS IN ANCIENT INDIA

A careful analysis of the evidence furnished by the ancient literature of India enables us not only to have a clear idea of the popular religion of those early days but an insight into the mentality of the people. They were essentially a more primitive people than their descendants of the present day, and though the progress of science or the change of environment has materially altered the ideas of their descendants, yet many of these which influenced them still subsist in the latter. To enquire into the beliefs and ideas of the past, we must begin with the literature of the Vedas which affords us ample materials for enquiry on diverse lines. Not to speak of the gradual evolution of metaphysical ideas, the progress of society, or of the sciences, we find in this ancient literature ample evidences which unfold to us the minds of the people who composed it, their conception of the universe, its regulative forces, the chief sources of detriment to man, and the ways of attaining safety from the evil influences which assail mankind. With the evidences which dwell on the former topics, we are not at all concerned, but we confine ourselves to those which enable us to have a glimpse into the mentality of the mass of the people and their real religion.

The Vedic people, like their brethren in antiquity in other parts of the globe, believed in the existence of ever-present agencies which controlled the universal system and its diverse phenomena. These agents may be classified into two categories : *e.g.*, (a) the beneficent elements, and (b) the malevolent agents. The former comprised the Devas, the rulers of the cosmical system as well as the beneficent spirits of ancestors who were supposed to look to the welfare of their descendants. The conception of the Devas need not be discussed here in detail, but clearly they were the personifications of the presiding

elements of the different aspects or the various phenomena of nature. To mankind, their influence was overweening and they fully controlled their destinies. On the whole, they were favourable to man, though they were not unmindful to punish those who transgressed their laws and commands. The God Varuṇa had his spies and their nooses with which to torment sinners. Certain diseases also were supposed to have been due to his punishment. Similarly, there were the dreaded dogs of Yama, the king of the departed.

The gods were many, and prominent among them were the great single gods like Indra the war god and the god of rain, Varuṇa the Judge *par excellence* of the immortals, Aditi, Bhaga the Lord of creation, Prajāpati, Sūrya or the sun, Soma, Pusan (God of cattle). Then there were the group gods, the Rudras, Maruts, Ādityas and the Vasus, etc. The mutual assimilation of different traditions of diverse sections of the people, different explanations about the same natural phenomena, diversity in the conception of the various aspects of nature, gradually enlarged this huge pantheon, and gradually led to the growth of a tradition about the mutual relations between the diverse gods, their manners, customs, ways of dealings with men, their appearances, figures, weapons, peculiar garbs, favourite food, etc. Everything gradually came to be defined and a mass of myth and legends about their birth, origin, doings, or life history, came into existence, almost on lines parallel to those we find in Greece, Rome or in other parts of the ancient world. Anthropomorphic considerations naturally played the supreme role in the evolution of these ideas together with a certain amount of imposition of higher attributes like immortality, or control over the ordinary laws of the universe which affect and influence mankind. But, with all these higher attributes, the gods were not free from passions or the cravings of mortals. They, too, often transgressed the laws of morality and consequently suffered. They, too, were liable to greed or lust and fought amongst themselves. They, too, engaged in sports and pastimes

like the game of chess or chariot race, drank wine to their heart's content and did everything to gratify their senses.

The primitive mind is swayed by wonder and fear and naturally tries to do recompense for the good done or to appease the anger of the omnipotent agents. As such, the gods were worshipped and this worship was nothing but offering various kinds of food or sacrificing animals to them—practically, the same means as wins success with ordinary men. In course of time, this sacrifice elaborated into a complicated ritual and came to have a different purpose and meaning.

If wonder or gratitude impelled man to venerate or worship these deities or the spirits of the departed ancestors, fear made them dread the spirits of evil which infested the world. To counteract these evils they had recourse to various arts and artifices. With progressive ideas, they prayed to the gods for their deliverance from all sorts of trouble, but at the same time, they performed various rites to nullify evil influences. They had recourse to what we call spells, charm or magic, and these coming from more ancient times clearly survived, in spite of progress, in spite of the growing belief in the omnipotence of the gods. The hymns of the Atharva-veda or the ritual of the Brāhmaṇas throw a great flood of light on the beliefs and practices of that remote age. The evil agents remained, as in more primitive times, the chief sources of dread to the people. Prominent among these evil spirits which endangered the safety of man were the Asuras, the spirits of evil and the perpetual enemies of the gods, their objects of veneration, ghosts, Yakṣhas, Kimidins, Yātudhānas, the flesh-eating Piśāchas, the spirits of diseases or of misfortune. These were constantly dreaded and the simpler and unsophisticated mind looked to easier ways of deliverance other than sacrifice and prayer to the gods. The Atharva-vedic hymns are a storehouse of such things which comprise invocations to gods and charms and rites which were believed to have been efficacious in removing evil influences. Care was taken to ensure the safety of man all throughout his existence and

to dispel evil influences in all acts of his life. Hymns were uttered or rites performed to counteract evil in everyday life as well as on specific occasions. Thus, we have instances of such things on the occasion of the building of a house, to ensure plenty and good-health and for safety, prosperity and freedom from danger. Men had recourse both to prayers and to charms or magical rites just on child-birth to ensure the good-health of the child to drive away barrenness in the woman, to dispel fiends who caused abortion, to have a good rainfall, to destroy impediments to agricultural operations, to ensure a good harvest by counteracting drought, lightning or vermin, to safeguard a commercial adventure, to ensure unanimity among kinsmen, to safeguard loyalty of subjects to the king, to dispel evil influences or the evil eye or diseases from a man, family or any particular people. Conversely, similar means were employed to satisfy the anger or vengeance of man. We have charms for destroying enemies, for counteracting the influence or for impairing the good fortune of a co-wife, and to make enemies suffer in all possible ways. It would be rather tedious to mention all these but on analysis we find a curious commixture of older ideas, methods and practices with those of a subsequent and more enlightened age. On all occasions and for all purposes the gods were invoked and the invocations to them show how their omnipotence was accepted in principle, but at the same time the older element of charms and magical rites continued as before. This is proved by the use of amulets, or the employment of similar means for counteracting the evils without even the mention or assistance of a deity. Some of these mentioned in the Atharva-veda show how persistent was the popular belief in magical rites and charms. Thus, in the case of diseases we have not only prayers to gods but in some cases we find only the employment of charms and magical rites. In one of these, in which the object is to cure dysentery the operator employs an arrow of *muñja* grass and throws it away symbolising the cure. Secondly, to drive constipation,

the seer or the performer of the rite discharges an arrow which is supposed to purge the patient of all evil. In the case of jaundice, no gods are invoked at all, but suggestions are repeatedly made to the patient and the yellow colour is transferred to plants and birds. Similarly, in the case of love-charms, we find no invocations to gods but a recourse to what we call magical rites. To unite the lover with the wished-for maiden, two cuttings from a tree and a creeper attached to it are joined together along with some other rites. Similarly, in a hymn for ensuring the birth of children, an arrow is discharged symbolising the passing of the semen into the woman's womb.

Belief in sympathetic relation between natural phenomena and animals and plants, as well as in the inherent powers of certain herbs or plants had a prominent place in this ritual. Plants like the *Apāmārga* or *Kuṣṭha* were supposed to have the power of defeating enemies or counteracting poison. Another plant, the *Pāta*, could stop an adversary in debate. Gold was supposed to give life and prosperity. Lead was supposed to counteract evil influence. Similarly, there were other plants which were supposed to excite or dispel love. Among animals, the frog was supposed to have the power of invoking rainfall. This belief is found in more than one place and in operations for bringing in water into newly-dug canals or reservoirs, a frog was invariably placed in them. The inherent auspicious or inauspicious character of birds and animals was recognised and as an instance, we may mention prayers and rites to dispel the evil brought by owls.

Signs and portents were also believed in and as an instance of omen-reading, we have in the A.V. the mention of the *Śakadhūma*, who was supposed to foretell rainfall by noting the smoke issuing from burning cowdung cakes. There was a persistent belief in witchcraft and its presiding spirit was conceived to have been a female ever malevolent to mankind. Charms were employed against witchcraft and herbs were used as antidote.

In some other works of the Vedic Literature, we have ampler evidences of the magical element. One Brāhmaṇa, the Sāmavidhāna not to speak of the Kauśika Sūtra, gives us details about these rites and practices which were supposed to fulfil the desire of the performer. It mentions auspicious and inauspicious signs, the good or evil influence of planets, the efficacy of amulets in dispelling harm or removing diseases, snakes, and the evil caused by sorcerers, ghosts and other evil agents. We may not go into all these in detail but one magical rite may be mentioned to illustrate the popular mind and the nature of these rites. It is nothing but a magical rite to kill an enemy. To do this, the performer is to make an image of the man of dough and having dried it he was to cut it to pieces and to eat it up (Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa). It is not irrelevant to relate that a similar method of destroying the enemy was known among the Romans and the Teutons.

In the ideas relating to cosmology, the explanation of the doctrines of Karma and of transmigration modified the old ideas. Yet, people continued to believe in the existence of Heaven as the place of rewards for good done in life and of Hell as the abode of punishment. All these ideas persisted in spite of the evolution of philosophical doctrines or metaphysical explanations. Not to speak of the literature of the Brāhmaṇas, we have on these points the evidence of the ancient folk literature preserved by the Buddhists in the form of the Jātaka stories which purport to describe the various previous births of Buddha. These Jātakas give us an insight to the popular mind and enable us to study the popular religion of the day. In them, we find the common people believing in a world infested with Yakṣas living on human flesh, ogres inhabiting the forests, trees or waters. Ghosts too were dreaded, and they were supposed to pass lives of torment for sin committed in human existence. They were supposed not to cast any shadow and were generally inimical to mankind. They were dreaded and men tried to appease them by offerings of food

and other things. Caityas were objects of worship with the common people who also made offerings to the spirits residing in trees or forests, rivers or lakes. The spirit of the ancestors were also worshipped. Men believed in signs and portents, feared the consequences of evil dreams or omens and tried to counteract the evil by taking the assistance of men with supernatural powers. Of the superstitions on this head, we may find many such surviving in our own days. In regard to supernatural powers men believed even in the power of seers to enliven a dead man or animal.

The evidence of the Jātakas is confirmed by later works, prominent of which are the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and many other later works describing social life, or the ritualistic practices which we find in the Tantra. The Arthaśāstra is a work of the 4th century B.C. and though professedly a work on polity, it opens to us a page in the history of the evolution of religious ideas of ancient India.

As time went on, philosophical speculations were devoted towards the explanation of the phenomena of the world, the relation of man to the forces of nature and the root causes of the universal system. But, in spite of these activities, the old beliefs and ideas continued to exist and do exist even now. Even to-day, people believe (as they do elsewhere in the world) in the existence of spirits and ghosts. The planets are even now supposed to mould the life of individuals. Amulets are still supposed to be efficacious and men with supernatural powers are believed in. Many, practically of all the superstitions which are found in ancient works, still survive in some part of India or other and the present-day ritual still shows the influence of older charms or magical practices, which have been assimilated into newer rites and practices.

NARAYANCHANDRA BANERJEE

PUBLIC MOVEMENTS IN BENGAL AS CHANNELS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE

One of the noteworthy features of the nineteenth century in Bengal—by no means the least important—was the variety of movements to which the introduction of the European world had given an impetus, if not birth. In a former issue of this *Review* (September, 1926) we referred to such movements and their share in conveying Western ideas to Bengali life. Here we propose to dwell on the significance of these movements, tracing them, wherever possible, to the Western ideas that prompted them. It will be seen that though all of them may not have been the products of such ideas, they were in some way connected with them—either, they were translated into action as a practical consequence of the promulgation of Western ideas, or they were inaugurated to combat such heretical tendencies.

First let us consider the religious movements, and the Christian Missions in that connection. The idea of sending out a mission to India was by no means new. In the Census Report for 1921, Vol. V, Part I, p. 169, we read—"The Portuguese were the first to bring Christianity to Bengal. Portuguese adventurers..... enslaved their captives and converted them to Christianity." But they were Roman Catholics. We still remember Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary who came to Bengal from South India whence he was ousted by the French and who on coming to Calcutta received the patronage of Lord Clive. In 1775 there arrived a second mission from Halle but practically it did very little. In 1789, the year of the French Revolution, the Reverend Abraham Thomas Clarke was sent to Calcutta by the Christian Knowledge Society but he received employment under the Government and was thus lost to the cause. Mr. Thomas had come to India before this. In 1792

the Baptist Missionary Society had been formed and next year Rev. Mr. Carey and Mr. Thomas arrived at Calcutta. With the arrival of Mr. Carey the work of the mission began in earnest. He settled at first in Maldah and began to work in the neighbouring places. He was followed in 1799 by his valued associates—Messrs. Ward, Brunsdon, Grant and Marshman who formed a group by themselves at Serampore. Carey was attached to the College of Fort William after this and his work there was important from the point of view of the Bengali language and literature, but he was not wholly lost to mission work. The vernacular dialect was a powerful weapon. In all ages religious reformers use it to preach their new doctrine—Luther in Germany, Wyclif in England, Buddha in Northern India. In 1801, Carey translated the New Testament into Bengali, in 1809 he did the same service with regard to the Old Testament. The translation of the Bible was considered a very valuable work, and Dr. Buchanan, Mr. Udney, and Rev. David Brown constituted a corresponding committee to promote the translation of the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. In 1809, the funds of the committee were increased from £200 to £500 and Mr. Henry Martyn and Mr. Thomason were added to the list of members. In 1811 was established the Calcutta Bible Society. It acted as a stimulus to the cause of vernacular translation and, as a necessary corollary, to that of verbal criticism. We may realise its activity when we remember that between the years 1811 and 1849 it issued 602,266 copies of vernacular scriptures, in whole or in part, of which one-fourth was in Bengali. To understand the advance the language had made in these years one requires to glance at Ellerton or Carey and to refer to Yates for comparison. There had also been an appreciable fall in the price of the books; what cost Rs. 24 in 1811 would require only Rs. 6 in 1849.

The Bible did not take up all the energy of these missionaries; they were better organised in course of time. In 1813,

Indian Episcopate had been established and Rev. T. F. Middleton, the First Bishop of Calcutta, came to India next year. There has been a steady increase in the number of workers since then. About 1816 the Church Missionary Society had 24 stations in India, of which 10 were situated in the Bengal Presidency. "Instruct the young, preach to the adults, and distribute religious books" was their programme of work. Accordingly, to execute the last item efficiently, a society was formed in 1823 to compose and distribute religious tracts. This was called the Calcutta Tract Society. Here is a list collected from the Calcutta Review, old series, of such tracts in Bengali distributed in 1823 :—

Memoir of Fatik Chand.

Mental reflection and enquiry after salvation.

Christ's Sermon on the mount.

Harmony of the Four Gospels—Parts III-VI.

Life of William Kelly.

Dialogue between a Durwan and a Malee.

History of Christ, the Saviour of the World.

Dialogue between Ram Hari and Shaddha.

On the Nature of God.

Dialogue between a Scotchman and a Native Gentleman.

Extracts from the Gospel Magazine—Nos. I, II.

Reward Book for Schools.

Scripture Extracts—Parables.

The Picture Room.

Catechism, 1st. •

Catechism, 2nd.

Watt's first Catechism.

Rev. Mr. Duff's work in the field of education has already been described in detail (*Calcutta Review*, January, 1926). It was he who worked among the intelligensia of the Hindu population and all his first converts were young men with brilliant prospects, who left their family for the sake of religion. Of these Rev. K. M. Banerjee won distinction in his later career. The progress of the missions may be easily imagined when we

remember that in 1852, there were 81,850 students in the Missionary Schools compared with 142,952 in 1872; and in the year 1854, a distinguished writer in the *Calcutta Review* thus describes the condition of the Missions :—

“ We hear of some 400, more or less educated, intelligent, active and zealous European Missionaries, engaged day and night in doing their philanthropical works, establishing themselves in the land, having formed no fewer than 300 stations, where they generally erect permanent buildings, and set their varied machinery at work, including no fewer than 2,000 schools which contain above 64,000 pupils of almost all classes of the Indian Community ; gathering round them in their several spheres altogether some thousands of their fellow agents, natives of the country, and in various degrees educated, trained, obedient men, fully prepared to carry out the designs of their employers and actually engaged in acting on the minds of the people, teaching in the schools, preaching and distributing books innumerable in the bazar, and at the melas or in various noted places,—as well as journeying about the village—pursuing their work of propagandism—spending on this work not far short of £200,000 sterling per annum.”

How things stand to-day is worthy of consideration. Says the Census Report for 1921 :—

“ Christianity has made but little impression upon the population of Bengal when measured by the number of converts which have been made. The number of Christians is but 31 per 10,000 of the population, less than one in 300, and among Indians only one in 356. The total in Bengal, 149,069 is only one in 320 of the Christians in India, for the proportion of the total population which Christians form is very much higher in Southern India.....Christians are more numerous in Central Bengal than in other divisions of the province, mainly by reason of a large number found in Calcutta and the 24-Parganas.....It will be seen that the largest body of Christians is in Calcutta. To this body Europeans and Anglo-Indians subscribe rather more than two-thirds. The 24-Parganas, and Dacca, are the only districts outside it which hold more than 10,000, though.....,” etc.

There were newspapers and magazines started by Christians—the Vernacular Press thus continuing the instructions given in the school. The *Digdarshan* was based on Penny

and Saturday Magazines as its model, and propaganda was carried on in the form of sermons, dialogues, and anecdotes from the Bible. In the *Bangabandhu*, a magazine in the latter part of the century under Christian management, it is remarkable how the paper bears the impress of Bankim Chandra's influence—a few lines from the *বন্দেমাতরম্* are quoted as its motto, and there is an article *বঙ্কিমবাবুর কৃষ্ণচরিত্র বনাম খৃষ্ণচরিত্র*.

Thus we see how the Christian Missions, by establishing an Indian Episcopate, translating the scriptures, publishing and distributing religious tracts, starting schools and colleges for the education of the young, were eager and energetic in their work of conversion. Their attempts evoked great opposition both from the orthodox and the liberal sections of the Hindu population.

The Brahmo Samaj, however, did not owe its origin to any such opposition. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's life was a quest of truth from his very early years. When he was 16, this quest of truth led him to Tibet. It was this striving after truth which did not allow him to settle down to a life of comparative ease after the close of his official career in 1814, when he came down to Calcutta. During his stay in Calcutta from 1814 to 1830 he was connected with the reform movements of Bengal. The establishment of the Hindu College was in some measure due to his foresight and enthusiasm ; with the anglicisation of Government educational policy he had something to do ; he shared in the political aspirations not only of his country but also of lands far away from his native shore. But more vital still was the new way of worship—so different from his contemporaries ; he was opposed to the conventional Hindu worship of gods and goddesses, opposed to the caste system, opposed to the Suttee which he helped to abolish. He was a Vedantist and his years of stay at Calcutta were occupied with preaching the monotheistic doctrines of the Vedanta. In 1828, he started a *Upasanasabha*. So far all was right ; there had been no western influence except perhaps, the congregational

system of worship which he favoured;—on the contrary Ram Mohan's papers—he had his own organs to preach his views—were anti-missionary in their tone and ideas. The Raja left India in 1830, and after spending 3 years in England and France, died in 1833. After him the movement was guided by Dwarka Nath Tagore and Ram Kanta Vidyabagish, but it could not make much of a headway. On the 7th Pous of 1843, Maharshi Devendranath Tagore with about 20 companions was initiated formally into the Brahmo religion. The Maharshi drew his spiritual nourishment from the Upanishads; and beside questioning the infallibility of the Vedas and ignoring the sanctity of caste in the conduct of divine worship—steps which he was persuaded to take by Akshoy Kumar—made no departure from the existing traditions of Hindu society. On the other hand, he dreaded the gathering influence of Christianity on the new religion—and at least once he mentioned this as *খ্রীষ্টবিভীষিকা*. There was no sharp division as yet between his followers and the orthodox section of the Hindus;—consequently no sectarian feelings existed. It was for Keshab Chandra Sen to give a distinct shape to this legacy from Raja Ram Mohan and in his brief career he lived to see two splits in the new sect which he had done so much—and who like him?—to create.

Keshab could not boast of being free from any western influence. He thought and asserted—the Bible was indispensable to man (Keshab Charita, p. 2). He learnt the highest truths from Christian scriptures, English science and European history. Shakespeare, Milton and Young were his favourite poets. When he was only 18, 19 or 20, Young's Night Thoughts sustained him and fed his passionate mood. In 1859, he opened a Brahma Vidyalaya in Sinduriapati (the Hindu-Moslem riot blazes forth here now and then—strange irony of fate!) where he began to teach theology in English. Devendranath's medium was Bengali and Keshab's English. Morrell, Cousin, Hamilton, Parker, Newman were his theological masters; intuition, revelation, penance, reverend, brother—

these terms were bodily and in significance imported from the western writers. He also organised preachers for missionary work—an order of brotherhood long forgotten in Bengal. He tried to give a scientific interpretation of these and fully admitted the western influence on him. He was in close correspondence with Unitarians like Newman across the seas. During his service at the Bank of Bengal he used to compose small tracts in English. In the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta there is a portrait of Keshab Chandra Sen where he stands with the Bible, the Avesta, the Rigveda and the Quoran beside him; it is a fit symbol of the eclectic nature of his creed. Keshab Chandra was a force in his day. Old men who were fortunate in hearing him hold forth to his audience, still remember and admire the inspired words. It was his original purpose to have a number of apostles of the New Dispensation, each one of whom would take up a distinct line of work in connection with a particular creed for the benefit of the eclectic creed—the New Dispensation. This idea of *synthetical reconstruction* is to be taken into account in estimating the work of Keshab Chandra, but that is beside our purpose. The great influence he exerted on his contemporaries helped much to popularise western ideas in matters of theology. And out of the great schism when Keshab drifted away was made the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which is constituted on purely democratic lines as the term Sadharan indicates—authority and tradition were to have no more any sway, the Sadharan Samaj prides itself on being guided solely by reason.

The many oppositions which Hinduism had encountered made it look to the efficiency of its own constitution and called for organisation on new lines. In the beginning of the century when the missionary activity was not so prominent, when Raja Ram Mohan's new mode of worshipping the Supreme God had not many followers, this call was not so urgent. But the interests of the Hindus were zealously guarded by such leaders as Raja Radha Kanta Dev and Ram

Neo-Hinduism.

Comul Sen. Thus we find that when Sir Edward Hyde East, in the informal meeting leading to the foundation of the Hindu College, mentions the name of Raja Ram Mohan as one of the members, all the other people holding orthodox views without whose co-operation the success of the project seemed an absurdity, made known their refusal to work conjointly with him. In this emergency, Ram Mohan, with characteristic self-effacement, withdrew from the Committee. We also know popular songs were composed condemning the mischievous (as it seemed to the orthodox party) action of the Raja in worshipping one God after his new-fangled (?) theory. There was opposition offered to the Christian Missionaries and papers started for the purpose. There was some stir in Hindu society when Derozio's teachings revolutionised the thoughts and ideas of Young Bengal and it was doubted whether all the Hindu College boys would renounce their religion in favour of free-thinking or Christianity. Hence the removal, grossly unjust, of Derozio from the Hindu College staff. There were other instances of Hindu activity. When Duff took the field, he challenged Babu Pramathanath Dev, a rich and enthusiastic Hindu gentleman, to prove the superiority of Hinduism. There were numerous fights in the residence of Babu Mathura Mohan Sen of Jorabagan. Society was astir.

The Hindu College boys organised the Hindu Theophilanthropic Society and the first meeting was held at the residence of Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, the Secretary of the Society, on the 10th February, 1843. Its object was to teach the Hindus to worship God in spirit and in truth, and to enforce those sacred and moral duties which man owes to his Maker, and to his fellowman. Its campaign was against Hindu idolatry and it sought to preach sound and enlightened views of the Supreme Being. The meetings were to be held once every month when discourses were given in English and Bengali on the nature and attributes of the Deity and general, moral, and religious principles. It also held within its scope the preparation and publication

of Bengali tracts on moral and religious subjects and the reprinting of Bengali and Sanskrit works of a like nature. The attendance was fairly representative, Dr. Duff, Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Akshoy Kumar Datta, Ram Gopal Ghose, Iswar Chandra Gupta and others came and spoke in the meetings. Evidently, it was a move on the part of the liberal section of the community.

The first occasion when we find the orthodox party organising itself is in 1848, when the Dharma Sabha was established, under the distinguished patronage of Raja Radha Kanta Dev. But more remarkable than that is what may be called the Geeta movement, for want of a better expression. Among others we may mention Pandit Sasadhar Tarkachudamani, who wrote a treatise on the subject and who belonged to the extreme section of the orthodox party; there was Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the distinguished novelist and man of letters, to whom Bengali literature owes so much, who neither renounced Krishna nor followed the orthodox school but tried to interpret his life in the light of reason and history through the journal *Prachar*; there was the Arya Mission Institution, a school where the teaching of the Geeta was compulsory; and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, usually so reticent on religious questions, when pressed rather hard, would recommend the study of, and obedience to the Geeta. Towards the end of the century, in the eighties. the "Lord Gauranga" movement, bearing a clear stamp of the west, also made some noise; last, though by no means the least, comes the Ram Krishna Mission, which has sent its missionaries to Europe and America, and preached Vedanta which, it asserts, is the common meeting ground of all religions. In this connection, it will not do to omit all mention of Babu Bhudeb Mukerjee, whose power of synthesis was little short of the marvellous, and whose cultural Hinduism is in sharp contrast with Bankim Chandra's political Hinduism, and though he did not belong to any particular movement he clung to the orthodox school and offered rational explanation of his

belief prescribing courses of conduct in the family and society, to the nineteenth century anglicised Bengali Hindus. Raj Narayan Basu, Chandranath Basu and Akshoy Chandra Sarkar who wrote generally in favour of Hinduism, are lesser lights in comparison with the above.

From the above survey of the Christian Missions, the Brahmo Samaj, and the Hindu revivalist movement, we may partly, if not in a full measure, realise the currents of thought which agitated the public of the day. The issues are not yet dead, but still vital and full of significance for literature and life of the times.

The religious movements which threw young Bengal into so much agitation could not but be attended by corresponding social movements in the Hindu society where there were specific rules against dining and generally mixing with people professing a different creed. Difficulty was felt in regard to those who renounced their traditional religion and embraced Christianity or Brahmoism—specially the former of these. At first they were legally debarred from the rights of inheritance. The bar was, however, removed by an act of legislature.

The converts from Hinduism were not only assured of their legal rights—it was a step taken by the Government—but attempts were made by the leaders of the orthodox section to ensure their social rights, at least the right to go back to Hinduism if the converts so wished it. If it was possible for them to renounce their religion, it was argued, there should be nothing to prevent them from reverting to the folds of the Hindu society, in case they happened to change their minds. Accordingly there was in circulation a small tract signed by about 100 orthodox Brahmin Pandits advocating the measure of receiving such people back after due penance had been performed and admitting that it was quite consistent with the injunctions laid down in the Shastras. There was for the pursuance of this measure a Patitoddhar Sabha which would meet at the residence of Babu Shib Chandra Mallik of Amratola, Calcutta,

After the abolition of the Sutee custom, the question of widow remarriage came to the front, and the opposition offered by the orthodox section to the proposed step may be illustrated by various incidents, of which the following is a specimen. About the year 1845, Babu Moti Lal Seal, it is said, offered a gift of Rs. 10,000 ten thousand to any Hindu who should dare to marry a widow of his own faith. Moti Babu, in one of the meetings held to request the people belonging to the orthodox party to petition to the Government asking them to remove all legal hindrances in the matter, met with a rebuff; they would rather sign a petition for freely burning their widows as was the custom in the good old days before 1829. But the tide turned when Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar entered the field and showed by quoting chapter and verse from the Hindu law books that widow-remarriage was sanctioned by the Hindu Shastras. The question now received a much wider consideration; Dasu Ray composed a panchali on the subject; popular songs passed from village to village; even cloths had their borders printed with reference to the newly proposed measures, quoting lines from these songs. Vidyasagar's book, বিধবা বিবাহ প্রচলিত হওয়া উচিত কিনা materially helped the cause. Within one week of its publication, the first edition of 2,000 copies was exhausted; and the next edition of three thousand copies was also sold out very early. Petitions containing signatures of numerous persons belonging to various sections were sent up, and through the advocacy of the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant, the Widow Remarriage Act—the Act XV of 1856—was passed. For his help in furtherance of the measure, Mr. Grant received a public address.

The curse of Kulinism or polygamy for the Kulin Brahmins had long been felt. Vidyasagar's name is associated with the movement which aimed at its removal. His treatise—*Bahu Bibaha*—is a historical account of Bengali Brahmins and shows up the grossness of their attitude towards women in the middle ages when they were considered to be nowise better than dumb domestic animals. In his attempt to reform, Vidyasagar

did not stand alone. The exertions of Babu Rash Behari Sarma, a native of Tarpasha in Bikrampur, deserve to be remembered. He was a writer of popular songs and toured through the villages of Eastern Bengal, singing songs composed by him for the occasion—preaching against this pernicious custom ; two extracts are given below from his ballads :—

- ১। বিছাসাগর বিচার করে,
রাসবিহারী ঘুরে মরে,
আমাদের যে নয়ন বরে,
তার কি পথ ?
- ২। তোরা দেখ্ এসে লো বৌ, দীপেয়ে চেরাগ কয় ।
(পোড়া) লোকে কয়, বিয়ে হলেই হয় ।
(মোদের) অর্থ গেল, বিত্ত গেল, এ পথ গেল, ও পথ গেল,
(এখন) প্রকাশ পেল, এটা হিন্দুর মেয়ে নয় ।

Moreover, in 1855, certain enlightened Bengalis of Calcutta and its suburbs submitted a joint petition to the then Legislative Council for an act against this institution of Polygamy. Another petition, largely signed by the orthodox Pandits of Eastern Bengal and recommending the abolition of the custom by an act of legislature, was sent by Babu Raj Mohan Ray, a Zemindar of Dacca. One of these petitions was signed by more than twenty thousand people. The movement continued for about 20 years, but it did not receive the legislative support which was at first expected ; views of the people have changed by education and the economic question also has demanded greater attention and for all practical purposes, the custom may be said to be extinct at the present time.

One of the evils which attended English education in its initial stage was drink, from which not even the illustrious men, leaders in all questions of reform, were exempt. In 1864, however, the Bengal Temperance Society was started by Peary Charan Sarkar to counteract the tendency and the practice of Young Bengal in this direction. It had two organs to disseminate its views—one in English and the other in Bengali—the

Well-wisher and হিতসাধক. In connection with the reform measures proposed or carried out in the last century, the Consent Bill deserves a passing mention.

It should not be presumed that the movements described above must have been the direct results of English education or organised only by people imbued with western ideas, but it must be conceded that the principles of monogamy, of widow-remarriage, of a temperance society for the eradication of the drink evil are widely current in western countries and had been accepted in this country after considerable opposition.

Political consciousness was not a new thing with the Hindus. It was bound to come with the loss of political power. It was present in Ram Mohan whose sense of it was so strong that he could glory in the emancipation of other lands far away. After him, Derozio's love for India expressed in vigorous verse had no doubt its share in forming this consciousness in Young Bengal. The study of history of other countries must have stimulated it. Tarachand Chakravarty's *Quill*, an English organ, helped to keep alive the embers of political fire and annoyed Government officers by its searching criticism of their action.

The impetus towards political organisations, however, came with Mr. George Thompson,¹ sometimes styled rather enthusiastically as the Father of Political Education in India, a famous anti-slavery orator who accompanied Dwarkanath Tagore on his return to India in 1842. It was the acute distress of the Upper Provinces on account of outbreaks of famine that first drew India to his notice. He had to stir up political consciousness and lectured at Maniktala Garden House of the late Babu Srikrishna Singh, 31 Fouzdaree Balakhana, etc. He had great faith in the efficacy of educating the British public on Indian matters. The old Hindu College boys gathered round him and his speeches stirred them and the British India Society was

¹ See speeches by Mr. George Thompson, ed. by Raj Jogeshur Mitter. (Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co.), 1895.

established on 20th April, 1843, with the British India Society of England formally established 4 years before through his initiative as its model. Bengal began to take an interest in politics and Ram Gopal Ghose's career took a new direction. By speech and writing, he made his voice felt on all important occasions ;—in the Town Hall meeting of the 24th December, 1847, where he silenced three prominent English barristers by his skilful arguments and persuasive eloquence and carried his point ; regarding the proposed removal of the Hindu Burning Ghat from Nimtolla, when he made a very effectual protest ; against the European opposition to certain “ Draft Acts commonly called Black Acts ” when his performance evoked vindictive vehemence of his European opponents.

The British India Society was amalgamated with the Landholder's Society and transformed into the British Indian Association in 1849, through the efforts of Ram Gopal Ghose and his associates. The work of Ram Gopal was continued by Harish Mookerjee, Shambhu Chandra Mookerjee and Kristodas Pal. Harish Mookerjee was a power in those days. He made a memorable protest against Dalhousie's conquest of Oudh ; but his more important work was the support given to Canning's Clemency Policy, when that policy was severely criticised by European residents in India and when Bengal seemed to be speechless and powerless before the blind wrath of infuriated Englishmen goaded to revenge by the horrors of the mutiny. Canning himself would, it is said, consult the Patriot regularly and attach to it much importance as the organ of Indian opinion. Nor should we forget the yeoman service rendered by Harish in connection with the Indigo Commission. অসময়ে হরিশ মোলো, লংএর হোলো কারাগার—thus ran the popular song. Harish Mookerjee was cut off at 39 in 1861. Shambhu Chandra's was a journalistic career—he edited the *Samachar-i-Hindusthani* of Lucknow, the *Hindu Patriot*, the *Mookerjee's Magazine* which later on was named the *Rais and Rayat*. He also worked in various other capacities—as Minister of Hill Tipperah, Political Adviser to the

Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Personal Assistant to the Nawab of Rampur. Shambhu Chandra and Kristo Das were life-long friends ; and the subsequent career of Kristo Das Pal was almost identified with the successful conduct of the Hindu Patriot and, we may remember, the controversy round the Ilbert Bill. In this connection it will be sufficient to glance at those men of letters who tried to rouse a sense of political nationalism in Bengal through their writings—Bankim Chandra, Dinabandhu and Jogendranath Bidya-Bhusan ; Bankim Chandra through his novels and essays, and Dinabandhu in his *Nil-darpan*, and Jogendranath through the *Shomaprakash*, which began in 1858, and introduced Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour and William Wallace to the Bengali public. Mazzini, the Italian patriot, had taught the ideal of unity and the Indian patriots saw the vision of a united India.

“It was Mazzini, the incarnation of the highest moral forces in the political arena,—Mazzini, the apostle of Italian unity, the friend of the human race, that I presented to the youth of Bengal. Mazzini had Italian unity. We wanted Indian unity. Mazzini had worked through the Young. I wanted the young men of Bengal to realize their potentialities.....I soon popularized Mazzini among the young men of Bengal.”

—Sir Surendranath in his *A Nation in Making*, p. 43.

We may also note that there has been, since the eighties, a movement towards the improvement of indigenous industries and this movement had been fostered by the Hindu Mela, when Rabindra Nath was a young man. It was in 1896, that the first Bengal Provincial Conference was held at Krishnagar where speeches were made in Bengali for the first time in provincial politics.

As the British Indian Association had become in course of time the organisation of the landed aristocracy of the province, in 1876 was started a new society called the Indian Association which is still flourishing and which has done much useful work in spreading political ideas among the intelligensia. At first it was suggested that the Association should be named Bengal

Association, but the leaders, inspired by Mazzini's idealism, saw the vision of a United India and accordingly named it the Indian Association.

The conception of the Congress came from Mr. Hume. It was he who suggested to Lord Dufferin the advisability of there being a central or All-India body of educated gentlemen who would come together from time to time and discuss social topics under the Presidentship of the administrative head of that province where they would meet. Lord Dufferin rather favoured the idea of an opposition party in the country which might criticise the government policy and the conduct of the officials and thus work for the efficiency of public services. When the idea was accordingly circulated to the leaders, they took it up eagerly and decided to hold at Poona a gathering of representatives from various parts of India during the X'mas holidays, to promote mutual intercourse and to discuss the programme for the next year. The first Congress was held at Bombay, not Poona where there was an outbreak of cholera. The second Congress met at Calcutta. To these gatherings sympathetic Englishmen would come and take part in the discussions that ensued. Mr. George Yule, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Alfred Webb were elected Presidents in the 4th, 5th and 10th sittings. Mr. Bradlaugh of England, a famous and active member of the Parliament, was present in the 5th Congress and was hailed with joy. In these years, topics like the following occupied the attention of the leaders :—

1. Reconstitution and gradual Indianisation of the Public services.
2. Separation of the Judicial and the Executive.
3. The Arms Act.
4. The growing poverty of the country.
5. The question of Indian labour on the Indenture system.

The leaders looked forward to the Parliament to remedy the evils which the country suffered from. Their idea was frankly expressed in the *Prachara* of 1889 :—

আমাদিগের কি ছঃখ, আমরা কি চাই, তাহা পার্লামেন্টে দাঁড়াইয়া কেহ বলা চাই, কেন না, পার্লামেন্টে ভিন্ন আর কাহারও দ্বারা কিছু উপকার হইবার সম্ভাবনা নাই।

An office was opened in England for propaganda work with the *India* for its organ. Surendranath's was the outstanding personality of the times.

Reading his Autobiography "*A Nation in Making*" penned towards the close of his career, we find that he had been largely inspired by Western ideals and that he had been all along accustomed to look up to the West. We are speaking of his political activities ; and the reader will draw his own conclusions from the passage quoted below :—

(*Speaking of Kristo Das Pal and others*).....the new school of politicians, fresh from their contact with the West, familiar with Western methods and imbued with the Western spirit, left the beaten track and extended the scope of their work by direct appeals to the educated community and even to the masses. The new ideals and the new methods moved the people, and imparted to them an impulse that bore fruit in the manifold activities of an awakened national life." *A Nation in Making*, —p. 198.

This is Surendranath's reading of the political situation. And what about his own attitude ? When starting the boycott agitation in Bengal, the organisers of the movement commissioned Surendranath to consult "some English friends as to whether they would advise such a resolution and what should be its form"; (p. 192) and when it received the sanction—or was it the imprimatur ?—of Englishmen, only then boycott as a temporary measure and for a particular object was proposed. The "moderate" party, whose great representative Sir Surendranath was, has always stood and even now stands, for grafting English parliamentary politics on the soil of this country.

Sterner ideas and ideals have dominated the political field since ; the Partition of Bengal in 1905 roused the opposition of the people and its consciousness of power; and though the partition has been annulled, the antagonism called forth by it has not toned down in any considerable degree. Politics is no longer a resort for fashionable and educated gentlemen of position ; even school boys and poor men have taken it up, rightly or wrongly, as their life's vocation, and have freely given their life's blood to the cause. It is the dominant question of the day and has cast into shadow everything else, though it may be for a short while. Hence the importance of attending to the clear western impress which is manifest in the department of politics. In tracing the growth of extremism in a broader sense than political, Sir Surendranath in his reminiscences emphasises the nature of this impress. Says he,

—“ Our fathers, the first fruits of English education, were violently pro-British. They could see no flaw in the civilisation or the culture of the West. They were charmed by its novelty and its strangeness. The enfranchisement of the individual, the substitution of the right of private judgment in place of traditional authority, the exaltation of duty over custom, all came with the force and suddenness of a revelation to an Oriental people who knew no more binding obligation than the mandate of immemorial usage and of venerable tradition.....Everything English was good—even the drinking of brandy was a virtue ; everything not English was to be viewed with suspicion. It was obvious that this was a passing phase of the Youthful mind of Bengal ; and that this temperament had concealed in it the seeds of its own decay and eventual extinction. In due time came the reaction, and with a sudden rush. And from the adoration of all things Western, we are now in the whirlpool of a movement that would recall us back to our ancient civilisation, and our time-honoured ways and customs, untempered by the impact of the ages that have rolled by and the forces of modern life, now so supremely operative in shaping the destinies of mankind” (p. 308).

Coming back to the narrower domain of politics we find that the Boycott movement over the Partition of Bengal, the Anti-circular Society, the Home Rule Agitation, the Non-co-operation

movement with civil disobedience to fall back upon as its ultimate step—in all these the western influence is visible on the surface, and though they are not wholly due to it they are largely indebted to the ideas of the French Revolution, the Irish Home Rule agitation, the Young Italy movement and the civil disobedience theories of Thoreau and Tolstoy. If terms mean anything, the significance of the incorporation of such words as Congress, Delegate, Vote, Conference, etc., will not be wholly lost.

In bringing this brief essay to a conclusion, we should like to repeat that there has been a great wave of western influence passing over all the varied walks of life and that the extent of such influence will be partly realised when we consider it as moulding the public movements of the time in Bengal. In social, religious and political matters our thoughts as they now are owe a good deal to the West.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A NOTABLE CONTRIBUTION ON INDIAN HISTORY¹

“Truth has an eternal title to our confession, though we are sure to be sufferers by it.”

This book—*The Other Side of the Medal*—presents an account of the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the true story of which is but little known even to the historians, and to the public not at all. The author is an Englishman and feels that much unjust propaganda and deliberate lies have been circulated about the Sepoy Mutiny, even by those who class themselves as “Christian Missionary Statesmen,” “the missionary leaders who are trusted and encouraged at Foreign Offices and Colonial Offices.” He informs his readers at the preface of the book that he has written the book, in spite of opposition from many English religious leaders who felt that the time was not ripe for telling the other side of the question. The author is not an anti-British propagandist; on the contrary he feels that India is Britain’s business and the Americans and others must not meddle in it. (Page 125.)

To paint Britain’s enemies in the darkest hue is the general British method of writing history. For instance, during the World War, the British War Office invented the story that the Germans were boiling the bodies of the dead soldiers to secure fat. Now we know that this ingenious lie was spread all over the world even in Germany to create deep and gruesome impression about the brutality of the Germans. This method was adopted to rouse indignation among the Chinese who respect the dead, against the Germans, and at the same time to win world sympathy towards the cause of the British who were engaged in the fight to protect the “poor Belgians” and to help “to make the world safe for democracy.” Most of the official histories of the Sepoy Mutiny were prepared to spread what the

¹ “The Other Side of the Medal” by Edward Thompson, Harcourt, Brace & Co., N. Y.

British authorities saw fit to tell the world and thus they are full of misinformation.

The author in this work shows that although the British were not fiends, but to strike terror in the mind of the people of India, most horrible forms of wholesale massacres of Indians—young and old, women and children, combatants and non-combatants—were carried on by the British military and civil authorities. Mr. Thompson, in every case, has substantiated his point, by quoting most authentic documents and writings of British officials, that Indians were blown from the mouths of cannons, indiscriminate burning of the villages, and wholesale hangings were the practice sanctioned by the British authorities in India. The author in one instance quotes a letter of the late Lord Roberts who was a subaltern and took an active part in the suppression of the Mutiny :

“When a prisoner is brought in, I am the first one to call out to have him hanged.” (Page 52.)

In another place he quotes :

“The executions of Natives were indiscriminate to the last degree.... In two days forty-two men were hanged on the roadside and a batch of twelve men were executed because their faces were ‘turned the wrong way’ when they were met on the march. All the villages in his front were burnt when he halted. *These severities would not have been justified by the Cawnpore massacre, because they took place before the diabolical act.*” (p. 68).•

He further quotes from Kaye’s History of the Sepoy War the following passage :

“Martial Law had been proclaimed; those terrible Acts passed by the Legislative Council in May and June were in full operation; and soldiers and civilians alike were holding Bloody Assizes, or slaying Natives without any assize at all, regardless of sex or age. Afterwards, the thirst for blood grew stronger still. It is on the record of our British Parliament, in papers sent home by Governor-General of India in Council, that the aged, women and children, are sacrificed, as well as

those guilty of rebellion. They were not deliberately hanged, but burnt to death in their villages—perhaps now and then accidentally shot. Englishmen did not hesitate to boast or to record their boastings in writing, that they had ‘spared no one’ and that ‘jeering away at niggers’ was very pleasant pastime, ‘enjoyed amazingly’ (p. 71).

The following passage from the report of “Governor-General in Council,” 24th December, 1857, on the state of affairs in the previous July, quoted by the author throws considerable light on the condition of the people throughout the North Western Provinces and the Punjab :

“The indiscriminate hanging, not only of persons of all shades of guilt, but of those whose guilt was at the least very doubtful, and the general burning and plunder of villages, whereby the innocent as well as the guilty, without regard to age or sex, were indiscriminately punished, and in some cases, sacrificed, had deeply exasperated large communities not otherwise hostile to the Government; that the cessation of agriculture, and consequent famine were impending; that there were sepoys passing through the country, some on leave, others who had gone to their homes after the breaking up of regiments, having taken no part in the mutiny, but having done their utmost to prevent it; others who had risked their lives in saving their European officers from the sanguinary fury of their comrades; and that all of these men, in the temper that at that time generally prevailed among the English officers and residents throughout the country, and still unhappily prevails in some quarters, were liable to common penalty; and lastly, that the proceedings of the officers of the Government had given colour to the rumour...that the Government meditated a general bloody persecution of Mohammedans and Hindus.” (Page 75.)

The principal point the author makes in the book is that although it is true that British women and children were massacred at Cawnpore by the Sepoys, but this should be regarded as the effect of the “bloody Assizes and wholesale burning of villages, etc.” inaugurated by the civilized and Christian British Officials and men. The British historians in general have suppressed the darker side of the British exploits and if any Indian scholar like Mr. Savarkar ever tried to tell the truth

of the situation, he was charged with spreading disaffection and racial hatred and put in prison or punished in some other ways. The author pleads what late R. C. Dutt did long ago—the British should not force Indian children to learn half truths about their ancestors and the Sepoy Mutiny.

Mr. Thompson thinks that the memories of the outrages committed by the British during the Sepoy Mutiny—the Massacre at Kabul, the blowing up from the mouth of cannons of the Kuka Sikhs at Amritsar, the Jalianwalla Bag affair (commonly known as the Amritsar Massacre) and the suffocation of the Moplah prisoners in a train—are supplying fuel to the fire of hatred cherished by the Indian people to their alien rulers. He pleads that the English should be generous towards Indians and make some form of “atonement” which will bring about better understanding between the people of India and England. He says :

“ There is no commoner word on Indian lips to-day than *atonement*. England, they say, has never made atonement; and she must do it before we can be friends. The word in their minds is the Sanskrit *prayaschitta*, unusually translated *atonement*, but its meaning is rather a *gesture*. It is not larger measures of self-government for which they are longing, it is the magnanimous gesture of a great nation, so great that it can afford to admit mistake and wrong-doing, and too proud to distort facts.” (Page 131.)

Distorting facts about India and Indian aspirations is the order of the day, as it was in the past. Mr. Thompson is not free from the charge, when he gives the impression that the people of India are not asking for “larger measures of self-government.” With regret it must be said that Mr. Thompson has distorted facts when he charges the Indian Home Rule League of America, spreading lies about India under the British rule, as the Irish in America did about Ireland (!) (page 125). The case for India is sufficiently strong to attract world sympathy, if the truth is known by the world at large. We hold that the fate of 320,000,000 people is not Britain's private

affair. The relation that exists between Britain and India is something like that which is prevalent between a slave-driver and his slaves ; and that is the greatest stumbling block in the way of any permanent friendship between those two nations. It is our conviction that the rusty conscience of the British public will be quickly awakened to the sense of justice, through rousing world public opinion, by spreading truth about India.

TARAKNATH DAS

TO MY MUSE

In heart's dream-land thou art the fay,
The sweetness thou of what men say,
Thy smile fulfils desires of life,
Serene peace-gem 'midst trial and strife.
Smoother thou of wrinkled brow,
Of sorrow sore the soother thou,
Enchantress thou of ear and eye,
Thy mystic touch to truth turns lie,
Makes youth grow old and old grow young,
As song of life by thee is sung,
Life dies, death lives at thy command,
Turns silence song thy magic wand.
Thy look transforms discordant screech
To beauteous nymph's unuttered speech.
Ah ! ever free thy moving power
Be-decks with charms anew each hour.
Bright gods of spheres for thy dear sake
Descend, new worlds to make and make.
I care not, I ask not, whatever thou art,
I know but I love thee—true life of my heart.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

KALICHARAN BANURJI

Kalicharan Banurji was born in 1847 and died in 1907 when he had almost completed his sixtieth year.

He was educated in the Oriental Seminary and the Free Church Institution (later on known as Duff College). The whole of his college Arts course he took in the latter Institution. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1860 when he was only a boy of thirteen and was placed in the First Division. He passed the First Examination in Arts in 1862, taking the seventh place in the First Division, the first place being occupied by Rashbehari Ghosh, who subsequently became famous as a lawyer and jurist. At the B.A. Examination of 1865 the first place in the first division was taken by Chandranath Bose who subsequently rose to eminence as a writer of Bengali, the second place was occupied by two men, Blochmann who became later on Principal of Calcutta Madrassah and came to be known far and wide as a linguist and Rashbehari Ghosh, and Kalicharan stood just below them. In 1866 the subject of this sketch alone came out in the first class in Mental and Moral Philosophy; one of his examiners, Rev. J. Trafford, Principal of Serampore College, remarked in this connection that Kalicharan's answers were perfect except that he had made Scotch use of 'shall' and 'will,' and no wonder, for he had been educated in the Free Church of Scotland Institution!

In 1866 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy and English Literature in the Free Church Institution and he continued to work in this capacity till 1880. As Professor of Logic and Philosophy Kalicharan's reputation stood very high. Logic in the F.A. classes he used to teach in Bengali, as he had found that students of the 1st and 2nd year classes could not follow intelligently lectures in Logic delivered in

English. The writer of this sketch actually heard from some of his students that his Bengali lectures in Logic were most impressive.

In 1877 he was appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The old Minutes of the University show that he was not a prominent University figure till 1887. In 1893 when he was placed on the Syndicate he rose to great prominence. For ten years he was on the Executive of the Senate and for some years did the work of Vice-Chancellor, though he did not hold the Vice-Chancellorship, at meetings of the Syndicate. He presided at them as the Senior Fellow in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor who in those days attended meetings of the Syndicate very rarely. He was the first Bengalee paper-setter and examiner in B.A. English and for years was examiner of M.A. and Premchand Roychand studentship candidates.

From 1880 to 1897 he practised as a lawyer. He stood seventh in the First Class at the B.L. Examination in 1870 from the Presidency College and was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in that year, but he began to practise from 1880. His practice was almost entirely confined to criminal mofussil courts. In a very short time he came to be recognised as an able criminal lawyer.

But he had never forgotten his first love. He was cut out for the work of a teacher. His fine analytical faculty enabled him to break up a complex subject into its parts and to show their connexion most lucidly. In 1885 he accepted a professorship of Law in one of the Calcutta Colleges and later on another professorship of Law in another Calcutta College and these posts he continued to hold till his death and even when he was Registrar of the Calcutta University and as such had very onerous duties to perform.

In 1897 when Professor Henry Stephen went home on furlough for eighteen months, Kalicharan Banurji taught Philosophy during all that time in the Free Church Institution.

He was a patriot and as a member and for some time president of the Indian Association and as a member of the Indian National Congress for years he was known as a good political speaker. He held that Government apart from the people was an abstraction and the people apart from Government was so also. He was for two years on the Bengal Legislative Council as elected representative of the Senate of the Calcutta University.

Kalicharan Banurji's interests were wide. He was nominated by Government as a member (Commissioner) of the Calcutta Corporation and did good work in that capacity.

But all that he did he subordinated to one thing which was the passion of his life—loyalty to Jesus Christ and His ideal. Great as a teacher, brilliant as an orator, Kalicharan was above all a religious preacher and he availed himself of every possible opportunity to bring men to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

The Indian Christian Community in Bengal has been privileged to record on its rolls illustrious names. The names of Krishnamohan Banerjea, scholar, linguist, statesman and theologian, Lalbihari Day, the greatest Bengalee writer of English prose, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, writer of immortal verse in Bengali whose *Meghnadhbaddh Kavya* will endure as long as Bengali language and literature last, Toru Dutt "the bloom whose petals, nipt before they blew, died on the promise of the fruit," a girl of true poetic genius, Ramchandra Bose, fascinating as a thinker, writer and speaker and Kalicharan Banurji, preacher, orator, patriot and educationist, will continue to shed lustre on the annals of Bengal, for they made solid contributions to some department of life or other and their services can never be ignored. One more name ought to be mentioned in this connection. Mahendralal Basak, one of Dr. Duff's converts, who was great in literature, great in Mathematics and great in Philosophy and was regarded as a real genius for his originality of thought, but was cut off by cholera

at the age of twenty-one, would perhaps have proved the most distinguished ornament of the Bengalee Christian community had he lived longer.

Kalicharan was loved and respected by all sections of the community. Meek and humble, forgiving and generous, kind even to his enemies whose number, however, was microscopic, his personality will not readily be forgotten, and generations yet unborn, if they are told about him, will profit by the example of such a life.

J. R. BANERJEA

WHEN THE CLOUDS ROLLED AWAY

You weighed me in the pans of pain
With heavy weights of doubt and care ;
I clung to you—and oh ! my gain !—
Your weight o'erbalanced all despair !
Like lotus filled with fragrant dew,
This heart is full of gratitude ;
And opening offers self to You,
As ends the night of platitude !

CYRIL MONAK

LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED SEVAGY

[*Translator's Note* : One of the earliest biographies of Shivaji was written in Portuguese by one Cosme de Guarda about whom we know nothing. Guarda's work written in 1695 was not published till 1730 and its inaccuracies are both glaring and numerous. But its interest does not lie in its quaintness only. It gives us a fairly accurate idea of the impression that Shivaji had made on the minds of his neighbours and contemporaries. Not only his own countrymen but French, English, Portuguese and Dutch travellers were equally attracted by the uncommon personality and ability of this extraordinary man. It is, therefore, hoped that an English translation of this rare work of which only few copies are known will not be without interest and may be of some use to the students of Maratha History.—S. N. S.]

CHAPTER I.

His Birth and Early Career.

The village of Virar near the city of Bacaym in the territories of the Portuguese Crown was the birthplace of Sevagy. The lord of this village was Dom Manoel de Menezes, and people were not wanting who said that Sevagy was his son. May truth prevail. But at all events he has been known as the youngest of twelve sons [2] of Sagy, a Captain of Idalcao who died old governing the principalities of Madure, Tangan and Tinga. He was called Sevagy in honour of an idol, called Seva, much venerated by the gentiles to which is joined the word "gy" (which is the same as Senhor) Sevagy means Senhor Seva. He belonged to the Maraste nation as do all Hindus who inhabit the region between the city of Goa and Surrate.

It is the custom among these captains (and Europe will lose nothing in following it) to take their sons with them in war and other enterprises and Sevagy had not completed twelve years when his father gave him the command of thirty horses, among the many that these captains have in their charge. But as Sevagy was so young, he gave him as his tutor, an old soldier and near relative, called Neotagy,¹ who always accompanied him and never left him on account of the affection he felt for Sevagy and also because he knew that he was not only quick in action but lively in carriage also, for with a clear and fair face nature had given him the greatest perfections [3] specially the dark big eyes were so lively that they seemed to dart rays of fire. To these was added a quick, clear and acute intelligence. Sevagy was fifteen years of age when his natural cheerfulness was suddenly converted into perpetual sadness. He longed to be alone and was always so pensive that it attracted general notice. His tutor Neotagy in special felt much concerned and asked him several times whether he needed anything, and as he loved him so much he should tell him what troubled him and what he desired generally. His reply was that what he had in his mind caused him great distress. Neotagy said laughingly with a smile, 'Really my child it is well that you think about enterprises that you want to undertake and the reputation that you may acquire thereby.' And as he spoke in this fashion several times Sevagy replied, "You are not a prophet uncle but seem to be one in what you observe, for you know that my diligence is yet very small for my purpose." If Neotagy smiled then Sevagy (would continue)— "Laugh uncle [4] but before long you will perceive my reasons and your errors." The old man saw that the boy spoke like a man and seriously entreated him to confide his project to him for he would always find in him a friend and companion. Sevagy then mounted his horse and with him rode

¹ The author probably means Netaji Palkar but Netaji was not Sivaji's uncle or guardian.

Neotagy and the thirty horsemen under his command. Leaving the army they posted themselves in a place where they would not be heard and Sevagy asked them all in a loud voice whether they would follow him to better their fortunes. Some replied in the affirmative and he, (assured them): "Then I promise you that your names will be celebrated, and in all these regions our deeds will be admired." "But what shall we do?" asked Neotagy. "Humiliate the proud and make ourselves great," said Sevagy. Neotagy then promised that he would never fail him with his person and counsel and the thirty soldiers gave him such enthusiastic assurances as if he had already achieved the most notable victory. This done they returned to the army and awaited the opportunity that luck might present them [5]. This opportunity was soon found in the death of the King and the disunion that followed in the Court of Vizapur caused by the election that the Queen made of the son, so it is said, of an elephant-driver. The Moors are proud and haughty and much haughtiness was not needed to disobey a King of such humble origin. The nobles in particular felt so highly scandalised that they all left the court and retired to their lands and estates without the Queen's permission. And as it is a grave offence and sedition to go away without paying due respects to the King or him who rules, the court became devoid of courtiers (cavaliers, literally knights or gentlemen) and remained in a great confusion. Sevagy took this general disorder as an omen for his particular enterprise and so resolved (*assim resolvendu-se*) he left the army with his uncle and companions without taking his father's leave or telling him anything. [6] Travelling away from the public road they reached at daybreak a Hindu settlement many leagues off. In this settlement he furnished himself with necessities for a few days and here, as well as in other villages he persuaded all the able (bodied) men he found to enlist with him, and he induced them with such skill that by the time he reached the territories of Visapur, he had with him five hundred

horse. His credit had already much increased, for all thought that he was a great minister of the King or a personage of note in the kingdom. He arrived in the Province of Canolur, which was governed by a Mulato with the title of Sidizer¹ of Canolur. He was a captain of Visapur and very powerful. He was so offended with the election of the king that when summoned by the King and the Queen he not only disobeyed but sent a reply that King indeed he was in his lands where one who knew better to direct the goad of the elephant than the scepter never had any place. When Sidizer learnt of Sevagy's arrival, whose father was his friend, and understood his purpose, he communicated with him (Sivaji) by letters and presents, but they did not join each other. They made, however, an alliance between them and promised never to fail each other. This pact concluded Sevagy immediately entered the territories of Vizapur, plundering large and small places (7) above the Gate which is a hilly place of the world that crosses the whole of the country properly called India. Gate (all the Oriental languages agree in its meaning) is an eminence so to say, and it is really so high that there are places whence it would take ten hours to descend to the plain. Robbing many on the Gate, Sevagy descended below in Concao in its northern part (the plain that reaches the foot of the Gate is called Concao). Here he captured a fortress called Dabul, took possession of all the lands under its jurisdiction and killed all the Mouros he found, appointing Hinđu Abaldares (they are Governors) all Marastes by nation as he was and all submitted with ease and pleasure.

At this time the new King Idalcao thought of leaving the Court of Vizapur to reduce Sidizer of Canolur to obedience and as he was the most powerful of all it caused him (the King) great anxiety and fear. The King arrived and laid siege to his place (8) which the Sidi defended well at the beginning. The King however received fresh reinforcement every hour and the

¹ Probably he means Siddi Johar.

Sidi found himself hard pressed. Sevagy informed of this did not like to succour him as this could not be done without risking a battle with the King who had great power. Sevagy had then no more than seven hundred horse and two thousand peons, as it was too early to expose them to any danger, which, bad at all events, would be very harmful at the commencement of a project. But he descended the Gate again. Went to the Metropolis of Visapur which he besieged. He found it in such a state that he could capture it but he did not do so because he was not yet very strong and did not like to expose himself to its loss. He contented himself with plundering and he set fire to Abdulapur, Nacarapur, and Corapulur, three great settlements about a quarter of a league from the capital, and other places in the neighbourhood, leaving all in those and other places greatly astonished and frightened while the name of Sevagy became formidable. It was the best way he could safely help (9) his friend and it was so important that at the first notice the King raised the siege for he was afraid of losing his capital which would be difficult to recover. Sevagy in his turn (original only sabendo) retired to the territories of Rustamusa-man,¹ another powerful Mulato and a confederate of his when he learned of the King's movement. Thence he again descended the Gate and on his way sacked an important place called Chandagosa. Here he obtained great wealth, for in this place dwelt many Baneanes who had fled from Goa with great sums belonging to the Portuguese (just punishment for their sin as they entrusted their money only to idolaters). Sevagy had as yet no residence nor did he build it anywhere. When he was supposed to be here he was there, and when suspected to be there (away) he would enter through the gates. He always took with him as many horses as he found in order to augment his troops for the people attracted by the good pay that he used to give were many. Sevagy spent much time ascending and

¹ Rustam-i-zaman who was universally suspected of having a secret understanding with Sivaji.

descending the hills of Gate, and always sacked innumerable places (em sabir, edescer as serras do Gate saqueando sempre innumerabeis lugares se deteve muito tempo Sevagy) (10). He made the fortress of Dabul his arsenal and in the course of a year made himself master of the whole area in this maritime coast from Curale (three leagues from Bengorla—Vingurla) to the estuary which is thirty-six leagues (away). He soon reduced some other fortresses that still belonged to Idalcao till (he reached the one called Danda where was a Sidy (the same as Abyssinian). This is not the Danda near Chaul. For never by assault could be captured this fortress built on a steep and large rock with a large and deep ditch opened in the rock itself where Sevagy could not put his cavalry (much as he tried). Sevagy often sent expeditions to different places at the same time and in all of them he was convoked and he was in command. The question is still unsolved whether he substituted others for himself or he was a magician or the devil was in his place. Much has been said about it in India and there is much divergence of opinion as usual. If I had to give my opinion I would say that as he sent expeditions to two, three and four (11) places at the same time and as with every regiment went a Captain whom all obeyed and called Sevagy Raja (name that he had assumed after his rebellion) this mistake was caused by some people [*i.e.* fresh recruits] who came every day and did not know him well as yet. Hence arose the belief that he used to be in different places (at the same time). It was confirmed when the people robbed at different places met and all affirmed that Sevagy in person sacked these places on such a day or such a night at such an hour. And as among Indians much less suffices to confirm much more (than this) there grew the firm belief that Sevagy was everywhere.

CHAPTER II.

The King Idalcao sends an army against Sevagy, the Commander of which Belulghan was vanquished, captured and killed by Sevagy.

The King Idalcao felt vexed that a boy, the son of one of his vassals, should sack his capital and make himself master of the whole (12) of the territories of Concao. He suspected that the grandees of the Kingdom helped Sivaji out of spite for him (the King) and wished to undeceive them by destroying Sevagy. For this purpose he selected Belulghan¹ an old Captain of the deceased King, of known valour and experience and gave him thirty-five thousand horse with orders to finish with Sevagy at all costs. The General departed and reached the highest part of the Gate and halted the army. From there he sent several spies to know where Sevagy mostly resided and while awaiting this information he ordered the destruction of several temples of idols to spite his adversary for being a Gentio. As no one knew, for certain, anything about Sevagy's residence the information was confused and contradictory. As the general could not come to any decision without definite information, he did not like to move from that place until this was verified. But Sevagy, wanting to relieve him of so much work, visited him many days in the same army or in his encampment in the following manner. He stripped himself totally and fastened a (piece of) cloth not very clean (this is to cover what must not be shown as they say in India), and putting (13) on his head bundles of grass, carried them to the General's stable. In this manner he examined the entrees and exits of the camp and particularly the quarters of the general. Disguised in this fashion he himself spoke to all and questioned all without being ever recognized by any one. At other times (or better sometimes) he sent his uncle Neotagy to the same army and both of them talked of the injuries that all

¹ Guarda probably means Afzal Khan but his information was confused and inaccurate.

received from Sevagy. Sometimes both of them would go through the army and not satisfied with what information the grass afforded they would find excuse for delay there to stay longer and to observe more. They would manage to lose their bundles there and would be thus detained by this occasion till they had seen and verified all that was necessary. Sevagy soon sent his uncle Neotagy to get one thousand horse and lead them to an appointed place by secret roads in the wood, while he contrived things in such a way as would facilitate the ascent of the Gate (the verb here is *desempedir*). The Mouro General had secured all (14) the roads of the Gate by posting peons in order to get immediate information of all occurrences, and as he felt secure, he was more at ease than was proper. Sevagy sent a squadron of his peons, who were like those in a draught board, his chosen men and so prompt and intelligent that they left nothing to be desired. But any prince who may imitate Sevagy can in the same manner organise a good army as Sevagy had done. For if any of these soldiers failed to execute his orders he would not appear before him but the more valorous and intelligent would at once avail themselves of the opportunity and immediately get their reward. So he was not only obeyed but loved. Sevagy then ordered a squadron of these soldiers, divided into many parties, so that they might not be recognized, to climb the roads of the Gate until they reached the sentinels of the army (camp?). These as if tired of climbing the height sat down when they were questioned by the Lascars (army) and replied that they came to enlist themselves (*tomarpaga* or to take the cavalry, but *paga* is written with a small 'p' here) to fight (against) [15] the robber Sevagy, against whom they feigned to desire vengeance for being robbed and they pretended that they came from a place recently sacked by Sevagy who had killed all those he could lay hands on and they and a few more who were coming behind only escaped. They immediately lay down to sleep and thus completely deceived the sentinels. Then arrived others

who said and did the same thing. There were in all thirty-seven sentinels of the Mouros and they were sufficient for that road. Then the (new-comers) awoke and asked the sentinels to whom **they** would have to speak for enlistment and as they were replying the thirty-seven sentinels were surrounded and killed and (Sevagy's men) thus became the masters of the situation for there was no other way to ascend in that part. Information was immediately sent to Sevagy who at once ascended with one thousand cavalry and many infantry and disposed of them in such a manner that his men entered the camp in the second watch of the night. Sevagy divided his men into four parties and ordered that each band should take a different course (*aqual dividio em partes*).

The Moorish armies are like big cities, as many people follow them and come to the camp at all hours [16] without being questioned. Sevagy's men therefore passed through unnoticed and as they were so divided (into small parties) no one looked at them or questioned them particularly at that hour and in a place to all appearance safe. The divided party of Sevagy joined at the tent of the General, killed all who were near it and those who came out of it without imagining what was the matter. They thought at first that it was the noise of an elephant got loose for such noise was common. Having then encircled the camp of the General on all sides, they entered it and captured all the captains who were sheltered there. At the same time they went on killing outside but nobody in the whole army could explain the tumult for the confusion was so great that there was nothing but shouts. Sevagy ordered some of his men to raise a cry in this confusion that Sevagy had killed Belulghan and all the officers who were with him and all who could should save their lives. When this was heard there remained no one to restore order or seek [17] counsel, all sought a place to hide. Others killed their friends and thousands were despatched. The confusion lasted the whole night. The light of the morning found the camp with dead more

numerous than the victors. Sevagy was victorious and richer with the spoil of elephants and horses which he sought and valued more than anything. His men at once went to salute Sevagy in congratulation of the victory, in the presence of Belulghan who had realised who he was. They gathered the spoils, all of which belonged to the soldiers except gold and silver that had to be delivered in its entirety to Sevagy under grave penalties. This was done with rare punctuality. Sevagy gave them on this account a good salary and with such punctuality that on the appearance of the New Moon each one received what had been promised him at the time of enlistment. While the soldiers refreshed themselves from their labour with the luxuries of the Moors, Sevagy expostulated with the vanquished General. Come here, he said, what share had these idols in the offences thou say'st—I committed! A brave exploit [18] it was to destroy stone buildings and to break mute images, that could not offer thee any resistance. Dost thou know that if thou hadst not committed these barbarities I would never resolve to seek thee. But knowing what thou didst in hatred of me I at once decided to show thee thy lack of sense. If on my account thou felt such passion against insensible things what wouldst thou do if thou hadst me under thy ire. Be assured that if I had not so much offence against thee and so much reason on my side I would never punish thee with more humiliation than thou hast suffered but to make thee realise what evil thou didst commit in wishing me so much ill thou wilt pay with thy life for what thou hast done. This said, he ordered his head to be cut off, swearing that henceforth he would do the same thing in the mosques he found and in many places he committed the same (insults) and more.¹ Among the captured officers was found a brother of his confederate Rastumuzaman. He not only permitted him to go free with many presents but on his account granted life to others and gave a horse to each of them

¹ Shivaji never offered any insult to the holy places, shrines and mosques of Muham-madans,

for riding. They all promised [19] in return of these good terms to take up arms no more against him. This success caused great concern and fear not only in the whole of the Kingdom, but still more in the King himself who particularly felt the death of Belulghan, the only old and respectable captain he had on his side. The credit of Sevagy increased throughout the kingdom to such an extent that his name became formidable and so when he left that place for the North, he did not meet with resistance anywhere. All the citizens came out to receive him and to render him voluntary obedience with the fixed tributes and considerable presents. He ordered them not to pay tribute to any one else who might come to collect it and if on that account they were threatened with any harm they were to tell him that tribute had been paid to Sevagy and if that was not sufficient they should give Durai in his name (*da sua parte*). Durai is to demand the aid of somebody to whom an appeal is made. Duray Sevagy—I accuse you and summon you on the part of Sevagy, and if it was not obeyed an information was immediately sent for [20] prompt punishment. To the principal people he gave his Farmans or patents. Though the usual honour was not done to such papers, when they were shown to the tax collectors of the King or of the lords, they roused so much fear in their hearts and caused such embarrassment that most of the tax collectors left their duty unperformed and if any of them still dared (to perform his duty Sevagy) after learning where he resided then sent (his men) to attack his house (at night) where he was immediately killed and everything was set on fire. Sevagy's name however had already become so terrible that it was very rarely that anybody dared to defy him. He also resolved to take from Idalcao a great fortress, situated on a high hill that was as strong by nature as well furnished by art. It was so high and lofty that it could be seen from the adjacent country to the distance of many leagues. It was situated thirteen leagues from the sea in the area between Chaul and Caranja. And it was believed that no industry could

subdue it, it was so shaped that from the highest top of that steep hill could be seen every place round its base. And if people [21] intended to ascend it, they could not do so by more than one road and this road was so well circumscribed and narrow that the big rocks at the foot of the castle sufficed for all who might be seen without in any case being able to cause harm to those above. This hill is called Rayaguer that is the Royal Residence, for the inhabitants say that here lived in ancient times the King of those parts. Sevagy knew how important that fortress would be to him as a secure place to reside in, but he knew well the difficulty of obtaining it, as confirmed by many a failure of superior forces. Only hunger and money could accomplish such an enterprise. The first because it extinguishes and the second because it corrupts nature and thus success. He sent a message to the Governor of the Fortress requesting him for a private interview with him in the middle of the hill as Sevagy had to confer with him about an important question. He (the Governor) replied that if the interview was in the form of a duel though he did not fear any single man, this action would not be well appraised [22] particularly when they were in arms, as all doubts could be resolved by their means. But in their present relation nothing occurred to him that could give occasion for interview, unless of course if it was an important affair and Sevagy lacked paper and ink which the Governor would send him. Sevagy knew that the Governor was right and immediately wrote to him that he did not mean what the Governor thought but his intention was rather different. It was to serve him and give him what would enable him to spend the whole of his life in rest without any dependence on the elephant-driver's son and as these things required much information he had begged for an interview in that manner. The Governor began to think of the proposal and this is the crime from which follows the greatest sin. He understood more or less what would be the proposal of Sevagy but either because he did not want it to be supposed that he

feared Sevagy or because he already wanted to please him the Governor replied that he would grant the interview, and assigned the place, each regulating how his men should behave [23] during the interview which was to take place half way up the hill.

On the appointed day at the appointed time Sevagy ascended while the Governor descended, both armed for anything that might follow and, on the arrival at the place, they made their salutes and sat at a distance of four covados from each other. Sevagy expressed his purpose in a few words and spoke as follows: "I know well, valorous captain, to what I expose myself should my confidence be abused, I wanted that there should therefore be between us two a memorandum, I mean that both of us will profit, you will be rich and I secure. We all work in this world to free ourselves from poverty and even nature persuades all to be secure from it. I solicit what nature urges and men want and I may say well that I wish the good of us both. You know already what I have undertaken and also what I have accomplished and because fortune favours me I must continue it for in my heart there is no desire to turn back. I have to achieve a great name or to lose my life. For this misfortune [24] there is no lack of occasions and I cannot secure that good luck without your favour. I assure you that I know how to deserve this favour. I shall give you money with which you may spend in happiness the rest of your life which I shall protect with the affection of my heart that you may always live without fear having none to be afraid of." Sevagy would have said more but the Governor interrupted him with the following words. "I do not understand, Sir, what you mean. I shall tell you more so that I may get your answer and know moreover in what I shall have to serve you as it should not be anything that may injure my credit for you know to honourable men reputation means more than food." "In this way," said Sevagy, "you mean to say that I do not possess a good name." "I do not mean to say so"—replied the Governor,

“for I spoke only about myself. You have already achieved the greatest reputation and so great it is that the mere mention of your name in these parts lead people to think that you are present. Such is the respect you enjoy that the sound of your name is sufficient to frighten the whole of this kingdom [25] but try to explain yourself for the sun is quickly going to sleep at his accustomed place and I don’t know if we can, without a memorandum, finish another day what we shall not conclude here.” “I am satisfied,” said Sevagy ; “you know Sir that I have already got by my victories a convenient retreat where I can keep my treasures with tolerable security. But on the examination and consideration of the mountain site of this mountain I realise that everything will be more secure here than in any other place. This was the business that I did not like to confide in a letter. It should be confined between us without anybody knowing our secret.” The Governor was surprised or pretended to be so, at this answer and replied that he had well understood Sevagy’s intention but he never believed that he could propose face to face the sale of the King’s fortress involving the breach of the allegiance which he owed and which he had promised to the King. Sevagy laughed at this moment and observed that none need keep faith with him who did not keep faith with his natural sovereign, the Emperor of Brisnaga against whom Visapur, Golconda and others had rebelled and not contented with that carried their arms against him till he was totally ruined, as you know quite well. I declared that my principal task was to avenge this injury and may God favour me in all my intentions. For my friend Fortune helps him who has more power, as none of these bought their crown with money nor was it left to them by their ancestors. Each one works for himself as did they too and everything else is (due to) ignorance. The Governor yielded to these and other arguments and much less sufficed for an ambitious heart to overthrow reason. The price and the security of the Governor were then discussed. His security was provided for in the same hill and

nothing could please him more, the price was two hundred thousand rupias, in those days equivalent to two hundred thousand crusados and is now equal to three hundred thousand crusados for the value of each rupia is worth two pasrdos and each pasrdo is worth three hundred reis. There still remained to be won the goodwill of some other officers, but as all the soldiers were gentios and Sevagy sent immediately the shrewdest of his soldiers there, everything was easily concluded with the help of the Governor. The Governor was paid and many others were remunerated and almost all remained in the service of Sevagy who ascended to take possession of the fortress. Though he was there, and though he had it well garrisoned, he could not quite believe that the fortress was his. The extensive territories subject to this fortress immediately acknowledged his sovereignty (obeyed him) and he at once ordered all his treasures, scattered in many places, and all that he possessed to be brought to the famous and impregnable fortress of Rayaguer.

SURENDRANATH SEN

A CHINESE MINISTER'S ADDRESS¹

I come to you this evening as an ex-foreign student in the United States. I spent in this country four years in high school and three years in undergraduate and one year in post-graduate work in the university. These were eight happy years, full of pleasant memories. I always recall them with the greatest pleasure. I hope that your stay in this country will be as pleasant and profitable as mine. The ties of friendship made during my school days have continued ever since.

The first impression which foreign students get on arriving in this country when they have to go through the Immigration and Customs examinations may not be as pleasant as we all desire, but once admitted into the country the general experience of foreign students is that they find practically everywhere an open door and equal opportunity.

When a stranger comes to the United States he cannot but be struck with the general appearance of wealth and prosperity in the country. This prosperity is due undoubtedly for the most part to the scientific development of the natural resources of the country to the genius of the American people for organizing, administering and operating the various lines of activity and industry in which they engage themselves. As he stays longer in the country and looks more into the life of the people his admiration for the greatness of the country increases after he has seen the large number of educational institutions, hospitals and other institutions for the advancement of public social welfare, which spend millions of dollars a year and which are nearly all privately endowed. I think herein lies the secret of America's greatness. In other words, the leaders of American enterprises, who through

¹ Address by the Hon'ble Dr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze before the foreign students of the University of Pennsylvania at the banquet in Philadelphia, February 24, 1927, held under the auspices of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.

their genius for organization or leadership have been able, after decades of work, to make large fortunes, devote a large part of their fortunes to the public good. As far as I know, in no other country in the world do men make use of the rewards of their toil for the good of mankind to the same extent as in this country. One is bewildered when he sees the large number of privately endowed colleges and universities in practically every state in the Union. Many of the universities spend every year for their educational work a sum larger than many countries spend for the public education of the whole country. It is incredible until one has examined for himself a university budget.

The primary object of a foreign student coming here is to study and learn all he can while here and to adapt what he learns to the needs of his own country when he returns home. But in going to a university we must regard studying as the primary but not the sole purpose. One should, while having the privileges of spending a few years here, go out and mingle with the American students and people. One should also watch how the American boys spend their leisure hours, and observe how the American people do their work, do their business, and how they amuse themselves, etc.

When I was here as a student the number of foreign students in American universities was comparatively small. Such organizations as the Cosmopolitan Club were still unknown. You have now in many respects greater opportunities to meet and to get acquainted with the American people. It is indeed a great privilege to have an opportunity afforded by a gathering like the gathering of this evening for meeting the leading business men of the great City of Philadelphia. One cannot realize fully the benefits that foreign students may receive from such gatherings. They help students to form true impressions of the country and people of America, and furthermore they make students feel at home and happy in the knowledge that there are people who take a healthy

interest in them. On behalf of the Chinese students, I express hearty thanks to the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, our hosts of this evening, for their kind hospitality and for the privilege thus afforded of making their acquaintance. Their kind interest in the foreign students is greatly appreciated.

If I may be permitted, I like to suggest that organizations like the Chamber of Commerce help foreign students as some of them are already doing, to get practical training in factories, business organizations,—that is to say, to supplement the theoretical college education by practical experience. I know from my own experience it was always a problem as to how to spend profitably the four long months of the summer vacation. If work can be found for students so as to enable them to get an insight into the practical side of life during the summer it will help them to a better understanding and better appreciation of the academic studies of the following college year.

The Chambers of Commerce can help with the co-operation of college professors by securing for students such practical training during the summer, first by listing such companies or manufacturers as are willing to take in foreign students, while the Labour Department, as far as I know, is not unfavourably disposed toward students getting practical experience. I venture to suggest that officials of the Labour Department should be very liberal in allowing students to get the necessary practical training, especially in the case of technical students who without the practical training will not be of very great use either to themselves or to their country when they return home. I know some of the students who have returned home immediately after finishing their college course. People at home are so surprised that they know so little after years of college work here. The real trouble is not the fault of the universities but the lack of the necessary practical training. I have had complaints made to me by railroad managers in China that students from America with learned degrees and

full of the theory of heat and steam expansion, etc., are not able in some respects to do the works in the shops with the same degree of efficiency as some of the workmen who have never had the advantage of studying abroad. Of course, these complaints are now becoming fewer and fewer every year, but there is still room for improvement.

Before I conclude, I wish to say a few words to the foreign students here. I wish them to have the benefit of the advice from one who has gone through the mill himself in making observations and drawing conclusions about America and the American people.

First of all one must be tolerant of what one sees and hears in a foreign country. There may be things which one does not approve or fully understand. I find one of the most helpful thing to do is to ask yourselves what you would do if you were similarly placed. Remember always the old adage that nobody is perfect. In spite of all the advancement in science and civilization this old adage is none the less true.

The next thing you should do is to avoid generalizations based on what you see in the few instances that have come to your notice. Generalizations are never fair. In every class of people or in every community there are always individuals who unfortunately do not measure up to the standard and that a good many of these individuals lag behind is due to causes not of their own making or to causes that are unavoidable. So, besides being tolerant, one must be charitable.

Another thing you should do is to read the signs correctly. Once I met a foreigner who had spent a fortnight in New York, and I asked him about his impressions. He said one of the wonders to him was how there could be so many people left in the country after he had read almost every day stories of murders, hold-ups, and automobile accidents. Obviously many things we see are misleading.

Finally, you students must bear in mind that many of the

people with whom you come into contact will judge your people by your own actions. It is, therefore, incumbent upon you so to bear yourselves that you will worthily represent to America your own countries. You should act as interpreters of your own people to the Americans and of Americans to your people. Herein lies a great opportunity that you may render service both to your own country and to the country that keeps the door of the colleges and universities open for you, by cultivating a better understanding and a better appreciation of each other's civilization and culture. There is plenty of room in the world for work of this nature. The people of the world have been too much misled and poisoned by malicious and false propaganda. It is the duty of students who have the opportunity of studying abroad to combat and eventually extinguish such malicious propaganda and to work for mutual respect and good will.

I have been asked if I would not say something this evening with reference to the *proposals* made to China and the reason why China hesitates to accept them.

With the time at my disposal, it is not possible to go at length into an examination of the *proposals* or any serious discussion of the reasons why China has found them not satisfactory.

In the first place, let me say that the Chinese welcome the *proposals*, especially the conciliatory tone in which they are formulated. But, when we examine them closely it is apparent that they do not meet the Chinese aspirations to an extent that would warrant great enthusiasm.

Let me give you an illustration ; in your university, as in other universities of this country, all Sophomores regard themselves as guardians and monitors of the Freshman class. They take upon themselves the task of seeing to it that every Freshman begins his college career in the right direction. They make rules, ordering every Freshman what he should do and what he should not do. Suppose a Sophomore compels a

Freshman to do something which is beyond the generally accepted principles governing the relationship between the two classes. What would be the sentiments of the student body? Suppose the Freshman objects to the unjust order of the Sophomore and refuses to obey it, and then a fight follows. Let us suppose that the Sophomore, being older and physically stronger, succeeds in winning the fight. While he has the Freshman down in the scuffle, he takes away from him his gold watch and chain, his fountain pen, two pencils, a pocket knife, and a bunch of keys. The Freshman naturally resents the rough handling by the Sophomore, particularly when he is deprived of some of his possessions. He appeals to the Sophomore class for redress. As a response, he is told that his complaint is just and he should have his valuables back. However, these verbal assurances are not followed by the actual return. Months and years pass; the Sophomore becomes a Senior, and the Freshman, now a Junior, thus says to his former conqueror: "Now we are all upper class men; would you not now, as you have long promised, restore to me all my possessions?" The Senior then proclaims his readiness to negotiate for the return of the two pencils, the pocket knife, and the bunch of keys, and says: "I am now offering to return to you more than half of the things I took away from you. Is not this generous on my part, meeting you more than halfway? This I am doing to safeguard the good name and reputation of my class and university." He adds: "Be reasonable, how can you expect me to return the watch and chain and the fountain pen? I am so used to have them now. With the watch, I am able to keep my appointments and to go to classes punctually; with the pen I have to take notes of my lectures; if you want them all back, what shall I do? I shall not be able to continue my class work efficiently and may even fail to graduate. So, be reasonable."

Gentlemen, this is more or less the situation. I do not say that the parallel is absolutely exact in all respects. It, however,

gives a fair picture of the *proposals* offered to China and the reason why China hesitates to accept the *seemingly* generous offers. It is generally agreed that in view of the fact that the Powers have repeatedly failed to honour their promises and pledges to China in the past, their sweet words do not now have the attraction and effect that they used to have.

SAO-KE ALFRED SZE

SOME ASPECTS OF COMPETITION IN RAILWAY SERVICE

A survey of the railway map of India will disclose the fact that most of the sections are served by a single line, and will induce the belief that the conditions obtaining in this country afford no scope for the free play of competitive forces. A man familiar with the traffic conditions here and the inadequacy of the railway facilities, will go further and declare that not only is there no competition, but that the railways can dictate their terms to the public, and are prevented from going too far by Government interference. Assertions containing partial truths like these may be multiplied, but those just mentioned suffice to indicate how people not trained in the technical aspects of the subject proceed forthwith to generalise from them, and how the conflict between expert and popular opinion consequently arises. Further, the railway itself is fundamentally different from ordinary business undertakings, and it possesses features which, unless differentiated, lead to misconception and errors. In this paper one distinct problem of Railway Economics is isolated and dealt with from a strictly economic point of view, and attention is mainly directed to finding out how competitive forces operate among railways in general, and in India in particular.

“Competition,” observes Walker, “signifies the operation of individual self-interest among buyers and sellers of any article in any market. It implies that each man is acting for himself solely, by himself solely, in exchange to get the most he can from others and to give the least he must himself.”¹ The strict meaning of competition, according to the late Dr. Alfred Marshall, is “the racing of one person against another

¹ Francis A. Walker : *Political Economy*, Macmillan, Third Edition, pp. 91-92.

with special reference to bidding for sale or purchase of anything.'"¹ These two definitions make it clear that competition involves a contest, a struggle between individuals to secure a greater share or benefit in any transactions among them. As man's distinctive character is not merely to economise, but to produce as well, wealth, the first requisite of securing an additional share or benefit is to produce more. Human economics concerns itself with the disposing of an increased product to the whole body of consumers and the victory goes to those who create better and cheaper products. The surest way of doing this is by underselling one's competitor. Competition thus emerges as a business principle as a struggle to augment wealth through a lowering of cost, and acts as the very secret of progress and life of trade.

All our education and habit of mind, says Hadley,² make us believe in competition and to regard it as a natural condition of healthy business. The theory of Ricardo that during a regime of unfettered competition the value of different commodities tend to be proportional to their costs of production and that, therefore, competition acts as the natural regulator of prices, is accepted almost without reserve. On a closer examination, the theory will be found to ignore the fact that under modern business conditions competition often involves a worse loss to stop producing than to produce below cost. Nowhere is this fundamental limitation on the Ricardian theory better illustrated than in the railway business.

Competition among railways may be defined as anything that compels the carrier to secure an increased traffic. Most kinds of traffic are attracted in either of two ways: by a reduction in charges or by an improvement in the service rendered. Considered from the point of view of theory, these two kinds of competition are the same inasmuch as the carrier in each case parts with more than what he gets and the purchaser of the

¹ Alfred Marshall : *Principles of Economics*. Macmillan, 1922, p. 5.

² Hadley : *Railroad Transportation*, Ch. IV.

service receives more for what he pays. But in practice they act differently, and what effects they produce will be evident in the course of our survey.

The history of railroad transportation reveals the operation of competition as taking place under three forms : (i) Inter-railway ; (ii) Inter-regional or Market ; and (iii) Water competition.

Under each of these three conditions, competitive forces work differently and produce economic effects varying in importance. What these are we proceed to consider in the order in which they are stated.

Inter-railway competition occurs mostly in places served by two or more roads, and represents the effort of rival companies to secure traffic that has the option of moving through either of them. This usually happens in cities or junctions known as "competitive points," where the several carriers that meet there may bid more or less keenly for the same traffic. Such competitive points are not often to be met with, and the great majority of cities and localities are served only by single roads. Inter-railway competition, therefore, is of comparatively limited scope, and does not affect the business of the great majority of places. Agreements made to escape the effects of this kind of competition have protected hardly more than a minor share of the total traffic of the railroads making them. If competitive struggles affecting railway charges were only those confined to junction points, the greater portion of the railway business would be non-competitive. Inter-railway competition, in short, as Emory R. Johnson puts it, is only one of the safeguards of the public against high charges.

The Indian railroad history after 1880 offers a good many instances of interline competition.² From the year 1881, on the through opening of the Rajputana State Railway, a

¹ *American Railway Transportation*, 1910, pp. 253-71.

² For a discussion, in detail, of these instances refer to S. C. Ghose : *Indian Railway Problems*, 1924, pp. 116-123.

direct communication was established between Delhi or Agra and Bombay. Competition immediately commenced between the B. B. & C. I. and the Rajputana State Railways on the one hand and the G. I. P. and the E. I. Railways on the other, for traffic between Bombay and the Upper India in one case and for the traffic for the ports of Bombay and Calcutta from Delhi and Agra centres in the other case. The competition considerably brought down the goods rate and improved the service, especially in the competitive zones, and for traffic to, and from beyond, the seas. The rate for grain, for example, from Delhi to Bombay which was 11 annas per maund in 1887, and still higher in 1881, was reduced to 7·5 annas per maund.¹ More recent instances of the same phenomenon are: the G. I. P. Railway attracting traffic in grain and seeds from the Central Provinces to Bombay in competition with the B. N. Railway to Calcutta; the competition for traffic from the United Provinces seeking an outlet to Europe between the E. I. Railway attracting it to Calcutta, and the R. M. and the B. B. & C. I. Railways to Bombay; and that between the B. B. & C. I. and the G. I. P. Railways, and the East Indian Railway, for traffic from Delhi, Agra and Cawnpore, the former attracting and diverting it to Bombay *via* Ahmedabad, and the latter *via* Jubbulpore.

Unlike competition in the commercial world, inter-railway competition has become less instead of more powerful; because, as Johnson and Huebner point out, as time goes on "it is more largely regulated by the consolidation of competing lines, or by traffic associations, community-of-interest arrangements, and informal mutual understandings."² It is precisely through these methods that rival railroad companies seek to substitute co-operation for unfettered competition. Despite these important limitations, interline competition is a factor of no small influence. Railway systems, in spite of these co-operative arrangements, contest as keenly to hold traffic against each other,

¹ Rai Sahab Chandrika Prasad Tewari : *Indian Railways*, 1921, p. 461.

² *Railway Rates and Fares*, Vol. I.

and to insist on such an adjustment of rates as will affect what the several competitors may deem to be a fair distribution of tonnage. Interline competition, in modern times, is restricted to a rivalry in service rather than on the basis of secret rates, and this fact has so regulated the struggle as to prevent the occurrence of rate wars. Nevertheless, the competition may be one that only stops short of open war, and that may be as keen and effective as regards charges on commodities and the general level of rates. Looked at from the point of view of the public, interline competition may not be an effective regulator of rates; indeed, under certain conditions it may lead to arbitrary discriminations and invite correction by Government authority; but that does not prove the absence or impotency of competition among railways to secure traffic free to move by more than one route.

Coming now to what is variously termed as "competition among markets" or, inter-regional or industrial competition, we find that this form of competition exerts a more powerful influence on rates than inter-railway competition. In fact, this factor counts most with the officer in charge of the general freights while determining the rates which the traffic will bear.

By competition of the markets is meant "the competition in the same markets of producers in different sections of the country and different parts of the world."¹ Market competition is essentially an inevitable concomitant of modern industrial conditions. The marvellous inventions and improvements that have been taking place during and since the Industrial Revolution have brought about the equally remarkable phenomenon of large-scale production. This would not have been rendered possible but for the gradual widening of the markets that are fed by this large-scale production. The fundamental postulate underlying the significant expansion of the markets is cheap and efficient transportation. But for the cheap and

¹ Emory R. Johnson : *American Railroad Transportation*.

all-ramifying network of transportation facilities, the large-scale production, the elaborate division of labour, in fact all the chief characteristics of the modern industrial age would not have come to existence.¹

One of the important results that followed these developments in transportation through the creation of the railroad and the steamship, is that practically every producer has the world for his market and commodities of different regions and sections compete in the same centres of distribution.

Bearing in mind this aspect of the economics of modern production if attention is directed to another factor, that the railway is only another, one of the many links of the successive processes of production, the significance of the inter-regional competition would be readily perceived. Every railway, for that matter, every carrier, is the joint producer with the farmer, the manufacturer, the miner, the lumberman, of the section served by the railroad. The carrier possesses a common interest with the producers in his area to get their commodities into the world's markets, and that at a cost that will permit them to compete successfully with those from other regions and to be sold in large quantities.

It is important to remember that industrial competition is quite independent of the interline relations of the railways. The inter-regional contest goes on whether or not carriers act singly or in association or in consolidated territorial groups. For, as Professor Johnson tells us: "The struggle is

¹ As Adam Smith remarked in 1776, the production of goods is limited by the extent of the market. The village cobbler turned out no more shoes than he could dispose of within the economic area that he could reach. The modern shoe factory with its elaborate machinery and highly developed division of labour produces thousands of pairs of shoes daily. These shoes can find their purchasers only in a large population reached from a central source of supply. Many other illustrations of a similar sort will suggest themselves to the reader, indicating how production of goods has been pushed farther and farther with the extension of the market consequent on cheapened transportation. For a more detailed consideration of this aspect, see F. W. Taussig : *Principles of Economics*, Vol. I, Ch. IV.

international and inter-regional within a single country; it is the struggle which causes and accompanies the territorial division of production."

A railroad is not free from the influence of market competition even in its own territory. It is compelled to put forth strenuous efforts to hold on its own traffic from the effect of market competition.¹

Instances of industrial competition may be found in the Bengal coal that competes with the Natal one at Bombay ; the rice from Bengal and Burma in Madras ; in the Alabama iron that competes with that from Michigan and Pennsylvania in American trade.

We now pass on to the last class of competition which comes from a different carrier altogether, namely, water competition. The charges made by a railway company on the traffic into and out of its territory, and the system of rates that has developed in that section are largely governed by the competitive rates and services offered by the coastwise vessels. It has to be specially noticed that water competition not only controls specific railway charges but also exerts a great influence on the general systems of ratemaking, prevailing in different parts of the country.

The effects of water competition have been felt by the railways in India. The Behar, the Bengal and the Assam Railways had to face the competition of boats and steamers plying on the inland rivers. The B.B. & C.I. Railway had to contest for its traffic with the sea-going vessels running along the Guzerat coast. Further south, the G. I. P. Railway and the

¹ Compare the evidence of B. H. Griswold before the Industrial Commission, United States, Vol. XIX. He says :

" I think that competition between railroads is merely percentage competition. There was a time when competition between two railroads or between two sections was due to the fact that there were two railroads. But in my experience in our own local territory where we have no other railroads, we feel competition, the influence of markets, inducements in the way of facilities, and prices at various points, and we have to meet competition of markets, if we are to do business on the line, as much as we do the competition of other railroads."

steamer service vied with each other in their efforts to attract the traffic between Bombay and the Southern Mahratta country. Passing on to the east coast, the B. N. Railway and the M.S.M. Railway had to lower their rates to persuade traffic to go by rail for which steamers were available ; the South Indian Railway had also to struggle against severe competition.¹ The competition of cheap river transport by the Ganges and the E. I. Railway which runs alongside that river has caused the latter to reduce its charges which in some cases led to a corresponding reduction by the G. I. P. Railway.²

Large shipping companies exercise a great influence on the railways serving the ports ; for a line of steamers naturally wants goods conveyed to it as cheaply as possible, and can offer a railway serving its port important help in attracting traffic to that port.

L. A. NATESAN

¹ S. C. Ghose : *A Paper on Railway Economics*.

² The extent of the influence of coastwise or seaborne traffic on railways has been much more than is generally suspected. In many cases it has affected considerably the railway rates, one of the consequences of which has thus been pointed out by the Indian Industrial Commission : " Many inequalities have arisen between goods for export or imported articles on the one hand and goods for internal use or locally manufactured articles on the other, in areas where railways compete with one another or with water transport ; speaking generally, favourable rates for raw produce moving to the ports have resulted.....the history of rate fixation reveals a desire to divert traffic from one Indian port to another, rather than a careful examination of the effect which the rate imposed would have on the total cost of conveying the goods to their port of foreign destination, and therefore on their ability to compete with products from rival sources.....the point which we desire to make is that there has been a tendency to think of attracting traffic to a particular railway rather than to consider whether a real necessity exists for reduction in the general interests of the country. Indeed it is possible that a moderate increase would not materially affect the quantities coming forward. As an example of an undue reduction of the rates on exports, we quote the case of hides. Their production cannot be affected by railway rates, though their disposal may be ; and the grant of port rates nearly 50 per cent. less than the internal rates has certainly discouraged Indian tanning, and aided certain foreign industrialists to obtain a hold on a class of raw material of which India possesses a partial monopoly.

The fixation of railway rates on imports has followed much the same lines as those which we have discussed in the case of exports." One of the immediate causes for low port rates in India has been, therefore, the competition between rival railway systems, which led them to look from an unduly individualistic point of view. *Report on the Indian Industrial Commission*, pp. 205-6,

A PAGE FROM OLD BENGALI LITERATURE

In nothing is a country's cultural progress indicated more than in her past literature. Fortunately, Bengal is rich in old literature which tells much of her past history. In it even a slight reference to an ordinary matter speaks more than voluminous writings of historians often do. Thus not a little light is thrown by the poet Jadu Nandan Das (16th century) on the condition of female costumes and ornaments mainly of the Hindu period, in incidentally describing, in Bengali verse, the toilet of Rādhā, in his translation of Krishnadas Kaviraja's Sanskrit work, *Govinda Lilāmrita*.

The following is a poor rendering of some of the poet's exquisite lines from the above work :

“ *The Toilet of Rādhā.* ”

The maid Lalitā engaged herself in dressing the hair of Rādhā with a comb set with gems. She dried with resins her mistress's hair which was wet after a bath. The hair was of the finest quality, soft and curly. It always remained sweet-scented through the use of “ *Aguru* ” (*Aquilaria Agolacha*). She further enhanced it by using various scents.

Lalitā next braided the hair and attached a bright stone to its tip, making it resemble a serpent with a lustrous gem on its hood. On it were placed two garlands, one of *Bakul* flower and the other of pearls. Thus the three (namely, the braid, the flower-garland and the pearl-garland) might fitly be compared to the “ *Tribeni.* ”¹ All the three were intertwined with a silk-tape and tied at the back of the neck with a piece of gold thread.

¹ The confluence of the three rivers, namely, the Ganges, the Jamuna and the Saraswati.

Rādhā then wore a thin red cloth as an under-wear over which she put on a blue sādī. The name of this fine sādī was *Meghāmbār* (literally, the cloth having the colour of the cloud) and it resembled the black bee, in colour. The style, in which she put it on, would elicit praise from everybody. The tuck of her cloth was really unparalleled. Its upper part was tied with a gold thread which was again covered with a deep red silk-tape. Around her loins she wore a net-like gold ornament inlaid with precious gems. It enhanced the beauty of the wearer beyond comparison.

Now the work of Lalitā was over and the maid Bisākhā stepped in. The latter made a paste of sandal, camphor and *aguru* of Kashmir and rubbed it on the beautiful person of Rādhā. The gentle maid painted musk-pictures on the sides of her thigh with great care. After this she occupied herself with the leaf-painting on the forehead of her lady with the help of musk and put a nice vermilion mark just below this. Under this she put a sandal-mark in the centre of which she again put a dot of musk. She also did not forget to paint the hair-parting on the head with vermilion, the redness of which had exquisite effect amidst the luxuriant dark hair of Rādhā.

Next came the turn of the maid Chitrā. She painted a fine picture on the breast of Rādhā. It was that of *Madan-Vasna*.¹ The following was the picture :

Above—the crescent moon rose in heaven, and below—a tuft of flowers with newly sprouted leaves exhibited the beauty of the early spring. One would not miss there a charming lake full of lotuses and fish. Lastly, there was the bow and arrows of the Love-god with which he kept himself alert to aim at his mark.

Rādhā put on her breast a purple corset which was studded with pearls. The red rubies decorated the two nipples of her breast. The colour of the rubies would remind one of the

¹ Burning of the god of Love Madan when he tried to disturb the meditation of the great God Śiva.

evening which becomes red without being dark due to certain physical phenomenon.

The person of Rādhā was decorated with ornaments of much beauty. Firstly, a pair of palm-leaf-like gold-ring, with a sapphire resembling a blue flower on each of them, was put on her ears. This ornament (Tādanka) was so fine that it might have been mistaken for a lotus, by the black bees. On the upper part of the ears the golden ornament “ Chakri ” shone brightly. This ornament had pins all around which dazzled like pencils of light. Its beauty was unparalleled, the more so, as the pearls surrounded the azure gem at the centre, above which there was a diamond of much brilliancy. Krishna liked the ornament very much and so Rādhā wore it.

Then Bisākhā dotted the cheeks of Rādhā with musk. Its beauty would remind one of bees on a lotus of gold. The “ Beshara ” or nose-ornament was made of gold and a big pearl was attached to it which displayed its worth just on the tip of her nose. As the “ Neal ” fruit with stalk would seem beautiful in the beak of the bird Śuka so did the nose-ornament of Rādhā.

Rādhā's big eyes were painted with collyrium. What should be said of its beauty ! It seemed the bird “ Chakora ”¹ was waiting wistfully to drink the nectar out of the moon—the moon-like face of Srikrishna—Radha's lover. The golden necklace was then brought by Bisākhā to decorate the incomparable neck of Rādhā.

Her neck, which resembled that of a swan, was ever afraid of conches. Krishna's palm had the sign of a conch which is always regarded as very auspicious.

Krishna had the best claim to the sign of a conch as he was also the God Vishnu whose one hand bore the great conch. The poet says that perhaps in fear of Krishna's conch Rādhā's swan-like neck was covered with a necklace. The necklace was made of sapphires interspersed with diamonds and it was thick in the middle and pointed on one side. The thread used

¹ Rādhā's eyes.

for the necklace was golden. There were tufts of pearls attached to it, one of which decorated the breast of Rādhā. The gay Rādhā then wore the “Goonjā” (*Abrus precatorious*) garland which was once presented to her by Krishna himself.

The necklace named “Ekābali” which also Rādhā put on had a thread of gold. It had stars of much brilliancy which shone like stars in the firmament. The pendants made of “Indranil” gems (perhaps a kind of sapphire) and known as “Chatuska” were all connected with a chain. The silk-tape (used to bind the hair) decorated with precious stones, such as “Padmarāg” (perhaps a kind of ruby), hung at her back and brought into prominence the mass of black hair that Rādhā possessed.

Bisākhā brought the golden “Angada” for the arms. These were tied with black thread which was not of an ordinary type but was inset with valuable stones. Thus it brought into high relief the bright “Angada.” In the two arms she wore bracelets containing blue gems. Their beauty was that of a red lotus over which the bees were constantly humming. The golden “Kankan” was mounted upon it. Above it pearls encircled the hands. The yellow colour of gold and the white colour of pearls looked like a combination of the sun and the moon.

The golden “Māduli” looked beautiful on the upper part of the arm. Then she wore a ring of precious stone on which was inscribed the “Vanquisher of the enemy.” On her feet Rādhā wore “Kataka” which looked dazzling owing to the inset of bright jewels. After that she put on “Ratanmanjari.”

On the fingers of the feet she wore “Ujjhatikā” of precious gems. Narmadā, the gardener’s daughter, presented a blue lotus and a garland to Rādhā which Bisākhā handed over to the latter. The garland was beloved of Srikrishna. Finally, Sugandhā, the barber-girl, presented Rādhā with a mirror in which she saw her peerless beauty reflected to the admiration of all.

Reviews

Prakrita Vyakarana, in Guzarati, by Pandit Beechara Dasa Jibaraja Doshi, published by Guzrat Puratattwa Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1925.

The work aims at a comparative grammar of Sanskrit, and the following Prakrit dialects:—Maharastri, Sauraseni, Magadhi, Paisachi, and Apabhramsa. The corresponding Pali forms are also given. The examples of Maharastri and other Prakrit dialects are derived by the author by applying the rules of Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar. This method of writing grammar is not scientific. It is a well known fact that the examples of these dialects found in Prakrit literature and in the Plays do not often conform to the rules of Grammar. Pischel in his Prakrit Grammar of these dialects, has followed the scientific method, and has collected his examples from literature. This method, however, has not been followed by the author.

His identification of the Ardha Magadhi with the Maharastri dialect which he calls simply "Prakrit" and his denial of the presence of any element of the Magadhi dialect in it cannot be accepted. The Ardha Magadhi dialect differs in many respects from the Maharastri Prakrit. "The Jaina Siddhanta Kaumudi" by Ratna Chandra Swami, a Grammar of the Ardha Magadhi dialect, in its introduction contains a full analysis of the points of difference between the Ardha Magadhi and the Maharastri dialects. It is needless to repeat these to show the untenability of the author's view.

In page 236 of the work, while giving examples of Maharastri numerals according to the grammar of Hemchandra, the author mixes up the Ardha Magadhi numerals *ब्याला, न्याला*, etc., which cannot be derived either from the grammar of Hemchandra or any other Prakrit Grammar.

The rules are sometimes incomplete.

In page 67 where the various changes of the letter *त* are given its change to *द* is not mentioned.

MURALYDHAR BANERJI

A Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, with Transliteration, Accentuation and Etymological Analysis, by Professor A. A. Macdonell, M.A., Ph.D., Hon. LL.D., the Oxford University Press, Thirty Shillings.

It is a re-issue, corrected, of the well-known dictionary first issued by Messrs. Longmans Green & Co.

The book is intended to supply the vocabulary of the Post-Vedic literature in general, but it also includes such selections of Vedic texts, as are readily accessible to the student.

The valuable features of this work are the following: The senses of all words are given in the historical order of their development and it gives the etymology of words from Sanskrit elements. It is not a comparative dictionary but is historical and etymological in its character. It is not historical in the sense, in which a complete history of every word is given, illustrated by quotations, but is historical in the sense that the meanings are not given in an arbitrary order as in ordinary dictionaries, but the literary period to which a word and its meaning belong, is broadly indicated. It is etymological in the sense that most of the words have been broken up into their Sanskrit elements in the translation, by means of hyphens, as in 'Yag-ña' or by means of hooks where vowel coalescences occur as in 'Mriga-ikṣhaṇa' for 'Mrigekṣhaṇa.' Where these means are insufficient the derivation has been concisely given within brackets as in '(rūḍhi).' A third feature of the Dictionary is that it marks the accents of Vedic words.

Some idea of the usefulness of the work may be formed by comparing it with Professor Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Prof. M. Williams' Dictionary contains 180,000 words and 1,333 pages at a price of 72 s. Prof. Macdonell's Dictionary contains about 43,000 words and 382 pages at a price of 30s. Prof. M. Williams has given quotations and references to particular books to illustrate every word and its meanings except in the first sixty pages. Prof. Macdonell's work gives neither quotation nor reference but only indicates the period of literature. In this respect the smaller and the cheaper dictionary of Apte is more useful.

For the paper, printing and general get-up of the work, it is superior to other one-volume dictionaries, though for this reason its price is a little higher.

MURALYDHAR BANERJEE

**In the Temple of Truth, By M. Sri Ramamurti, M.A., Messrs. Gold-
quin & Co., College Street Market, Calcutta, 1926.**

A book which comes to us with the imprimatur of Prof. Sheshadri of the Benares Hindu University is assured of a hearty welcome in advance. But one thing in that Foreword itself strikes us as strange. We should like to be informed by the Professor how far it might be right to persist in fixing the Knighthood to Rabindranath Tagore, to pin a doubtful distinction to an unwilling victim, to ignore his political gesture, by no means the least important event in the poet's life. As regards the book itself, the stamp of the East is definitely on it—*The Pearl*, *The Only Cure*, *The Strange Smile* are notable examples. The style of discourse is professedly emotional and epigrammatic, poetic and intellectual in its two distinct divisions. We have no hesitation in endorsing Prof. Sheshadri's opinion as given in the Foreword and recommending the book to all seekers after truth. The style is exceedingly simple, and what is more, is not bald. Both the printing and the paper are good. But is 'Copy Right' right? This last is for the publisher.

P. R. S.

Little Songs of the West. By Petronella O'Donnell, Folk Press Limited, Ranelagh Road, London.

A dainty book of verse containing more than two dozen lyrics of varying length, from 12 to 44 lines. The poems are beautiful in their haunting music, richness of colour and imaginative grace, but is there not an error of punctuation on page 12, line 2, in the poem, "The ship that sailed away"? Or, in the 5th line from the last on page 28, in the poem, "The bird at the top of the tree"? "Gulls," "Wind-swept," "the fiddler loon" are some of the words that have a tendency to recur, though always with undoubted propriety. Had it not been for trifles such as these, even the carping critic would have nothing to censure, but very much to admire. The poems are untouched by the squalor and the dirt of this work-a-day world; the Fairy Prince visits the poet—

" In a common-place street—
In a common-place town,
Full of its goings up and down,
We were fated to meet."

And the Spirit of romance is there, near the grey gulls, in a wind-swept,
brine-swept town by the sea. Lines like

“ See sullen waves beat a disconsolate shore ”

are a beauty in themselves. We would recommend specially “ Things of
the Night ”—and “ Twilight.”

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Ourselfes

NEW DOCTORS.

Our warm congratulations to Mr. Jogischandra Sinha, M.A., P.R.S., Reader and Head of the Department of Economics, Dacca University, whose thesis on "The Economic Annals of Bengal" has just been approved for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy of this University by a Board of Examiners consisting of Sir William Foster, Professor Henry Dodwell and Dr. Gilbert Slater. Mr. Sinha is one of the most distinguished graduates of this University—First Class First in the B.A. Examination, First Class First in the M.A. Examination in Economics and Premchand Roychand Scholar for the year 1920. We had occasion to congratulate his distinguished brother Mr. Harischandra Sinha, M.Sc., Ph.D., last month on his obtaining the coveted degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Both the brothers belong to a gifted family of scholars and are nephews to our present Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar.

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We also offer our warm congratulations to Mr. L. A. Ramdas, M.A., Assistant Meteorologist, Karachi, on his admission to the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy. Mr. Ramdas was formerly a Palit Research Scholar in this University and submitted a thesis on "The Scattering of Light by Liquid Surfaces and other Related Phenomena" which was examined by a Board of Examiners consisting of Lord Rayleigh, Professor C. Fobry and Professor C. G. Darwin. Mr. Ramdas is a son of Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananta-krishna Iyer, one of our University Lecturers in the Department of Anthropology.

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RESULTS OF UNIVERSITY LAW EXAMINATIONS.

Preliminary.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law held in January, 1927, was 1,026, of whom 304 passed, 587 failed and 135 were absent. Of the successful candidates 5 were placed in the First Class.

Intermediate.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law was 820 of whom 373 passed, 345 failed, 2 were expelled and 100 were absent. Of the successful candidates 7 were placed in the First Class.

Final.

The number of candidates registered for the Final Examination in Law was 661 of whom 287 passed, 152 failed and 222 were absent. Of the successful candidates 35 were placed in the First Class.

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DATES OF EXAMINATIONS.

The Final M.B. Examination will commence on the 6th of June and not on the 4th of May, 1927, as was announced in last issue of the *Review*. The Preliminary Examination in Law will be held on the 4th of July and the Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law will begin on the 11th of July and the 18th of July respectively. The M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations will commence on the 1st of August next.

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THE ONAUTH NAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Onauth Nauth Deb Research Prize for 1927 has been awarded to Mr. Hemkumar Basu, M.A., B.L., for his thesis on "Commerce in Risk."

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A NEW MASTER OF LAW.

We are glad to announce that Mr. Rameshchandra Pal, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, has just passed the M.L. Examination.

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UNIVERSITY READERSHIP LECTURES.

Professor H. Lüders, Ph.D., of the University of Berlin, the eminent scholar and epigraphist, has been appointed a University Reader to deliver a course of six lectures on "Ancient Indian Epigraphy and Culture."

* * *

MR. JYOTISHCHANDRA GHOSH.

We come across the following passage in *The Year's Work in English Studies*, Volume V, 1924 (page 194), edited by F. S. Boas and C. H. Herford, about the work done by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh, M.A., B.Litt., Lecturer, Calcutta University :

With more emphasis on biographical matters Mr. J. C. Ghosh has retold briefly the story of the unfortunate Thomas Otway's life in a series of three articles contributed to *Notes and Queries* (December 13, 20 and 27). While not by any means all the matter presented in these articles is new, Mr. Ghosh has done a good work through his close investigation of statements made concerning the poet's life and death. By a series of

arguments he succeeds in showing that the latter must have left Oxford in 1671-2, rather than in 1674 (although his derivation of 'Senander' seems somewhat questionable), and that the poet did not go to Cambridge, as has been suggested by some writers. Probably Mr. Ghosh's two most important contributions are his discussion of Otway's relations with his fellow dramatists, Dryden, Shadwell and Settle, and with that degenerate wit, the Earl of Rochester, and his analysis of the conflicting accounts of his death. Of all the well-known Restoration poets Otway is the one whose life seems mistiest, and Mr. Ghosh is but preparing the way for a fuller and more exhaustive summary of the evidence and for a consequent reconstruction of events.

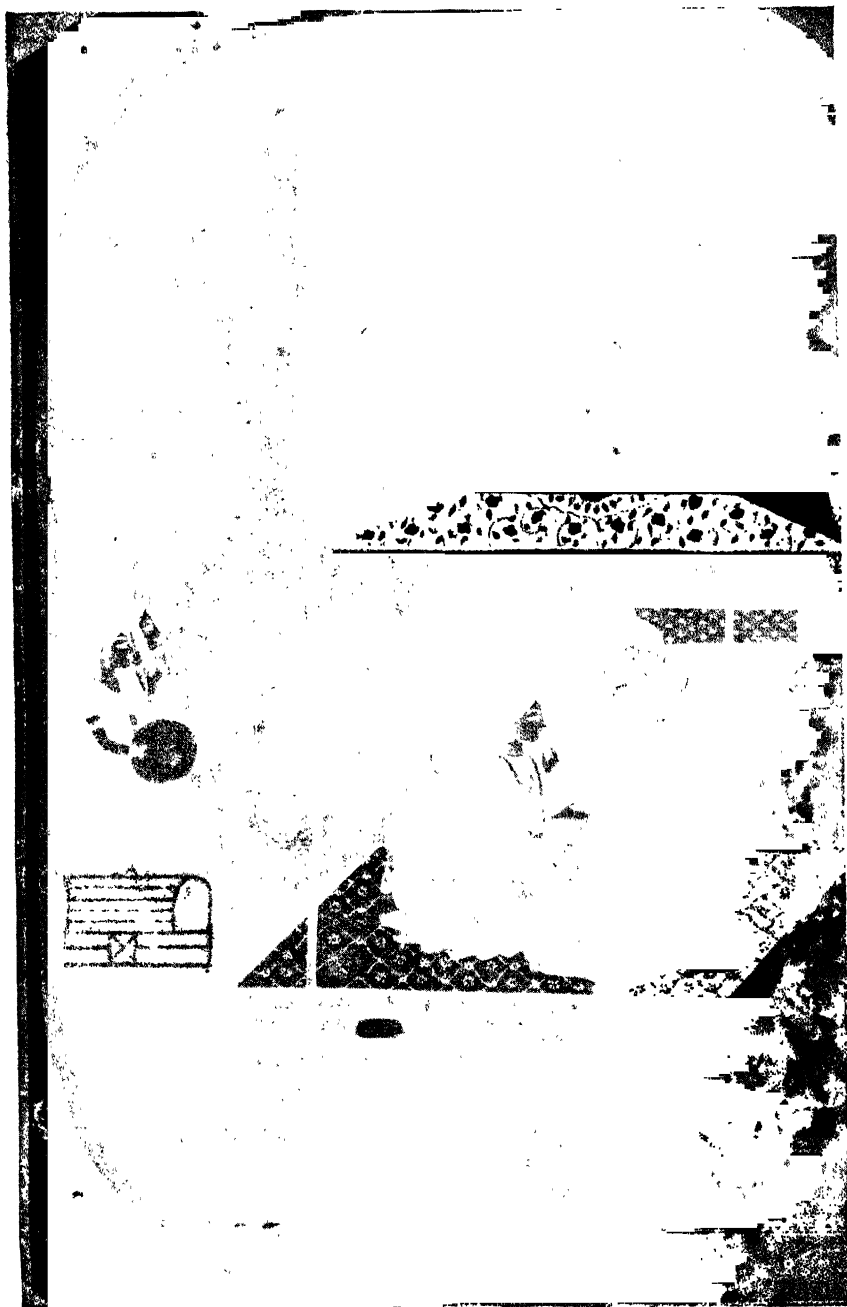
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A CORRECTION.

This issue page 48, line 6, read *forth* instead of *fourth*.



RADHA AND KRISHNA

[By Molaram

From the Art Collection of Mr. A. K. Ghosh

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1927



EDUCATIONAL REFORM ¹

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me by electing me to this office. When I remember that the first Annual Conference was presided over by so illustrious a teacher as Sir P. C. Roy, a unique example of old world simplicity and modern culture, I realise what a distinction it is to be called upon to preside over this important conference of College and University teachers. I thank you for your kindness.

It has not been possible for me, in the middle of term time to prepare anything worthy of a Presidential Address. Nor am I so thoroughly conversant with the problems that are facing us, as some other members of this Association are. As those who invited me knew my limitations, I am sure, they would not expect from me what I am obviously incompetent to give. I have put down a few scattered thoughts as an apology for an address.

Since the transfer of the subject of education in 1920 to provincial Ministers responsible to representative Legislative Councils, educational reform has been attracting increasing attention. Popular ministers who can now to some extent direct the policy of education are anxious to make education effective for national efficiency. It may therefore be useful if we direct our attention to the striking defects of the system rather than dilate on its well-known merits.

¹ Presidential Address delivered at the Second Annual Conference of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association on the 3rd of April, 1927.

Neglect of the National Ideal.

The educational policy of the Government has been restricted in aim and scope. While it has succeeded in training men into efficient but docile tools of an external authority, it has not helped them to become self-respecting citizens of a free nation. Love of one's native land is the basis of all progress. This principle is recognised in all countries. But in our unfortunate country it is the other way. A conquered race feels its heart sink. It loses hope, courage and confidence. Our political subjection carries with it the suggestion that we cannot consider ourselves the equals of free nations. Indian history is taught to impress on us the one lesson that "India has failed." The worst form of bondage is that of despair and dejection which creeps on defeated peoples breeding in them loss of faith in themselves. The aim of true education should be to keep alive the spark of national pride and self-respect, in the midst of circumstances that tend to undermine them. If we lose our wealth and resources, we may recover them to-morrow, if not to-day; but if we lose our national consciousness there is no hope for us. The dead cannot be raised but the poor can.

The difficulty of developing the idea of nationhood in the vast population of India, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is great but it is not impossible. It has not been tried. The American schools are highly successful in Americanising the heterogeneous European elements that flock into the United States year after year. There is no reason why we should not succeed in this task, if our schools and colleges focus the emotions of our youth on the national ideal, if they imbue our young men with a fixed determination to be content with nothing less than control over their own destinies and a burning passion to remove the conditions which prevent the realisation of this ideal. They must sternly silence all sectional tendencies and foster opportunities for developing the sense of unity and feeling that we are all parts of a whole destined to swim or sink together. When we are all voyaging

in one vessel, we cannot hope to keep afloat or win through to port, if there be mutiny aboard or if one man's hand is turned against another's. Communal warfare is another name for national suicide.

Small Proportion of Literacy.

Communal conflicts are possible, simply because our education has not been a success judged either by quantity or by quality. The proportion of the population which is literate is inconsiderable. Our masses bear on their faces marks of physical and mental degradation arising from economic distress and lack of education. They have lost their grip on life and are mostly dispirited and sentimental. In their drab lives, any excitement is welcome. The ease with which the passions of our people are moved almost at will by interested manipulators is a sad commentary on the neglect of popular education. A trained mind is the only security against sensation and excitement.

Impatience with the Past.

The quality of education imparted in our schools and colleges has suffered from a serious handicap. Impatience with the past of India has been the dominant note of our courses of study. Indian thought does not form an integral part of the scheme of general culture. Poorly paid Pandits devote two or three hours a week to it and critical methods are not used in its study. The methods of historical analysis and critical evaluation are applied everywhere else than in Indian thought to which an attitude of hazy emotional reverence is adopted. We live in two worlds, a world of habits which are outworn and a world of ideas which are ineffective. The old and the new are jumbled together in our minds without any order or unity. We repeat ancient texts in answer to modern problems. The living faith of the dead has become the dead faith of the living. If educated India is still safe for

stupidity and superstition, it is the direct result of the divorce of science and criticism from religion and life. It is no wonder that our culture has not been able to protect us from the newspapers which are specialising in flinging falsehoods at us and the politicians who persuade us to love and hate our neighbours for the sake of their personal ambitions. In times of communal disturbance, even the cultured co-operate with the crowds.

Reverence for the past is one of the essential ingredients of nationalism. It is impossible for India to give up its past and get assimilated to a foreign tradition. We cannot borrow souls as we barter goods. The past of India is the sure foundation on which new ideas can be acquired. While we should expose ourselves to all the winds that blow, we should not be blown off our feet. The great ages of renaissance in history were those when men discovered the seeds of progress in the granary of the past. A critical investigation of our social and spiritual foundations will convert blind fanaticism into discriminating insight. We shall then learn to put first things first and not use the great terms of religion for the little details of ceremonial.

The mere existence of different faiths need not menace a nation's life. History tells us that national and political unity is quite consistent with fervent devotion to distinctive forms of faith. All that is necessary is a new attitude and outlook on life.

Cultural Inefficiency.

While it is true that our Universities have contributed a good deal to the public life, social service and the learned professions, it cannot be said that they have influenced much the literature and philosophy of the world, its art and science. We are to-day glorying in the great past of our country as if it were a compensation for the bitter present. As a rule our literature is puerile, our art thin and affected, our science secondhand and shallow and our philosophy—it does not exist. The notable achievements of Tagore and Bose, Roy and Raman are exceptions

which prove the rule. The responsibility for this sad situation is the inefficiency of the culture imparted in our colleges. After four years of college life—which should be the most stimulating intellectual experience—most of our students go out into the world with their curiosity unkindled and their imagination untouched. Our colleges do not encourage a free mental life and intellectual adventure. University education is a business proposition but does not lift us to new levels of thought and touch the mind to new adventure. Rigidity of mind and inaptitude to take up new ideas are dangers which we must try to overcome if we are not to fall behind in the rivalry of nations. It is very essential that we should give up intellectual timidity and fear of thinking.

Indifference to Science.

The difference between the mediæval and the modern outlook is largely due to the spirit of science. It is popularly assumed that scientific studies in India are of the nature of an exotic. Though it may appear that the conquest of the physical environment was rather remote from the main interests of life in India where the most vigorous thought of each generation was devoted to the pursuit of speculative problems, there are facts to show that science was not neglected in the vigorous days of India. India was not backward in mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and medicine and the branches of physical knowledge practised in ancient times. The scientific achievements came to a halt somewhere about the thirteenth century. In recent years we have recovered much lost ground, thanks to the workers of the University College of Science among others. May I, in this connection, offer our felicitations to Dr. Meghnad Saha who has been recommended by the President and the Executive Council of the Royal Society for admission to its Fellowship. That the Royal Society should have bestowed its highest award on Indian scientists means that in the making of new scientific knowledge the work of our men is deemed worthy

of respect even by critics who are not ordinarily prone to enthusiasm for Indian talent. While much of the work that is being done in our University is of a high order, the general level is low and the State support for scientific studies is by no means generous.

Unpractical Character.

It is notorious that our educational institutions are not adapted to our practical needs. India is recognised as one of the foremost industrial countries of the world and yet the economic distress of her middle classes is appalling. We have splendid natural resources, man-power, enough and to spare, and industrial traditions, but our educational system does not make them meet. Our colleges train young men for the two chief industries of the land,—law and public service. There is a loud and wide demand for practical and vocational education. It is really a demand for employment and has to be met not so much by the starting of technological institutions as by the rise of industries. We cannot create industries by training men to practise them. It is an everyday experience in our country that graduates of science and commerce apply for clerks' posts in Government offices. In a country like ours, it is the duty of the Government to build workshops and keep them supplied with well-educated and trained men. It must subsidise all industries which are unable of themselves to gain a foothold in the open market. Huge efforts are necessary if our industrial fortunes are not to suffer an eternal eclipse. If it is true that our middle classes are wanting in mechanical aptitude, industrial capacity or commercial instinct, a University cannot create them by the starting of technological courses. Early school training must help us. I think the new Matriculation regulations may bring about a desirable change. By insisting on manual training and giving a vocational bias, they may help the large body of students whose means and

capacities do not allow them to go up to the University and who are therefore obliged to enter on callings in life or whose interests and opportunities impel them to resort to technological or professional studies within or without the University.

Expenditure on education and the development of industrial life is not merely an economic investment from which a steady income may be expected in later years but even a political investment which will divert the intelligentsia from dreams of anarchism and bolshevism. As most of our graduates who are trained for the learned professions are not absorbed by them, they are wasting their energies in the sands of political and racial agitation. A bold effort on a large scale to apply the brain-power of the country to the natural resources has to be made immediately if the increasing economic restlessness and consequent political disorder are to be averted in any appreciable degree.

It is the duty of our Ministers and Legislative Council to make our education more efficient in every way. It is not necessary to scrap the existing machinery with its long experience and provincial resources at its back; we have only to adapt it to the new purposes of our age. Instead of waiting and watching to see whether the people are fit for another instalment of self-government, the education authorities must use every means in their power to fit the people for self-government as soon as possible by training them for citizenship, wealth-production and national defence. If the present Minister of Education, whose patriotism is unquestioned, takes up with strength and seriousness the problem of educational reform which cannot be further postponed without danger, he may show greater results than his predecessors in office.

Secondary Education Board.

The question of the reform of secondary education was thoroughly canvassed by the Sadler Commission who recommended the creation of an independent Board of Secondary

Education. Their proposals could not be carried out on account of their financial cost. Several attempts at piecemeal legislation proved abortive. Latterly we have had some agreement on the main principles of reform between the Government and the University. At present the schools are functioning under two separate authorities. The University cannot surrender its right to have its own Entrance Examination and this carries with it the power to recognise institutions which prepare candidates for this test, prescribe the courses of study and conduct examinations. The Government through its inspectorate distributes grants-in-aid. The new Board will exercise both these functions and have representatives of the University and the Government on it. There are differences of opinion regarding the controlling authority, whether it is to be the Senate or a new general body corresponding to the Senate. The chief objection to the former course seems to be that the Senate as at present constituted does not have an effective representation of secondary school teachers, but we are all looking forward to the remodelling of the Senate and this defect can be remedied then. The difficulty that the Syndicate is already overburdened with work cannot be seriously pressed, since the new Board would relieve the Syndicate of its school work. It is quite true that the Universities have little to do with schools in other countries but we have to remember that while Universities grew out of secondary schools everywhere else, the reverse process operated in India. The Sadler Commission recommended the ultimate separation of the Intermediate Classes from the degree courses. Such a separation is academically sound if financially possible. The control of the Board by the Senate will facilitate the transfer of the Intermediate Classes to the Board if and when the occasion for it arises. Besides, there is a social glamour about University examinations and until the new secondary schools and the Board become popular, it is best to retain them under the University. Such a course would save us from the apparently impossible task of assessing the finan-

cial loss to the University likely to be caused by the transfer of some of its examinations to the Board. Only we have to take care to see to it that University careers do not dominate school courses. The creation of a General Council will entail much expenditure which cannot be justified in the present state of our finances. After all, the powers of the Senate will be of a very general nature and the Board will enjoy absolute autonomy. After a time it may be necessary to make the Board autonomous and nothing can prevent us from doing it. There is no finality about educational matters. I hope that the Secondary Education Bill will soon be introduced in the Council and passed into law in a satisfactory form so that education might become a great highroad broad enough for all in their different capacities.

University Reform.

The recent debate on the University grant in the Legislative Council has revealed an unexpected unanimity about the need for University reform on an elective basis. The Sadler Report is not a sacred text and there is no reason why we should not adapt its recommendations to our needs. It suggests the formation of a Court, an Academic Council and a Syndicate. These answer roughly to our Senate, Faculties and the Syndicate. In its opinion the Court should be a much larger and more representative body than the present Senate. While a great and progressive University should be in active touch with the life of the nation, we have to remember that it exists primarily for the advancement of learning and research. It should therefore consist of a decided majority of academic representatives. They will be quite competent to deal with administrative questions. The idea that academic men are not suited for administrative work is peculiar to our country. So far as I know, the Universities of Great Britain and America are controlled by academic men. I am afraid that the Court, if constituted so as to include every important element of the

public opinion of the areas which the University serves will become a ceremonial body whose discussions will be of an unpractical character. While the Senate should include a few representatives of the public at large, it should not be degraded into a durbar. Even in the present Senate, there are some gentlemen for whom a University fellowship is a mark of distinction or recognition of public importance. They do not trouble themselves about academic affairs but attend annual meetings to favour a friend or resist a rival. As a corporation of learning, the University should be under the authoritative direction of experts.

A University as an institution for cultural, professional and technological studies cannot be supported by the fees of the students. It must get liberal grants from the State whose subsidies should be statutory, *i.e.*, must not depend on the passing of annual estimates by the Legislature. I may quote in this connection the wise words of Lord Balfour in his opening speech at the Congress of the Universities of the British Empire held at Cambridge last year. "If the State be asked to subscribe great funds, either in this country or any of the Dominions or indeed in any country, there will always be a natural and pardonable instinct on the part of the State to control and supervise the working of an institution which it is doing so much to support. It is perfectly natural but it is extremely dangerous. Cambridge, Oxford and the older Universities are receiving assistance from the State, but our University traditions are so deeply rooted that I do not think there is any symptom, so far as my judgment goes, of any Government attempting to interfere with the University autonomy, which, whether it be well exercised or ill exercised, is at all events at the worst far better than State control." We should endeavour in every way to free the University from Government control and interference. It does not matter whether the Government is British or Indian, bureaucratic or democratic. The University is a national institution above the strife of parties and all attempts to entangle it in communal

and political intrigue will have to be stoutly resisted. The breath of partisanship is blighting to academic ideals.

I think the Senate should consist of (1) *ex-officio* Fellows, who will include all Principals of Colleges training students for a degree course, and University Professors, (2) twenty members elected by the Registered Graduates, who will be the spokesmen of the community helping to keep the University in touch with all sides of national life, (3) twenty members elected by the teachers of Arts and Science colleges affiliated to the University and of secondary schools, (4) twenty members elected by the Post-graduate teachers in Arts and Science and teachers in the colleges of law, medicine, engineering and teaching; (5) twenty members to be elected by the Faculties of the University and bodies like the Corporation, Legislative Council and Chamber of Commerce and (6) twenty nominees of the Government. I believe that such a Senate will not be an unwieldy and amorphous body like the Court contemplated by the Sadler Commission but be a more workmanlike organisation composed essentially of academic men.

Conclusion.

Legislation and reform, curricula and courses of study cannot by themselves do very much ; everything depends on the personality and outlook of the teaching staff. An institution is inspired by the men who work it. Teachers of a certain type, men and women of high attainments with the vocation for the calling of a teacher are more important and more difficult to get than magnificent buildings and libraries. The place of the teacher in the building of the nation is very high. The best men of the country will have to be attracted to the profession of teaching. This cannot be done if college teachers are not provided with adequate salaries and reasonable security of tenure. While the material prizes of academic life cannot compete with those of commercial or industrial careers, they should be high enough to free the teacher from

economic want and provide him with the leisure and detachment necessary for patient study and plodding work. A resolution is tabled which proposes an initial salary of Rs. 100 for a college tutor or demonstrator and Rs. 150 for a college lecturer and I hope that these very modest proposals will be accepted by you. It is a pity that the State is not realising its responsibilities to non-government institutions. It must come to their help with substantial grants for the improvement of the pay of their staff.

If the teaching body as a whole should influence the programme of the Universities, secure effective representation on the different authorities of the University and the governing bodies of the colleges, if it is to inspire the intellectual atmosphere of the country and take its proper place in the national life, it has to work with a consciousness of its vocation and dignity and in a spirit of unity and organisation. This Association works for these larger ends. I appeal to the members of the teaching profession in the Colleges and the University to join it in larger numbers and help in the realisation of its objects. For organised we are an army ; dissipated we are a rabble.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL COURTS IN WORLD SOCIETY

In the first lecture in this series, I attempted to outline the forces which contributed during the nineteenth century to the formation of our present world community, and the efforts under way before the War to meet the needs of that community by organized action. In a second lecture, I dealt with the inauguration of the new method of conference and co-operation which we call the League of Nations, and on the experience of the past seven years I endeavoured to point out some of its larger significances for the future. A distinction is commonly drawn between political and non-political activities in the field of international relations, and much of the work done by the League method is said to fall into the former category. I am not sure that the distinction serves much purpose, and for myself I cannot sharply distinguish between those things which fall within the reach of the politicians' prerogative and those things which are outside it. Any activity which the politicians undertake would seem to me to become political by reason of their undertaking it. Yet the politicians will often need the co-operation of men of other professions, and particularly of lawyers and judges, and I would now invite your attention to those special problems of international relations which require the attention of courts manned by professional jurists.

Laymen are often tempted to exaggerate the role of law and courts in human society. The analogies between national and international law are so easily stretched that many people would make the same approach to both. They see in most countries a clearly recognised body of law, much of which may be known by individuals in advance of their acting and may be applied and enforced by courts with some degree of certainty and promptitude. They, therefore, conclude that an international

community must have a similar code of law governing the relations of states, and courts which will enforce it without favour against all states alike. Although much of the national law which relates to the action of public bodies and to the harmonizing of public relations cannot be viewed precisely as that law which governs the relations of individuals *inter se*, this distinction is often neglected by people who think of a dispute between two states as they think of a dispute between two of their fellow-citizens. The fact is forgotten, also, that even the national law of most countries does not make provision for all of the individual relations, and that especially in the more highly industrialized countries we are confronted every day with numerous relationships which remain on the outer fringe of crystallized law.

The over-simplification of the legal questions arising in international affairs is further encouraged by much of our legal philosophy and by lay versions of it. Some people seem to think of law as a gift of a divine Providence, of which the operation is impeded only by the waywardness of selfish and greedy men ; and they seem to expect agencies created to apply it to act independently of the ordinary conditions of human action, as if law were automatic and courts but automatons in its administration. The opinion voiced in some parts of the world, therefore, looks forward to the codification of international law and the creation of courts "with teeth" to apply it, in such a way as to enable us to dispense with the continued action of the politicians. I shall deal with the codification of international law in a later lecture, and I shall now confine myself to a discussion of what our international courts have done and what we may expect of them in the future.

The creation of courts organized in such a way that they can serve the whole community of states has proved to be one of the difficult tasks of the immediate past. The idea of an international court of justice has stirred in men's minds for many generations. Jeremy Bentham in his zeal for law reform

saw the need of such a court even before the beginning of the nineteenth century, and almost all of the schemes for international organization put forward during the nineteenth century included some such suggestion. But it was not until a more general interest in the development of arbitration was stimulated by the successful arbitration in 1872 of the dispute between Great Britain and the United States of America, concerning the Alabama claims, that such suggestions came within the serious notice of responsible statesmen. Popular interest in the creation of a permanent agency for arbitration continued to increase, but no nation took the step of calling a conference for the purpose; and with so little opportunity for enacting the necessary legislation, nothing was accomplished until the first Peace Conference met at The Hague in 1899. The subject did not find place among the items on the agenda of the conference even then, and it was only added after the sessions had been begun. The conference succeeded in getting agreement on the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and it set up the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which since 1900 has served a very useful function. The Permanent Court of Arbitration hardly deserves that name, for it is not in fact a court; it has no judges, and it is not permanent in the sense of having a personnel of members who devote their time to any international work. Indeed, it is only a panel of the nominees of various governments who may serve as arbitrators when they are invited to do so. The arbitration procedure envisaged in the convention for pacific settlement may also be followed by arbitral tribunals whose members are not drawn from this panel. But as the first agency of its kind, the Permanent Court of Arbitration holds an important place in the history of our international polity.

It is now a quarter of a century since the first arbitration was entrusted to a tribunal chosen from the Permanent Court of Arbitration, and in that time nineteen arbitrations have been referred to such tribunals or handled in accordance with the

procedure outlined in the convention for pacific settlement. The nineteenth case, a dispute between the United States of America and the Netherlands, concerning an island in the Philippine Archipelago, has not yet been finally disposed of. The record itself is imposing, and indicates the existence of the world's need of such an agency. But perhaps the mere fact of the existence of such a body has proved more important than the awards which have been made. For it has focussed attention on the possibilities of peaceful settlement, it has greatly encouraged the development of arbitration and the negotiation of arbitration agreements, and it has paved the way for further steps which have been taken towards the international administration of justice. If at times false hopes have been aroused among people who did not understand the limited nature of the progress made at The Hague, the effect of their disappointment has been more than offset by the encouragement given to a belief in the efficacy of effort in this field. The older notion that nations have always fought and always will and the pessimistic view that arrangements in advance intended to facilitate peaceful settlement will always prove futile, have given way to a faith widely held that something can be accomplished by the creation of agencies and machinery, which by their very existence may make it more probable that there will be a willingness to make use of them. The various states have with some degree of regularity appointed the members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which now number about one hundred and fifty, and they have not withheld the co-operation which has enabled the diplomatic corps at The Hague to carry on the necessary acts of administration. The existence of the Court has helped rather than hindered the conduct of arbitrations by outside tribunals following a different procedure, and I cannot see how any one might think that the world would have been better off during the past twenty-five years if the Permanent Court of Arbitration had never been created.

But the shortcomings of this body were appreciated at the

time it was launched, and agitation at once began for creating a more adequate international agency for the administration of justice. It was thought quite generally that arbitration differed from adjudication according to law, and hence it was argued that a new tribunal should be established which would be equipped to adjudicate international disputes by application of the established law. I think it is open to serious doubt whether the distinction between arbitration and adjudication was not pressed too far in the decade before the War. If all arbitrators endeavoured to bring the disputant states to acceptable terms without reference to the law applying to their claims and if all judges engaged in the inexorable application of definite and inescapable law without reference to what may be its practical consequences in the given case, the distinction might be a more important one. There may have been cases in which both of these things happened ; in one important case it was widely thought that the arbitrators confined themselves to "splitting the difference." But in the great majority of cases arbitrators who are usually lawyers feel themselves bound by the applicable law if any law is clearly applicable, just as judges feel themselves bound to consider the consequences of the decisions which they reach. Yet if the distinction has often been pressed too far, it has nevertheless rendered the service of stressing the importance of having a fixed personnel of judges, trained in handling international cases, devoting their time to doing so, habituated to working harmoniously together and available to be called upon at any time to deal with any case which may be submitted to them. Such a personnel was not provided by the Permanent Court of Arbitration, nor was the procedure of the tribunals worked out in such a way as to offer a chance for continuity and development toward judicial standards.

At the second Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1907, therefore, an attempt was made to organize a new Court of Arbitral Justice. The Permanent Court of Arbitration set up

in 1899 was to be continued under the revised convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and alongside it the Conference projected that there should be another body better manned for the development of judicial traditions. The project became far advanced, for there was general agreement on its basic idea and most of its provisions ; but it proved impossible to get agreement on any proposed method of electing the judges. Certain states feared that the limited number of judges would not include their own nationals, and the dogma of state equality precluded them from accepting any such situation. The representative of the Dominican Republic declared, for instance, that under no circumstances could he agree to setting up an institution in which San Domingo did not have equal representation with Great Britain. A project which lacked provision for the election of judges was included in the Final Act of the Conference, but later efforts to have it put into operation proved of no avail.

Nor did the International Prize Court, for the creation of which a convention was signed at the second Peace Conference at The Hague, meet with any better fate. In this convention a very artificial method of choosing the judges was adopted, which might have worked for a time but which would almost certainly have handicapped the Court if it had ever been inaugurated. But it was the failure of the Declaration of London which made the establishment of the Prize Court impossible ; the state of prize law, which has so largely been determined by the countries of large naval power, did not warrant such an attempt apart from the adoption of a new code of maritime law. Nor have the lessons about prize law which were learned during the War tended to revive the movement in favour of such a tribunal.

With the close of the War, the effort to establish a new court of justice was resumed, and the creation of the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations afforded an avenue of escape from the *impasse* of 1907. In the Assembly adequate

account had been taken of the principle of state equality, while in the Council adequate provision had been made for the special position of certain more influential Powers. It was a very happy proposal of the Advisory Commission of Jurists which sat at The Hague in the summer of 1920, on the invitation of the Council of the League of Nations, that the judges of a new court should be elected by the Assembly and Council jointly. In most other respects, the plan proposed by that Advisory Committee was based on ideas already accepted in 1907. Account was of course taken of the great advance in international organization, for co-relation between the work of the new Court and that of the Assembly and Council had been provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the changed situation after the War, it proved relatively easy to create the Permanent Court of International Justice, which now fills much the same function as that for which a Court of Arbitral Justice had been desired in 1907. Even the abortive efforts of one generation may help a later generation; but it seems very doubtful whether the new Court could have been created at the close of the War, at any rate with such extensive jurisdiction, if there had been no League of Nations.

The question often arises whether the Permanent Court of Arbitration is needed now that the Permanent Court of International Justice has come into being. At the present time the answer must clearly be in the affirmative. As a rallying-point for popular opinion which favours the peaceful settlement of disputes, the new Court has almost entirely superseded the old; and considering that only one dispute has been referred to a tribunal of the old Court since the new one began its work—and in that instance it was partly because one of the parties had not signed the protocol of signature of the new Court—I think it may be said that the large majority of cases which might otherwise have gone to tribunals of the old Court will probably go to the new Court in the future. But cases may still arise in which disputant states will prefer a reference

to arbitrators of their own choice to a reference to the fixed bench of the new Court. Moreover, the members of the old Court perform an essential office in connection with the election of judges of the new Court; acting as national groups, they must nominate the candidates who in the first instance are to be voted on by the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations in electing the judges of the new Court. It seems important, therefore, that the old Court should be continued, and this view is vindicated by the recent accessions to the 1907 convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, as well as by the prompt nomination of new members to fill vacancies in the old Court.

The volume of business to come before the Permanent Court of International Justice has been such as few people anticipated when the Court was established. In five years it has been called upon to give seven judgments and thirteen advisory opinions—a larger output than that of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in twenty-five years. Each of these judgments and opinions has related to some important difference which had arisen in such a way as to demand solution, and each of them has formed the basis for some kind of settlement of the difference to which it related. If all of them have not been matters of first importance in the vexed state of international affairs during the past five years, and if one may say that important differences have arisen concerning which the Court's aid ought to have been and was not sought, still the fact remains that the Court has been so busy and so useful that it has thoroughly earned its salt. All of the judgments and opinions have not given universal satisfaction; the dissatisfaction of losing parties is to be expected, and criticism of the opinion in the Eastern Carelia case has been frequently voiced. But the work of such an agency is not likely to be free from criticism, ever, and both in the Foreign Offices and among the legal profession of the world the Court has already earned an enviable reputation and prestige.

One result of the satisfaction taken in the work of the new Court has been the additions to its jurisdiction by way of special clauses in treaties providing for the reference to the Court of disputes which may arise in the execution of the treaties themselves. It has now become a common practice to insert such clauses in general multilateral conventions, and they are not infrequently to be found in bilateral treaties, particularly treaties of conciliation and arbitration. Such jurisdiction has been exercised by the Court in the Mavrommatis case, and in the case relating to German interests in Polish Upper Silesia. The opportunity for inserting such clauses has influence at times in making possible agreements which could not otherwise be reached—perhaps that may be said of the treaties constituting the settlement of Locarno. In this way the Court is fast acquiring an extensive compulsory jurisdiction which may come in time to be as important as the so-called compulsory jurisdiction conferred by the acceptance of the “optional clause.”

I think it may be doubted whether the importance of giving the Court general compulsory jurisdiction has not been over-emphasized. It is very easy here to be misled by the analogy to national courts. An individual is not consulted as to his willingness to appear as a defendant in a national court; but there definite forms of action are available, a definite default procedure can be invoked, and a default judgment can be enforced by a marshal. None of these things is true of international courts at the present time, nor can its development be envisaged in the early future. In our present situation, therefore, though a state may have bound itself in advance to submit to the Court's jurisdiction, the effective realization of a solution by resort to the Court will almost always depend on the state's own co-operation. Moreover, provisions for compulsory jurisdiction which will hold water against an unwillingness to carry them out are difficult if not impossible to draw—certainly article 36 of the Court's Statute is not free from wide scope for

varying interpretation. I share the hope of many people that the "optional clause" of the Court's Statute will be more generally accepted, but I think it is not a reason for undue discouragement that only twenty-five states have accepted it to date.

The usefulness of the Court is not to be judged solely by the amount of business which comes before it. Just as the existence of the Permanent Court of Arbitration increased the confidence of people that efforts to devise machinery for peaceful settlement were not all in vain, so the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice has tended to increase the willingness to seek some pacific way out of international difficulties. With reference to cases which flare up and never come before the Court, it is important that in public discussion the possibility of recourse to the Court at once presents itself as an alternative to force. When the Greek Patriarch was expelled from Constantinople in 1924, the fact that the Council of the League of Nations agreed to the Greek demand and requested an advisory opinion of the Court, was a factor which made for easier settlement of that difficulty, and a settlement was reached before the Court could meet to respond to the request. The promptness with which resort to the Court is now suggested the moment any acute situation arises, is another indication of the Court's influence. This has been quite noticeable in two instances during the past month—such a suggestion was made with reference to the Sino-Belgian dispute about the renewal of a treaty and with reference to the dispute between the United States of Mexico and the United States of America about the effect of certain Mexican laws on the property of American citizens. As the existence and successful functioning of national courts tend to increase a local community's confidence in the prevalence of law and order, so the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice tends to increase our sense of security in the international community.

But I find one conception very prevalent which seems to me

to exaggerate the importance of the Court's influence. It is quite generally supposed that an adequate Court will directly obviate a resort to war. Some of my fellow-countrymen who are eager to have war "outlawed," appear as eager to have a court given larger powers with a view to the prevention of war. The impression also exists that if such a court were created and international law were codified, there would be no need of other agencies of political adjustment to be maintained by the international community. I think these views do not take sufficient account of the limits on judicial action. I can hardly imagine, for instance, that any of the nineteen cases which have come before the Permanent Court of Arbitration, nor that any of the disputes which were the subjects of the seven judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice, would have led to war if those institutions had not existed. It is quite unthinkable to me that the United States and the Netherlands might have fought about the question which is now pending before a tribunal of the Permanent Court of Arbitration—the question of the sovereignty over the island of Palmas in the Philippine Archipelago. Nor is it possible for me to believe that Great Britain and Greece might have gone to war over the case of the Mavrommatis Concessions in Palestine which has been successfully adjudicated by the Permanent Court of International Justice. A long series of such questions might produce strained relations between two countries which, combined with serious conflicts of policy, would lead to war; but it seems safe to say that the great majority of cases susceptible of being litigated in an international tribunal will be of the kind about which nations would never think of fighting. This is not to say that the successful handling of such cases is not important—in the past they have often served as pretexts, and they can always disturb the harmony which we would have to prevail in the international community. But we must see the rule of courts as it is, and the truth seems to be that the serious international differences cannot be pressed into legal

equations. I think this may partly explain the reluctance of certain states to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the new court.

It is the more important, therefore, that alongside a court the international community should have other agencies to deal with the disputes which only lend themselves to political adjustment. In a conference like the Council of the League of Nations, the same limitations do not circumscribe action; discussion is not restricted to such precise issues; differences may be narrowed, but they do not have to be crowded into legal formulæ; the methods of solution available are more varied. Politicians and diplomats accustomed to responsibility are more likely to have the necessary adaptability than judges who have spent their lives in chambers or at the bar. I think it is clear, therefore, that the world needs such agencies as well as courts, and in the long run I think there is more to hope for from them than from courts, in the prevention of war.

It would be extremely unfortunate, however, if there were no co-operation between the Council of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice. One of the happiest innovations of the Covenant of the League is the provision in Article 14 that "the Court may give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or Assembly." The language of the French text seems to be more mandatory, but the practice which has now become established has robbed the controversy about the duty of the Court to give advisory opinions of much of its importance. The innovation was not viewed without suspicion in the beginning, but I think its value has been amply vindicated by the experience of these five years. In fourteen instances, the Council has requested the Court to give advisory opinions; in six instances it was because the Council was seised of a dispute of a generally political character, in the course of which legal questions arose on which the assistance of the Court was needed; in four instances it was because difficulties had arisen in the

work of the International Labour Organization which necessitated an authoritative determination of its constitutional law; in two instances it was because disputing states sought the Council's aid in the solution of distinctly legal questions; and in one instance, it was because of the insistence of a single state which had sought in vain other methods of solution of a difficulty with its neighbour. I think the Mosul case, to which I referred in my last lecture, is very interesting in this connection: when the Council came to consider the report of its commission sent into the Mosul territory, it found that the representatives of Turkey challenged its jurisdiction on legal grounds, and a serious question arose as to the requirement of unanimity. Without the possibility of having these matters settled at the time, and settled in such a way as to give confidence to the disputing states, the usefulness of the Council might have been very seriously impaired. The Court's opinion was very promptly given, and it enabled the Council to proceed with the settlement of a question which might very well have led to hostilities. This, then, seems to be a contribution which the Court can make to the maintenance of peace. It can supplement the Council, it can increase the effectiveness of political deliberations on disputes which might lead to war, it can clear away the legal tangles which so frequently stick out in the foreground of disputes in which the real issues are obscured in a political background. The scales are never too heavily balanced in favour of peace, and we cannot have too many agencies at hand to assist in keeping the balance on that side.

The objections which have been made to advisory opinions do not seem to me serious, though in the United States of America they have achieved some importance. It is said that the giving of advisory opinions is not a judicial function, and that this feature of its jurisdiction deprives the Court of its character as a real court. If the question be viewed historically, it is not to be denied that such jurisdiction has long been exercised and is still exercised by the courts of many countries;

the advisory opinion about the so-called "Irish Treaty" given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1924 is a striking example. If the question be viewed analytically, judicality would seem to exist where there is a precise question before a court, where a contest with reference to it is actually in progress, where a public hearing is held or an opportunity for such a hearing is given, and where a reasoned judgment is arrived at after due deliberation. By either test, the jurisdiction as it is exercised by the Court would seem to fall quite clearly within the limits of the judicial function. It is also said that it is open to the Court to give secret opinions. Certainly that is not precluded by the Court's Statute, but it is clearly excluded both by the Court's rules and by its practice. It is further said that this feature of the Court's jurisdiction renders it subservient to the Council and makes it but a political agency; but the Court has demonstrated its independence by refusing to give the opinion requested in the Eastern Carelia case.

During the past year, the Government of the United States of America sought to adhere to the protocol of signature of the Court with various reservations, the important one of which provided that without the consent of the United States, the Court should not "entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." The object of this reservation was stated to be to secure for the United States a position of equality with those of the signatories that were Members of the League of Nations and represented on the Council. But it has never been determined whether action by the Council requesting an advisory opinion must be taken by unanimous vote, and even if this doubt were to be resolved in favour of requiring unanimity, some inequality might still exist if the power to prevent the Court from entertaining a request were conceded to a state which is not represented at meetings of the Council and which undertakes no responsibility for assisting in the solution of the question concerning which an advisory

opinion is to be requested. The conference of signatories which met in Geneva last September was therefore reluctant to make this concession, and the result to date is that no action seems to be possible at the present time to enable the United States to join in maintaining the Court. From a general point of view, it would seem desirable that some way should be found for non-members of the League to share in maintaining the Court, in order that their resort to it may be made more probable. This is particularly true in the case of the United States of America, for the frequent use of the Court by other American states would seem to be in some degree conditioned on the support of the United States. The solution of this problem calls for statesmanship of a high order.

In some quarters an objection to the Court has been based upon the fact that it is not backed by any force which will compel its judgments to be observed. Again it is the analogy to national Courts which suggests that every court must have somewhere in the background a marshal who can execute its judgments ; but it is a false analogy which would assimilate individuals and public bodies in this respect. Nowhere perhaps is a more illuminating experience to be found on this point than in the history of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. In the early days of that republic, when the new Supreme Court had given a judgment against one of the federated states, an unsympathetic President described the situation by exclaiming, "Chief Justice Marshall has given his decision, now let him enforce it." When in more recent times a dispute arose between the two states of Virginia and West Virginia, and the Court had given a large money judgment against the latter, the question squarely arose how it was to be enforced ; and though the Court repeatedly asserted its power, it succeeded in discovering successive expedients which prolonged the litigation until a settlement was finally reached. Like the Supreme Court of the United States, the Permanent Court of International Justice really depends on public opinion

for its sanction. The Covenant does mention in Article 13 proposals to be made by the Council in the event of a failure of any Member of the League to carry out a judgment, and the sanctions of Article 16 may be applicable to a resort to war against a Member which complies with a judgment of the Court. But it would be a rare case in which such provisions would be invoked, and in the main I think that the international community must content itself with that moral pressure which will usually be exerted to see that the Court's judgments are not flaunted.

For some time past, a proposal has been discussed, especially at meetings of the International Law Association, that an international criminal court should be constituted. In its latest form the proposal is that either a separate criminal court should be set up or criminal jurisdiction should be conferred on the Permanent Court of International Justice, and a reference to it may not seem inapposite in connection with the foregoing discussion of sanctions. It is the kind of proposal which so frequently appeals to people who have a fondness for symmetry. We have criminal courts in our national communities; why not also in the international community? The short answer would seem to be that we have no international criminal law for such a court to apply. It is frequently said that piracy is a crime under international law; there has been some disposition to say the same of the slave trade on the high seas; and in 1922 the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments elaborated a treaty which would have made the violation of certain rules relating to the use of submarines punishable "as if for an act of piracy." But the Washington treaty is not in effect and may never be brought into effect, and piracy has now grown so rare that it would not seem to call for the setting up of any new agency. Nor is it easy to see the need for any tribunal to which such general power might be given. If the attempt in the Covenant to define and discourage aggression cannot be realized by political action, it

seems improbable that assistance can be had from any enlargement of the criminal law. The lamentable fiasco of the attempt of the Allied Powers to bring to punishment certain Germans accused of violation of the laws and customs of war, in accordance with provisions in the Treaty of Versailles (Article 228), should place us on our guard against a too ready acceptance of the notion that any crimes may be punishable by international authority.

It seems unnecessary to deal in this connection with the history of various attempts to establish international courts of a local jurisdiction; but one such attempt is perhaps deserving of mention. In 1907, the governments of the five Central American Powers elaborated a convention "for the purpose of efficaciously guaranteeing their rights and maintaining peace and harmony unalterably in their relations, without being obliged to resort in any case to the employment of force." This convention established a Central American Court of Justice, which functioned with somewhat questionable success for the period of ten years during which the convention was in force. But the convention was not renewed when it expired in 1918, and the Court has not since been re-created. It was a local court in the sense that its jurisdiction covered only controversies among those five states and controversies between their governments and individuals submitted to it by common accord. Its whole history was troubled, and its experience has not illuminated the approach to many problems of the wider world community. Nor did the Central American Powers in their conference in Washington in 1923 attempt to revive the idea of a permanent court; instead they provided for commissions which will proceed along very different lines.

It is also of interest to note that a suggestion has recently been made, and will come before the Commission of Jurists set up by the Conference of American States, when it meets, that a Pan-American court of justice should be created to deal with disputes among the states of

North and South America. The delegation of Costa Rica presented such a plan to the Santiago Conference in 1923, and the suggestion has been elaborated in a project since prepared by the American Institute of International Law. These proposals proceed on the assumption that there exists a special body of American international law, and that the American states have an interest in handling their common legal problems independently of the co-operation of states in other parts of the world. While it is difficult to believe that they are destined to meet with much success in view of the co-operation of so many Latin-American states in the League of Nations, recent events in South America may have worked in that direction, and the uncertainty of the development of the policy of the United States known as the Monroe Doctrine may make for a favourable atmosphere for their consideration by the American states. A sharp division between the Western and Eastern hemispheres might possibly have been made a century ago, but with the establishment of so many lines of communication in both directions across both the oceans that separate them, it would now seem very late in the day for such a division to be made. Moreover, in the two plans which have been published, the proposals for electing the judges of such a separate tribunal are very artificial, for the escape from the equality of states conception is more difficult in America than in Europe.

It is hardly more than a generation since statesmen began to give serious attention to the needs of our international community for courts of arbitration and of justice. In that short period, we have had established both the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Permanent Court of International Justice. Each of these institutions has been more successful than most of us would have predicted when it was established. In twenty-five years of the one, eighteen arbitrations have been handled, and a nineteenth is now pending; in five years of the other, seven judgments have been handed down and thirteen advisory opinions. A greater service still

has been the general encouragement they have given to the extension of pacific settlement, and the confidence they have inspired in the efficacy of effort directed to that end. If they are not likely to be called upon to handle those more troublesome disputes which might lead to war, and if the view of them as substitutes for war may be somewhat exaggerated, it is nevertheless true that they form an essential part of the international co-operation of our time. The Permanent Court of International Justice is a valuable supplement to the Council of the League of Nations, and its advisory opinions have helped it to win a prestige which augurs well for the future.

But perhaps the most significant result of the work of such agencies will be in their contribution to the development of international law—a subject which I shall reserve for a final lecture.¹

MANLEY O. HUDSON

¹ Delivered at the Calcutta University, February 2, 1927. A chapter from *Current International Co-operation*, to be published by the University. The final lecture appears elsewhere in the current issue

POETRY AND PROSE

I.

The sun now sets. On Ganges' bank
 I see upon that rise
 On thorny bush a single flow'r
 Throw smiles to silent skies.
 The crescent moon returns her smiles,
 Soft sings that tiny bird,
 Now Ganges her side to lap forgets,
 Her moving strain's unheard.
 Moon-soft that darling flow' ret's hue,
 Her scent is softer still,
 A sweetness strange pervades the air,
 A spell the stars distil.
 O, how to name the mystery ?
 I hear in heart—" Life's Poetry."

II.

'Tis market day. On stores of flower
 Bewitched, I stand to gaze.
 List ! tulip, rose and orchid laugh,
 A laugh to sense a maze.
 How name this madding, magic maze?
 My heart I question close,
 And there I hear a lusty oath—
 " The name? Life's florid Prose."
 Poetry and Prose,
 Jessamine and Rose,
 Hand maiden twins of word divine
 In love-pure heart to sweetly shine.

HINDU-MOSLEM RELATIONS— A RAPID SURVEY

The capacity for absorption and assimilation was the chief merit of the social system evolved by the Aryans in India. With the progress of their "Colonisation" from province to province in this country, they came into contact with congeries of races and creeds. All these were gradually and slowly absorbed into their social body. Even the excellent civilisation developed by the Dravidians could not long maintain its separate identity. After years and perhaps centuries of contact, the Dravidian culture and civilisation also were practically merged in the Aryan system. Not that in this process of slow and silent unification, the Aryans accepted and borrowed nothing from the peoples they met with. In fact, they accepted freely the worship of prominent deities, manners and customs from them and the Aryan civilisation that India developed came to be a compound of many cultures, faiths and creeds.

Later on, when the Greeks, Huns, Scythians and other barbarian hordes invaded India through her North Western gates, it was also by this slow process of gradual absorption that their fusion in the Aryan social system was brought about. Thus through centuries and ages, India developed a civilisation and culture to which many races and peoples contributed. It was, therefore, not unnatural that with the advent of the Mahomedans, many of the Rajput Princes would feel consciously or unconsciously that they too would be in time absorbed into their social body. But this was not to be. For quite a long time the Mussalman conquerors refused to be absorbed in, and contribute their share to, the amalgam of Aryan civilisation in India.

They had come out to this country as the standard-bearer of a new faith and a new social system. It was impossible

for them all at once to throw overboard their separate identity and merge their existence in the Hindu Social organisation. They in fact continued to live and expand as a distinct social and religious community. Efforts, however, were made from time to time, and with a good deal of success, to bring the two communities nearer. Geography also made its influence felt. Living side by side, one could not but be influenced by the other. It was impossible to raise a stone wall between the communities and divide them vertically into air-tight compartments. Neighbourliness in residence could not fail to dissipate distance in outlook and ideals. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries constituted really an age of synthesis and cultural assimilation and it was during this period, more than at any other time, that a serious movement was led to bring about a fusion of the two civilisations and social systems. Saints like Namdeva (early 15th century), Kabir (born 1398) and Nanak (born 1469) were the forerunners of this movement. In the field of thought and idea, they practically brought about a revolution and turned the men's mind towards the unity of the Hindus and Moslems. The Sayings of Kabir appealed to the imagination of the people of Hindusthan and prepared the ground for the activities of others. The two Emperors Sher Shah and Akbar the Great, who were the true children of this synthetic age took up this work seriously and earnestly. The Sufi Mahomedans led in the time of Akbar by saint Mubarak also gave an impetus to this movement of unification. In art and architecture, customs and manners, language and literature, religious doctrines and practices, a sort of fusion was being slowly brought about. Out of the congeries of faiths and communities, a nation was being evolved. This movement continued for over a century and a half and was only arrested during the reactionary regime of Aurangzeb. The blind measures of this bigoted and unstatesman-like ruler bruised the little plant of Hindu-Moslem Unity that was being heretofore so carefully reared. The progress of assimilation stopped

half way and a fillip was given to the forces of separatism and sectionalism. A legacy of conflict was thus left behind.

The crash of the Moghul Empire some years later, which was not a little due to the Hindu revolt of Maharastra, was followed by the Great Anarchy of the eighteenth century and the subsequent installation of the British Power. The rapid collapse of an once all-powerful Empire stunned the Moslems and dazed the Hindus. Overwhelmed by the anarchy and repressed by foreign occupation, they remained silent and mute. For over a century they were lifeless and inert. It was only towards the close of the first quarter of the last century that a renaissance came upon the Hindus. The influence of the Hindu College and the activities of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy constituted the most important factors of this movement of Hindu awakening. The Moslems rigidly kept aloof from the culture imported from the West and remained untouched by the new learning. The Hindus meanwhile profited by the English education of which they took full advantage. Their soil was thus to some extent prepared for the growth of new ideas among them, while that of the Moslems remained too uncultured and uncultivated to receive any inspiration. The movement however, though confined to the Hindus, was far from being communal and sectional. It was quite universal in outlook. The Hindu College drew its inspiration wholly from the West and as such was neither Hindu nor Moslem. It accepted the ideas of European rationalism and utilitarianism. The Rajah also was inspired as much by the Upanishads as by the Quoran. He was as much for the resuscitation of the ancient ideals of Hinduism as for the acceptance of the "Spirit of Islam." He was standing as much for the revival of ancient Indian learning as for inviting to our shores the sciences and philosophy of the West. The movement that he led was, therefore, quite a synthetic and unifying one. If it was guided along his lines and brought within its purview both the Hindus and Moslems, the two communities would have by this time

been altogether fused down into a common society and nationality. But as on the one side, the Mahomedans remained unaffected by it, so on the other the movement itself was diverted from its original channel and gradually given a Hindu colour. It is to-day, if not theoretically, certainly practically, a "Hindu Expansion movement" and nothing more.

The later movements, led by Swamis Dayanand and Vivekanand were unequivocally Hindu in outlook, colour and inspiration. It should however be noted that while they advocated the remodelling of the Hindu society and the purification and propagation of the Hindu religion, they also brought into prominence the question of the status of the mother country. Political dependence and religious culture were inconsistent in their opinion, and they were quite successful in inculcating this view among their numerous followers. After their example, the educated Hindus became eager for the emancipation of their country from the hands of the foreigners on one side and were enthused by the prospect of the revival and regeneration of Hinduism on the other. Two divergent sentiments thus worked in them. In their attitude towards the Britishers, they were nationalists and patriots, and in their attitude towards the Moslems they were only Hindus.

The Moslems were for the first time awakened from the social and religious inertia of the last hundred and fifty years by Sir Syed Ahmad in the seventies of the last century. They had, as already noticed, kept, up to this time, aloof from western education and culture and had consequently come to be a backward community. Sir Syed Ahmad now set about improving their position. He initiated an education movement among the Mahomedans and by exercising all his influence and prestige, he was able to enlist in its behalf the sympathy and support of a good many of his co-religionists. And in the same year (1875) as the Arya Samaj was established at Prayag, he was successful in laying the foundation of the Anglo-Oriental Mahomedan College at Aligarh. Henceforward

Hindu and Mahomedan public opinion came to be guided more and more along sectional channels. The old ideal of unity and oneness as preached by the Rajah was over-shadowed. And while the Hindus of Upper India flocked more and more to the banner of Swami Dayanand and looked upon Hindusthan as a Hindu heritage, the Mahomedan movement was also given a pre-eminently communal bias and colour. Along with his educational movement Sir Syed organised also a movement of social and religious reform among the Indian Moslems. This modernising movement was quite on all fours with those of the Hindu Reformers. But his advocacy of implicit obedience to the British Government jarred on the ears of the Hindus. His motto that he asked his co-religionists to follow was "Educate yourself and support the British Government." This principle of loyalism was followed by the Mahomedan community for long and it was only a few stray Mussalmans that for the first twenty years of the Indian National Congress joined its sessions. The nineteenth century Indian nationalism was practically Hindu nationalism. From all political agitation and struggle, the Moslems with few exceptions kept away. This difference in political outlook represented itself to both the communities rather in a sinister way. They came to look upon their interests as separate and different while they were really identical and inseparable. Nor was it long when the third party, the British Government, proceeded to take advantage of the situation. Faced with a sturdy Hindu nationalism and political agitation, they encouraged and kept alive this sentiment of difference. Their policy was now to keep down and repress the Hindu nationalists and placate the Mahomedans. If the Moslems whole-heartedly joined the national movement initiated by the Hindus, the shoulder to shoulder fight for the regeneration of their common fatherland would have washed off the sentiment of difference that was lingering and would have generated a feeling of unity and brotherhood instead. The association and identification of

the Moslems with the British Government with which the Hindus, inspired by the new spirit of nationalism and freedom, were now in conflict only served to bring into high relief the wide gulf between the two communities. The policy of repressing the Hindus and placating the Moslems was exhibited clearly in the Partition of Bengal. The province might have been unwieldy and might have called for re-arrangement. But the way it was partitioned, and the manner "the favourite wife" policy was pursued unequivocally pointed to the way the wind was blowing. The Government followed the policy of *divide et impera*, and unhappily the Moslems played into their hands. The two communities thus were more and more estranged from each other.

The policy of repressing the Hindus, however, failed of its purpose. The effect was only the other way about. The agitation of the Hindus, for the modification of the partition and for political reforms, did not die down. Even in alliance with the Moslem community the Government could not nip it in the bud. It only grew in volume and strength. The British Government now guided at the helm by a Liberal Statesman, proceeded to devise other means for the pacification of the Hindus. For a time, the partition remained a "settled fact" but a prospect of granting some political and administrative reforms was dangled out before them. That the central and provincial councils would be enlarged, non-official strength increased, and the elective principle adopted, became apparent. That the gradual Indianisation of the Services would follow suit was also looked upon as possible. This now set the Mahomedans a-thinking. With the exception of a microscopic few, they were so long not only unconnected with the political movement but were positively opposed to it. But now when the fruits of the Hindu agitation were going to be borne, they became anxious for the "spoils." Somehow the thought crept into their mind that if the people were invited to take some share in the Governmental power, it would mostly go over to

the Hindus, who were in a majority in most provinces, and the Mahomedans would be left in the lurch. They also entertained the view that even in provinces where they commanded the majority, their educational backwardness would go against them and furnish the Hindus with the opportunity of monopolising the political power, opened out to the people. That they were culturally and educationally less advanced was certainly true, and for this situation, they themselves were responsible. They did not take full advantage of the new education and educational institutions established for its spread. Now the remedy for this state of backwardness was only more and more emphasis upon Mahomedan education and instruction. Once equal in education and cultural advance, they might have met the Hindus on equal terms and common ground. This would have set at rest all heart-burning and mutual recriminations. Once man to man equal, the Hindus and Mahomedans would have relegated to the back-ground all communal considerations and gradually formed a common society of equally advanced men and women. But this did not impress the Mahomedan leaders in 1905-6. They were only obsessed by the thought of Hindu domination. They now demanded the safeguarding of Mahomedan rights and privileges. In this thought and demand, they were, of course, encouraged by the British Officials in India. "Minto (the Governor General), like the Secretary of State (John Morley), had a liking for the Mohammedan....." And the Moslem deputation that proceeded to wait on the Viceroy under the leadership of H.H. the Aga Khan, in 1906, to emphasise the urgency of separate Moslem representation was, enthusiastically received at Simla on the 1st of October. Some time later, another Moslem deputation saw Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, and demanded special communal representation for the Mussalmans, as a measure for safeguarding the Moslem interests. This sectional demand certainly jarred on the ears of Lord Morley. But he too, was gradually tutored by the Indian officialdom into accepting this political heresy. Morley was led

to believe that the Hindus and the Mussalmans constituted not only two religious communities, but also two distinct social systems and civilisations. Accordingly he was led to initiate the principle of communal representation which is now the plague-spot of Indian politics. The Mahomedans welcomed it as their communal triumph and associated it with their communal prestige. Under the Act of 1909, the election being indirect, the full fruit of separate representation could not be borne all at once. The spirit of difference that it inculcates could not filter down to the masses, it remained confined only to the select people. The Hindus as a result could not possibly grasp the full significance of the principle imposed upon the country by the Morley-Minto Reforms. They too, therefore, to a great extent accepted it as a convenient ground for conciliating the Moslems. In 1916, the first pourparlers on the post-war Indian Reforms took place between Whitehall and Simla. And in the next Christmas week at Lucknow, the Joint Session of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League proceeded to prepare a draft of their constitutional demands. The Hindus were now anxious to present a united memorandum and were not in a mood to alienate at any cost, the sympathy and co-operation of the Moslems. The latter, however, had more of communal than national interest to think of. At the psychological moment, they introduced the bargain that they would not give their assent to the joint manifesto if the principle of communal representation was not accepted by the Hindus. The latter now thought discretion the better part of valour and yielded to the Moslem pressure. This was, however, a fatal step taken by the Hindus at a weak moment. The concession now granted provided for a peculiar method of minority representation. A voter, to all intents and purposes, is a political animal. His importance in the State is to be judged by the ardour with which he maintains a political principle or an economic doctrine. It matters little, in the eyes of the State, whether he is a Mahomedan or a Hindu, a Protestant

or a Roman Catholic. But it matters a good deal as to whether he is a moderate or an extremist, a free trader or a protectionist, a capitalist or a socialist. The system of communal electorate and representation, however, only emphasises the voter's religious character. It attaches no importance to his being a tenant or a Zemindar, a mill-owner or a labourite, a timid conservative or a go-ahead liberal. This special representation in fact whittles down everything that connects the voter with the State and brings into prominence everything that binds him to his religion and community. In fact, by only emphasising the voter's religious complexion, this system of representation suppresses the innumerable vital ties of unity between members of diverse communities and only fosters the difference and broadens the gulf between them. It is a truism that all the communal troubles to-day have their genesis in this separate representation. By magnifying the communal colour, it has introduced a sort of communal and religious aggressiveness among our people.

As soon as this principle is replaced by the joint-electorate system, the forces of separatism would be exercised and the motive-force of economic interest and political faith will assert itself. The Hindus and the Mussalmans have to live side by side. As producers and consumers, as buyers and sellers, all their every-day interests are bound together by unassailable ties. They do not occupy widely separate geographical areas as to enable one to do without the other. Their lot has been cast together and they have to develop arm in arm organically and homogeneously.

NARESHCHANDRA RAY

DIANA'S GIFT

One night within an ilex grove,
Diana found her shepherd love,
And sought by all her amorous art,
To soothe his fierce, rebellious heart—
For long the days, and long the nights,
Since she had brought him love's delights.

Within the grove sweet Philomel
Was casting his bewitching spell,
And dreaming flowers trembling hung,
Enraptured on his angel tongue!
The sylvan stream, the moon-lit grove,
And all the world seemed sick of Love.

No silver stars within the skies
Were half so bright as Dian's eyes,
As she stooped o'er, with love confest,
To clasp Endymion to her breast;
His beauty seemed of hers a part,
As he lay held close to her heart.

“Oh, Love, dear Love, thy ire give o'er,
I could not come to thee before,
For duty chained me to my sphere—
I could not be both here and there!
But now I bring a gift to thee,
To keep thy mind on love and me.

“Within my kingdom of the Moon—
Where I, alas, must go so soon,—
There blooms a flow'r, so sweet, so rare,
It perfumes all the silver air;
A star within a star it seems,
As pure and white as angel dreams!

It blows in beauty all the night,
And soft enfolds when comes the light;
For chaste the flow'r, too frail and fair
To live within the noon-tide's glare.
It blooms alone for love of me,
And now I share my gift with thee.

Alone with thee, as I now share
All of myself, as chaste and fair!
Cursed was the youth whose lustful eye,
Did once Diana's charms espy—
But all to thee, my shepherd lad,
I give with heart and soul so glad! "

Endymion forgot his grief,
In raptured hour, which was too brief!
And round about their bower to twine,
'There sprang from out the mould a vine,
Which grew and grew, and flowers white,
Filled all the weald with mystic light!

Flowers as fair as Dian's breast,
Sweet as the love she there confest;
As haunting as her love-filled eyes,
That rivalled stars within the skies!
Thus to the earth a royal dow'r,
Was given in Dian's Moon-Flow'r.

TERESA STRICKLAND

EDUCATIONAL RECOVERY OF GERMANY AND INDIA

I

“The total number of German students enrolled in German universities during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926 was 82,602 which is 13,000 more than were registered during the pre-war period and respectively 1 and 4 per cent. more than the number matriculated during the two previous semesters.” The number of women students registered in German Universities during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926 was 6,983. During the previous semester, their number was 6,923.

At the present time there is a general tendency among German University students, to think less of Theology, and thus the number of theological students, both Protestants and Catholics, has decreased. There has been a decrease also in number of students of Chemistry, Pharmacy, and Political Economy. There had been marked increase in the ranks of students devoting themselves to Dentistry, Veterinary Medicine, technical subjects as well as Philology. *The total number of medical students during the Winter Semester of 1925-1926, in German Universities, was 6,438.* This shows that the German nation has recovered educationally from the set-back it received during the World War and the years following it. *The German nation as a whole to-day is more keenly interested in elevating the status of its national health, technical and industrial efficiency and the possibility of greater activity in Foreign Relations and Foreign Commerce than ever before.* This is distinctly evident from the educational activities favoured by the German University students.

II

It is also noteworthy that the death-rate in Germany is decreasing and population is increasing. Universal sports are

taking the place of universal military training ; and Germany will have more efficient medical men and women to serve the nation. If Germany is to recover her former position in the field of industry and international commerce, it is imperative that she must have better trained industrialists and salesmen, who will excel those of other nations in technical efficiency, industrial organisation, and capturing foreign markets. To meet these requirements, the German Universities are going to turn out large number of technical men and industrialists who can speak the languages of the peoples whose markets they wish to capture. To-day more German students are engaged in gaining proficiency in Russian, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, English, Italian, Persian, Turkish as well as Hindustanee than ever before.

III

Let us compare the present educational condition and facilities for higher education in India with the existing condition in Germany. First of all we have to admit that the educational standard, including curriculum and efficiency in high schools and universities of India is lower than those of Germany. For this drawback, the British Government in India, Indian politicians, educators, and general public are to blame. If the Government authorities in India refuse to raise the standard of education in Indian Universities, then it is high time that private Universities like the Hindu University, the Aligarh University and others should take the leadership in this matter.

Secondly, India has a population about five times as large as that of Germany. If the educational standard of Indian Universities were equal to that of German Universities, there should have been at least 400,000 students in Indian Universities ; and the number of women students in Indian Universities would have been about 28,000. It is safe to say that it is not the case.

Thirdly, the death-rate in India is about double the rate

in Germany. Germany is not infested with the preventable diseases such as Malaria, Plague, etc., as is India. The need of medical education in India is far greater than that of any other civilised country. No Indian politician should forget that the British Indian Government claims that as there are not sufficient medical men and women in India, it cannot change its "opium policy" and it now allows practically unrestricted sale of opium, which is a government monopoly, and opposes the policy of restriction of production of opium to medicinal and scientific purposes. The British Government contends that Indian masses should have the privilege of using opium, "as household medicine for ailments" because there are not enough doctors in India to look after the general well-being of the people. Supposing that the need of medical men and women for the people of India is equal to the need of the German people, then there should be at least 32,000 or more medical students in Indian medical colleges. Alas, there are not even 3,200 medical students in Indian Universities.

Fourthly, in Indian Universities the number of students, who are pursuing studies in technical subjects and philology, should be five times of those in German Universities. Undoubtedly that is not the case. India is lagging far behind Germany in the field of educational progress of the land, and apparently no effort is being made to raise India's position through educational achievements. There was a time when the Indian Universities used to attract students from Greece, Arabia, Persia, China, Japan and other lands; and Indian scholars bore the torch of enlightenment in various parts of the world, even to Siberia. To the misfortune of the Indian people, to-day the Indian Universities have not the adequate facilities for the education of young men and women of India and those from Greater India. Indian Universities of to-day lack proper equipment for training large number of students in technical branches, medicine and foreign languages. Steps should be taken to remedy the deplorable condition.

IV

The fame of German Universities always drew students from foreign lands. For the purpose of specialising in various branches of art, science and literature, students from America, England, France, Italy and other lands used to come to Germany. In the past, German Universities educated Russians, Poles, Czechs and others who did not have opportunity in their own lands. During the Winter Semester of 1925-1926, the number of foreign students in German Universities and polytechnic schools was 7,804. But during the previous semester, the number was 8,597. This drop in the number of foreign students in Germany has attracted the attention of German educators and statesmen who rightly regard that foreign students should be encouraged to come to German Universities to continue their study and research work: Foreign students are great assets, as they serve as special medium to spread German culture and may be utilised as agencies to promote German cultural, commercial as well as political interests. Germany welcomes foreign students, particularly those from the Orient; and it is probable that in future there will be some special provisions made to attract most deserving scholars from the Orient to German Universities.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the "*Budget Commission of the Reichstag has just voted a credit of 500,000 Marks (about Rs. 375,000) for the erection of a building for the reception of foreign scholars who come to work in Berlin.*"

Although for the promotion of the best interest of India, a large number of well-selected and most efficient students should come to Germany to study, the number of Indian students in German Universities is even less than those from Turkey, Japan and China. It is generally regarded that the Government of India discourages Indian scholars from going to Germany or America, by giving special preference to those who

are educated in British Universities. Then again there is the language difficulty, as Indian Universities do not require Indian students to learn the German language. If India is to establish cultural, commercial as well as political contact with other nations, then Indian University students should be encouraged to study foreign languages; and German, French, Spanish, Russian, Chinese and Japanese should receive special attention. It may be contended that India cannot afford to send a large number of students to foreign lands, especially to Germany for economic reasons. This fact makes it imperative that Indian educators and professors should devise means to send selected scholars and educators to German Universities. It seems to me that with proper initiative and interest on the part of Indian University authorities, a system of exchange of professors and students between German and Indian Universities can be inaugurated.

India has much to learn from the western institutions of learning. German Universities afford a great deal of opportunity for Indian scholars; and Germany extends hearty welcome to all foreign students. Let us hope that through exchange of professors and students between Germany and India there will be closer understanding between these two nations and this will pave the way for co-operation between the East and West on the basis of equality and amity.

TARAKNATH DAS

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN BENGAL

It is my pleasant duty as Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference to extend to you all a most cordial welcome. The reception that we can give you is indeed of a most humble character—but permit me to say, it seeks to make amends for paucity of arrangement by an abundance of warmth. For, gentlemen, this Conference is a meeting-ground of comrades-in-arms, holy crusaders engaged in a common fight against the forces of reaction and obscurantist medievalism in the domain of Education. We all suffer under the same disabilities : we all are inspired by the same ideals of progress : we are a freemasonry. And thus, whatever else may be wanting, one thing that we do not lack, that we *may not* lack, is the spirit of brotherliness and love.

You will pardon me and bear with me if I am tempted to utilise this opportunity to stress certain problems connected with education in Bengal. I speak open to correction but I have over twenty years of experience as college teacher and public worker and flatter myself I am in a position to raise the ghost though possibly not to lay it.

The present system of university education has had its origin in the exigencies of the administrative system imported into this country by the Britisher and it is universally admitted to-day that it has outlived its usefulness. The problem to-day is no longer to train up merely efficient tools of the administrative machinery but to breed men of light, of culture, of character, of business ability, of initiative and of courage in all departments of activity. The country demands of us youthful minds, active and alive at many points, with a practical outlook, with freshness of idea, bent upon social service and fitted not only to earn a living for themselves but to push on national progress with intrepid spirit and fearless zeal. The entire *ideology* behind our University system has got

to be altered, old fetishes have to be abandoned, a new *vital* atmosphere has to be created. I do not belong to the company of those happy persons who delight in believing that a mere change of Executive or *personnel* in the University of Calcutta can rid it of its defects and abuses. I am a root-and-branch reformer and all my life I have disbelieved in cobbling and patching as a cure for social and educational wrongs. We must begin at the foundations and dig up from the base.

And first, the inordinate homage paid to English Language and Literature as the *sine qua non* of high education, as the only possible medium of instruction in Art and Science, should make room for a saner, a larger view. A proficiency in the English Language has hitherto been the hall-mark of high culture in this country, as up till very recently it was considered a sign of aristocratic respectability to dress in English clothes. Such a mentality is what is really slave mentality—a mentality, the tragedy of which is writ large on its face, which disdains the use and cultivation of the mother-tongue and prefaces every such use with an apology. The tongue in which Shakespeare and Milton spoke and wrote, a tongue which is used over half the globe, is certainly deserving of all serious respect—but as an organ of culture and a medium of instruction, the tongue of Chandidas, of Kavikankan, of Kasiram and Krittivas, of Michael, of Bankim Chandra, of Hem Chandra and Nabin Sen, of Dinabandhu, Giris and Amritalal, and Rabindranath, Satyen Dutt and Sarat Chatterji, is certainly not to be brushed aside! The late Asutosh Mookerjee of revered memory succeeded in placing the mother in the step-mother's hall: we have got to place her in that position of pre-eminence which is hers by the prescriptions of nature and the canons of civilised races. *Bengali must be our first language: English is to be the second: both compulsory, but each in its place.*

Once this principle is conceded (and now-a-days it is conceded *in the abstract* by men in the highest positions of dignity and trust), and suitable arrangements are made for the

intensive study of our own language, the cause of real education will receive an impetus hitherto undreamt of. Now-a-days 90 per cent. of the energies of our students are engrossed in the difficult task of grappling with the intricacies of a tongue whose grammar and idiom have very little in common with ours : the teaching is often unreal and the learning perfunctory. I have known of students of abstract subjects like Logic and Philosophy, who have passed their examination in these subjects, being sadly perplexed when asked to explain certain fundamental notions in their own tongue : I have known of students who have read Addison, Shakespeare and Milton, thoroughly impervious to the subtle harmonies of the mellifluous English tongue : such instruction does not stick : it does not become a healer and comforter : it is not worked up into the blood and bones. And it produces hybrid and weak intellects enslaved by mere phrases and catch-words, moving about in worlds of befogged fancy unrelated to fact and reality. It is responsible for much of the unbalanced idealism which is so rampant to-day, which tilts against windmills with weapons of lath and plaster, which seeks to push the country's intellectual and political frontiers by tricky, short-cut processes.

As education in Bengal must be freed from the clutches of language-slavery, it must also be freed from the domination of party-politics. Education and the ends of culture can prosper only in a serene spacious atmosphere of large purposes and big ends—the blighting blasts of passing political passion and prejudice can only choke their growth. So far as I understand the problem, the University should strenuously fight to maintain its integrity and individuality, it should refuse to be a wing of the Governmental Secretariat and as solidly refuse to be a draggle-tail body, an appendage to any of the dominating caucuses of party politicians. Our ends are higher than those of mere politics—much higher indeed than the demands of administrative convenience. The filling of human brains with useful knowledge, the stimulation of intellectual curiosity,

the progressive conquest of the hidden forces of nature and mind, the progressive unification of the strands of different civilisations and culture—these are the ends of any University worth the name: and these are self-sufficient ends, realisable by groups ardently and intelligently devoted to them through generations, serenely zealous of their time-honoured privileges and thankful for their opportunities of disinterested service.

The courses of study have also to be reshuffled and re-adjusted. The bifurcation of Art and science, in any humble opinion, should begin only in the degree stage and in this respect the courses in the old Regulations were much better framed. Specialisation at an early stage spells narrowness; it is only a liberalised understanding that has undergone training in the elements of Geography, History, Mathematics and Physical Science that will be best fitted to delve deep in the secrets of antiquity or nature: other processes lead often to scissors-and-paste research, a patch-work of make-believes, to a stringing together of data on insufficient testimony, to hasty and hazardous conclusions.

In the degree courses also there should be a happier correlation of subjects intimately associated with each other and not a haphazard combination like Economics and Sanskrit, Botany and History. In the pass degree there should be more of modern English than of 16th or 17th century English Literature. The Honours Course might conveniently concentrate on one subject with select readings from allied subjects.

All this, however, would be useless without the basis of university education being strengthened. Our secondary schools are a standing testimony of inefficiency—ill-housed, ill-equipped, ill-managed, ridden by village factions and browbeaten by Departmental agents. The standard of teaching—not only the teaching of English—has to be raised; but the whole system has to be re-organised, to relate it to agriculture, to village arts and crafts, to the end of village reconstruction in education, sanitation, diversion, to the greater utilisation of

rural talent and enriching of the country-side. Manual and vocational training is essential: an instruction which neglects to train the organs of sense and seeks to develop the memory only is self-condemned.

I trust, in the near future, with a teacher as Vice-Chancellor, it will be possible to create a Body of independent men who will seek not to improve our struggling schools (the only rays of light scattered over wide areas of dim and murky ignorance) out of existence by summary regulation and code but to guide, finance and consolidate them for purposes of national well-being.

There are two more insistent problems to which I want to draw your special attention. One is the urgency of immediate provision for compulsory physical education in the schools, and for compulsory military training in the colleges. Another is the bringing of higher culture and scientific research into fruitful relation with the intellectual and moral advancement of the masses and the turning of the abundant raw materials of the country into finished products. It is an open secret that the Departments of Applied Science in our University so ably staffed by ardent and distinguished workers are yet languishing for want of encouragement and financial support and while Bengal's contribution in the domain of the theories of both pure and applied science has been during the last decade simply marvellous, she has not been able to give a good account of herself in the practical arts. So also with the study of Economics—which has been more or less sterile by being cut off from the nourishing breasts of the country at large. Provision should be made for teachers and students of Economics touring in village areas, studying conditions of living, of wages, of income, of expenditure and saving, of land tenures, of the prevailing arts and crafts and thus an economic history of the whole country might be reconstructed on which new forces of sympathy and beneficent legislation might play.

Turning to Physical Education, owing to malnutrition and spread of disease, the physique of our boys and young men is

steadily deteriorating : a woeful neglect of the laws of health and the lack of cheerful physical exercise are worsening the evil. The Students' Welfare Committee is doing useful work ; but its work, by the nature of the case, is mostly of a negative character. A wide-spread campaign should be launched immediately for bringing home to the country the essential need of a physical training in the schools supplemented by military training in the colleges. The Government should be manfully asked to set aside its attitude of ' wait and see ' and help an emasculated people back to virile manhood. What is the use of our education, the recipients of which cannot use their limbs in defence of cherished privileges, in defence of the chastity of their women and the sanctity of their homes ? This question is, to my mind, the question of questions to-day : so far as I can read the signs of the times, the days are gone of spectacled scholars living on sago and milk and consuming the midnight oil in metaphysical studies. *Pax Britannica* is no longer a charmed amulet to scare away the phantoms of disorder—the days are on us when men of braced understandings must be also men of braced sinews and where mind and body must co-operate to re-establish social order and security.

I might here dilate on certain other features of our college system, *e.g.*, the compulsory attendance at lectures or the mass-lecturing, both of which are to my mind obsolete institutions or ought to be : I might refer to the necessity of an oral test, as a corrective to the cramming inevitably encouraged by written examinations ; I might refer to the necessity of starting really active College Unions, for free debate and discussion as also for social service work ; I might refer to the necessity of greater co-operation between the different colleges by arrangements for inter-change of lectures, for common teaching, wherever possible, in certain branches. I might dilate on better facilities being arranged for residence at close quarters of teacher and learner. But I do not propose to deal with these things at this stage. Sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof.

Our Association is an association of seekers after truth—who, by the very constitution of the present order of things, are wage-earning toilers. We are of the great fraternity of the world's common toilers. We are all workers, whether we work by the brain or the hand or both. We have a right to live. We have a right to be provided against sickness, accident, the infirmities of old age and as most of us have not taken upon ourselves the self-denying ordinance of celibacy, we demand that the community provide for adequate food and clothing and shelter for our families. The community in turn may demand of us and rightfully too, that we live a life of plain simplicity and strenuous ideals, that we always seek to give more than we receive. We are not exactly a trade-union : for teaching is not a trade but a holy calling, but even thus unless we band ourselves and develop a group-psychology and a capacity for group action, we cannot get our natural rights inside the University and the colleges, where we have cast our anchors for life.

And now, without any further strain upon your patience, I beg to introduce to you the elected President of this second session of our conference. Professor Radhakrishnan indeed hardly needs any introduction in an assembly of scholars : he has acquired international reputation as an acute student of Philosophy and a brilliant expositor of Indian Philosophy. What is more, he has given us a very fascinating elaboration of the Philosophy of our national poet Rabindranath : his recent lectures in England and America have been a crying advertisement for our Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta. He is a South Indian—but he has made Bengal the country of his adoption and he cherishes deeply the affection in which intellectual Bengal holds him. He has no burden of title or honours except such as are purely academic : he is a commoner of commoners on out-look and habit. I venture to hope he will be able to make new worlds of experience “swim into our ken” and sweep our horizons : his philosophic mind is a guarantee of well-balanced views : and his sweetness and light impel the hope

that he will be able to close our ranks with the only ligature that binds—that of love.

I bid him welcome in your name in all sincerity : I assure him in your name of our unfailing good-will. And I make bold to hope that a Conference pioneered by men like Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy and Girish Chandra Bose will have an increasing career of usefulness under the pilotage of a tried man and true like Professor Radhakrishnan. May the Giver of all good bless our endeavours and fill our minds with fear of God and love of men ! BANDE MATARAM !¹

NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI

¹ Address delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee, All Bengal College and University Teachers' Conference, Second Session, Calcutta, April 3, 1927.

A SONG OF SERVICE

The rootlet quivered in the ground
Beneath the stress of birth,
And communed with an aged root
Attuned with the earth :
'I know my pain, I know my grief,
O, whither is the mirth ?

'Lo, all my budding ecstasy
Is stifled in the mould,
The Beauty I had hoped to live
Is hidden fold on fold,
And Life's full wave pent-up in grave
Of barrenness and cold.

'I hear you croon, I hear you sing
Of raptures from above,
And a tremor of thrills your quiet fills,
Branch-stirred by wind and dove :
I cannot see how Solitude
Can sing the song of Love.

'Each unseen leaf of you that springs
Can kiss the Sun and Moon :
It knows the colours of the birds,
The splendour of the noon,
And plays to every changing breeze
An ever-changing tune.

‘ But we are both chained down below,
I too will be a root :
We may not live the upward grace
Of the greenly-budded shoot,
Nor share the radiant rapture of
Our very flowers and fruit.’

But the aged root loud laughed and shook
Its fibres to the grain :
*‘ We must not weigh the Spirit in
The scales of Loss and Gain,
For the rapture of the soul is born
Out of the womb of Pain.*

‘ When you have learnt Love’s sacrifice
In a life-unfolding throe,
And felt throughout your mother-heart
The call that mothers know,
You too will give your very life
And joy that it is so.

‘ For every throb of life that flings
Your beauty on the air,
Will sing the song of Service still,
Of tender-hearted care,
And your love beneath will blazon forth
In blossoms everywhere.

‘ And though both rain and sun may steep
Their glory to the view,
They may not drink their life-blood yet
From sun or rain or dew,
Until it has been transmuted
By all the Love in you.

‘ And when your grandeur is attained
Of fruited bough complete,
The ripeness of each hanging fruit
Is your full-flushed heart-beat,
And, though it hangs against the sky,
Does homage at your feet.

‘ The nestlings that your branches know
Are part of the mothering tree,
For your mother-heart embraces all
Although it cannot see,
Each feathered bliss, each speckled throat,
Each love-fed infancy.

‘ And though your sphere be hidden from
Where leaves and flowers fade,
Your spirit’s constant interplay—
Will know when they are dead,—
And mourn for them with Grief that is
Through Spring-Faith unafraid.

‘ The very sod above your head
Is discipline of Life :
There is nor Grace nor Glory won
But is achieved with strife :
It is the hardness of the stone
That whets the finest knife.

‘ And learn of me the lesson that
The ages still have proved :
Giver and Giving are greater than
Who by that gift is moved,
And everywhere the Lover than
The one who is Beloved.’

THE UTKAL AND ODRA TRIBES

We often meet with the names of the above-mentioned tribes in the Puranas, but we know nothing as to their identity. In the modern Tamil language the word Okkal signifies a cultivator of the soil while the same is called Oḍisu in the modern Kanarese language. The readers will bear in mind that both the languages, Tamil and Kanarese, have sprung from one and the same Dravidian language. It may, therefore, be supposed that in the original Dravidian language the cultivator of the soil must have been called by both the names, Okkal and Oḍisu. We learn from epigraphic records that in ancient times there was a tribe all over Orissa, being designated as Oḍesa (*vide*, Soḍesa-satantubay, etc., Plate B of Dandi Mahadevi, edited by Kielhorn, E. I. vol. VI p. 140; Soḍesa-satantubay, etc., Grant of Jayastambha Deva, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Doctor Haraprasad Sastri. J.B.O.R.S., pp. 405-409).

The Dravidian root Uḍu, signifying to plough, is still in use in the Oriya language in the same significance. For instance, the Oriya term Oḍe as in the sentence, 'Jami oḍe helani' (the field has been ploughed once), may be cited here. Again, in southern Orissa there is a class of cultivators who call themselves 'Oḍa chasa' or 'Oḍa tasa.' From their totem names as well as from their social customs and manners the 'Oḍa chasas' may be supposed to have belonged to Dravidian race in ancient time. They may, therefore, be identified with the Oḍesas of epigraphic records. In that case it may unhesitatingly be said that they must have been called Okkala as well as Oḍisu in the Dravidian language in ancient times. Hence the Sanskrit names, Utkala and Odra, are supposed to have been coined from these Dravidian words, Okkala and Oḍisu respectively. In support of this supposition I may mention here that Ukkala, the name of a village in the Madras Presidency, has been written as Utkala in Grant no. 8 while the same has remained orthographically unchanged in other grants of Krishna Raja III (*vide*, South Indian Inscriptions, Part III).

BINAYAK MISRA

EMPIRIC FAITH

There are certain persistent problems of thought, and the existence and nature of God (or some form of supernatural being) is one such problem. The human mind in its attempt to grapple with the deepest problems of life and the supremest principle of being has not failed to try its different faculties of apprehension to arrive at personal satisfaction and at objective truth. Intuition and Feeling, Reason and Understanding, Faith and Will to Believe fairly cover the affective, cognitive and conative attempts of the human mind to realise the presence of God. Even Ignorance and Incapacity have been occasionally pressed into this service and the belief in God has been thought to rest on such facts as man does not know or cannot achieve.

So much for the philosophers. But when one turns to the actual beliefs of man one is surprised to note what a considerable part the sensuous faculty plays in the matter of religious conviction. While philosophers have broken one another's head over the question as to how exactly God is known—whether as a positive or negative Infinite, or as an Unconditioned, or as the Absolute, or as an impersonal Consciousness, or as a Personality, or as a limited Deity, or as an omnipotent Creator, or as a transcendent Spectator of the world-drama, or as a moral Governor,—the founders of religion, though not unmindful of some of these aspects, have put their emphasis upon the sensuous aspect of divinity and sought to secure support for faith by appealing to the sensuous faculty of man, which, to all but the professional philosophers, is still the most indubitable aspect of our mental life. The warmth of certainty always clings to our sensations (why else should empiricists and hedonists be so hard to overthrow?), while reasoning and faith have a vagueness and uncertainty

about them which fail to attract the unthinking laity. Thus, though reason should refuse to acknowledge certain sensuous facts as relevant, the religious feeling, which at no time gets rid of unreason completely, clings to them tenaciously as parts of the creed and puts as much credence in the mass of empiric legends, traditions and dogmas as in the ethical and spiritual elements proper. Opportunities are thus provided for later schisms, criticisms and superstitions according to different temperaments. Positive religions, by accepting these sensuous facts, always keep themselves below the level of philosophy of religion and provide that basis for emotional attitude which no philosophy of religion ever effectively supplies.

The nature of Divinity is, as is natural, the first problem of all positive religions. Besides the fundamental problem as to whether Divinity is to be conceived as unitary or plural (or non-existent), there is the further problem as to whether it has or has not any form and how it makes its existence or presence felt. Polytheism or polydaemonism appears in a variety of forms, believing in the manifestation of unseen powers through natural forces like the sun, wind, water, etc., (the Vedic type), or through human forms (the Greek and Pauranic types), or through visible symbols of any kind, inorganic, organic or conscious (idolatry). The worship partakes of the nature of divinity, and materials of sensuous enjoyment—food, water, flowers, incense, raiments, ornaments, etc,—are offered to the gods in keeping with their supposed nature. Stones, trees, animals and men may all receive worship in this way as actual gods or as symbols of divinity : they become sensuous representations of godhead and receive divine homage. The doctrine of Incarnation falls within the same category and, in fact, all theories that attempt to bring a far-off god into the realities of worldly existence by means of a tangible symbol. As a matter of fact, there is a close relation between Pantheism, Hylozoism, Animism and Universal

Symbolism, because if All is God, there is no reason why the visible symbol of the ultimate principle should be limited only to the conscious type and not extend to all grades of being without any exception. In this way Hinduism found justification for idolatry in Pantheism itself which tended at first to desensualise and even depersonalise the Absolute.

But the obvious spatial and dynamic limitations of a sensuous god have led monotheistic creeds to reject such a conception, although, as will be seen later, this has not led them also to reject empiric evidences altogether. How to conceive God as at once formless and personal has sorely taxed the ingenuity of monotheistic creeds (especially when the matter is complicated by trinitarian conceptions), and agnostics like Haeckel have not failed to point out that the God of monotheistic religion is a 'gaseous vertebrate' who fills space intangibly but thinks and acts like a man, whether man is regarded in the image of God or God is regarded as man immensely magnified. It is evident that no positive religion has been able to adhere strictly to the disembodied spirituality of godhead or dispense with its sensuous manifestation. It is the amount of emphasis upon this aspect that distinguishes one religion from another, and the emphasis has varied according to historic tradition, contemporary culture and cultural contact with other races and creeds.

Judaism, for instance, could not maintain a consistently spiritualistic conception of God in the course of its fairly long history. In the oldest tradition of the Bible, as D'Alviella points out, God is represented quite anthropomorphically. "Yahveh moulds man like a potter; he plants the garden of Eden and walks through it in the cool of the evening like a rich Mesopotamian. Adam hears his foot-steps. He comes down from heaven to see the building of the Tower of Babel. He eats and drinks with Abraham, and the latter washes his feet. He struggles with Jacob and allows himself to be overcome." Judaism lapsed into idolatry more than once

in spite of vehement prophetic denunciations, and molten and graven images, not only of Dagon and Baal, but of Yahveh himself were not unknown. To quote Kuenen: "The images of Yahveh which adorned most of the *bâmoth* as well as the temples at Dan and Bethel, imply that the ideas men had of him were crude and material in the extreme. Of the religious solemnities we know little, but enough to assert with confidence that they embodied anything but spiritual conceptions. Wanton license on the one hand, and the terror-stricken attempt to propitiate the deity with human sacrifices on the other, were the two extremes into which the worshippers of Yahveh appear by no means exceptionally to have fallen." Again, the old records make it probable that the *ephod* (which was latterly used to designate a cape which the priests assumed when approaching the deity to learn his will) was an image of Yahveh, silvered or gilt over, and perhaps so constructed that the lots (by means of which the will of Yahveh was ascertained) could be concealed within it." Nay, the offerings made by the Gentiles to their gods Yahveh appropriated as pure offerings made to him and he declared that the Gentiles worshipped the sun, the moon and the stars by his dispensation,—a view with which may be compared the Quranic position that no soul can believe but by the permission of God.

Though both Christianity and Islam tried to minimise the sensuous elements of faith and to develop a purely ethical monotheism, they were severely handicapped by Jewish traditions and could not entirely get over the empirical element. The creation of man after divine image was not always understood as a pure metaphor for spiritual kinship and affinity, and very probably roused in ordinary minds the picture of an old benevolent bearded gentleman in flowing dress engaged in the task of creating man out of dust or clay or clots of blood. Similarly, seeing the face of God was not often interpreted spiritually as the realisation of one's oneness with God but rather regarded as meeting him either as seated

on his throne,—as to the exact nature of which the Moslem divines were put to sore trouble, *viz.*, whether it was sensuous and co-eternal with God, whether God really touched it, and whether it could be really borne aloft by eight angels admittedly weaker than God whom they bore,—or in the cool shades of heaven as at a garden party. No wonder some Islamic sects were inclined towards anthropomorphism to some extent.

But although the Semitic creeds fought shy of the visual presence of God in human form they had no objection to some other types of sensuous manifestation. Although God declares that Moses shall behold the form of the Lord, he prefers to appear before him not in his proper form but through earthly symbols and phenomena,—sometimes as a burning bush that is not consumed, sometimes as a pillar of cloud by day and a column of fire by night, and sometimes in the form of what is vaguely described as the glory,—things which all men could behold. The Quran also quotes with approval these Mosaic tales. But soon the theory was propounded that no man could see the face of God and yet live, and a distinction was also drawn between the favoured prophets and the initiated priests on the one hand, and the ordinary laity on the other, lest the latter ‘break through unto the Lord and many of them perish’. The privilege of going into the *sanctum sanctorum* the priests of almost all religions have reserved to themselves in some form or other, and they have always insisted upon an imposing initiatory ceremony to keep up their own exclusive greatness. If, however, the direct vision of the Lord is denied to all without exception now, faith still rears itself on the empiric evidence of men of bygone ages who claimed to have seen the Lord; for is not the other alternative a frank non-acceptance of revelation through sensuous media and the possibility of scepticism?

Christianity, after a certain amount of dallying with Judaic conceptions about creation after the image of God and the angels, steered generally clear of corporeality and anthropomorphism, but not altogether. The trinitarian conception and

the begetting of the only son were so unpalatable that Islam denounced them whenever an opportunity occurred. The description of the heavenly Jerusalem was nothing but a crude poetic fantasy in no way distinguishable from Judaic accounts, as in Daniel and Ezekiel. But the crudest sensuous phenomena are those connected with the initiation of the missionary activities of Christ and his Apostles. The Spirit of God has a rather spectacular way of approving of these activities: once it descends in the form of a dove on Christ himself and again it comes down on each of the Apostles in the form of a tongue of fire. Was the dove symbolic of the mission of peace which Jesus came to fulfil and were the tongues of fire meant to give utterance unto his disciples, or are both descriptions purely collective hallucinations?

A God that does not act in a spectacular way, either on his own initiative or on the intercession of a prophet or a messiah, soon loses his hold on the popular imagination. Moral government by overt rewards and punishments and miracles are the two main pillars of positive faith. Just remember what a great part of the Jewish belief is dependent upon God's sensuous dealings with the delinquent. He must hurl thunder and lightning, rain down fire and brimstone, send deluge, death or evil diseases, and visit the unbeliever and the iniquitous with all the dire calamities mentioned in Deuteronomy, xxviii, 15-68, to convince the people that he meant to be obeyed. A jealous God that he repeatedly proclaims himself to be, he warns them of (and actually inflicts upon them) not an uncomfortable future life (which was not sensuously apprehensible in this) but punishments which they could feel here on earth—the sword, the famine, the pestilence, the destruction of Jerusalem, loss of freedom, exile into a foreign land, and such other convincing empiric punishments. To the enemies of Israel also he deals with equal clearness his empiric vengeance—plagues of all types, death, destruction and discomfiture. Ever since he established his covenant with Noah and his family and with all

living beings by the sign of the rainbow he never forgets to use a sensuous miracle or sign as the credentials of his power and intention,—nay, he volunteers to show a sign to Ahaz, *viz.*, the immaculate conception, even though the latter would not ask for any. No wonder Isaiah should say: “Behold, I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the Lord of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion.” There can be no doubt that the empiric verification of divine wrath and divine mercy was a potent cause of belief and that the prophets made a good use of this instrument of faith when delivering their diatribes against idolatrous relapses.

The Quran too quotes with approval some of the Mosaic miracles and the divine chastisement upon the Pharaoh, and gives a more glowing picture of the resurrection, the heaven and the hell. It agrees with the Old Testament that the prophets rehearse to their fellow-men the signs of God and consigns those who treat these as lies to the hell-fire. It repeats the stories of Noah, Lot, Jonah, Job and Moses, invents new stories about David and Solomon, and adds stories of its own regarding Houd, Saleh and Sho’aib and points to the moral that disbelief in these prophets was promptly followed by the empiric taste of the sword, the earthquake and the rain. It promises to the believer the empiric joys of heaven and metes out to the unbeliever and the apostate not only a sword on earth but also a terrible fire in hell. In all ages the unbelievers have challenged the believers to show signs and, whether to establish their own truthfulness or to reveal the glory of God, the latter have been obliged to tempt God, though not always in vain, to show miracles, signs and wonders to prove that he really exists. A refreshingly higher note is occasionally struck by the Quran, however, when it points to the commonplace objects of daily experience, and not to the rare and the miraculous, as signs of divine presence; for if the former are not sufficient to convince people of the existence of God, the

latter would be branded as fables of the ancients, magical feats and lies.

Does a formless God require any permanent residence, and to an omnipotent Presence is there any distinction between one place and another so far as sanctity is concerned? Not as a matter of theory, but as a matter of practice, the belief is, however, widespread. In almost all religions a special holiness has been attached to certain places, and these have become objects of pilgrimage to the faithful. Some religions have gone further and have invested certain objects with special holiness as symbols of divinity. Primitive animism, if it be the religious counterpart of philosophical hylozoism, is the most liberal creed in one sense and squares easily with pantheism in looking upon all natural objects as equally sacred. But fetishism, totemism and idolatry raise some objects to the dignity of gods to the exclusion or neglect of the rest. A visible symbol, standing out prominently in the midst of commonplace objects by virtue of some objective peculiarity or some subjective feeling, serves to concentrate attention and becomes the locus of divine worship or superstitious veneration. The setting and the materials of worship naturally become sensuous in keeping with the sensuous nature of godhead; the precincts of the god acquire an artificial sanctity, and men and things associated with his worship come to be looked upon with religious awe or superstitious veneration; and when permanent images are set up, pilgrimage and priestcraft take their rise. Idolatry may, therefore, be regarded as a kind of radical empiricism in religion in which all spiritual facts are converted into sensuous symbols.

So innate is this tendency of the religious mind that even professedly anti-idolatrous religions have not been able to get rid of visible symbols. In Judaism, temporary visions of the Lord in fire, thunder, sound and smoke were soon replaced by the more permanent ark of the covenant which received divine homage (and before which the image of Dagon fell on its face),

and, soon after, images of Yahveh made their appearance. In spite of his misgivings, Solomon set up the first fixed house of worship in preference to high places where hitherto sacrifices had been made and incenses burnt (was it because heaven was supposed to be nearer to a high place than to the plains?), and set a fashion among the Semitic races which has persisted down to the present time: nay, we are told in Ezekiel that the outer gate of the sanctuary to the east of the temple God chose for entry and commanded to be shut for all times against human entrance (just as, for instance, God chose the sabbath for rest because he completed the act of creation on that day). There is really, however, no sanctity anywhere unless there is behind it a will to believe, and different religions have fastened upon different symbols of respect and adoration according to their degrees of culture and their historical traditions. It is what we put into a symbol that makes it sacred or profane, and this is why the most sacred object of one set of people may be the vilest abomination to another. Desecration of their own place of worship is still a profanation to those who will not have a god with any form and who will not have the slightest hesitation in smashing a consecrated image of another faith, as if God would be dislodged if the former were defiled and as if the latter is a spiritual vacuum where God can never be. God is either everywhere or nowhere if the earth is veritably his footstool. And, similarly, every day is equally holy with the sabbath. God has no reason to sanctify either a particular place or a particular time, just as he has no reason to sanctify a particular race or a particular community.

The severe puritanic character of Islam is to be found not only in its denunciation of idolatry but also in the singular bareness of interior decorations in a mosque (except where contiguous idolatry influences it to some extent). Nevertheless, Mahomet's judicious recognition of the strength of visible symbol of some kind in worship is to be found in his reaffirming the sanctity of the Kaaba to which pre-Islamic Arabia made its

annual pilgrimage and in his insistence upon the Haj as one of the pillars of his faith. To make the function impressive, peculiar dress, particular route and fixed manner were also enjoined. His injunction of turning towards Mecca during worship (supposed to be the first permanent seat of divine worship), though occasionally announced to be of no spiritual consequence, took due note of the importance of a *kebla* in popular faith. But, on the whole, there is in his creed nothing like the ark of the covenant with the two cherubim covering it with their spacious wings, as in the temple of Solomon, nor like the figures of the crucified Christ and the saints which loom large on a devoted Catholic congregation.

But there is one point in which these Semitic creeds were more or less alike. In them the lineaments of God fade into such indistinctness that a prophet has always been an indispensable necessity; although his function has been differently conceived in different times. To preserve the holiness and dignity of God he has been kept so far remote from the world in these deistic speculations that they have been obliged to rely upon the prophets to help them out of their transcendental lameness by means of empiric crutches. Emboldened by the claims of their predecessors, both Christ and Mahomet not only claimed inspiration or mediation for themselves but sought to bring the prophetic succession to a close with themselves. Christ exploited the Judaic fiction of an original sin to proclaim himself the only way to everlasting life, promised to the believer the way to the many mansions of his Father's house, rebuked Philip when the latter wanted to see in addition the Father whose only begotten son he claimed to be. His birth, ministration and death were duly heralded with angelic flourishes, and his resurrection took place, according to a prophecy of his own, after he had been three full days and nights in the grave, so that he might be on the right-hand side of God on the Judgment Day, presumably to introduce the believers to God for salvation. To convince believers and unbelievers

alike, the resurrected Christ moves about from place to place, allows his feet to be taken hold of for worship, breaks bread, eats broiled fish, convinces doubting Thomas by exhibiting his crucified hands and side, and carries on active conversation, so that no empiric evidence might be lacking to prove that he was not left in the Hades nor did his flesh see corruption. Mahomet was more modest because he lived at a much later age when imagination had less power of appeal than reason ; but he went a step farther than Christ in one respect for it is claimed on his behalf that the Arabic scripture he revealed was the transcript of a copy kept in heaven, although it is not made clear how that is to be reconciled with his other doctrine of abrogation of previous revelations given to himself. In the usual Semitic fashion he claimed to have been heralded by Christ as the coming Paraclete just as Christ himself was heralded by John the Baptist. In the meantime, we need only notice the latent implication that without an empiric spiritual prop faith feels nervous, and that where the gods do not descend on earth in their proper forms or as incarnations, the prophets and saints take their places, or the angels, semi-divine and semi-human, flit about as messengers between God and man. No wonder the Shiahs should believe in an invisible succession of Imams !

These prophets are not only the vehicles of revelation but also the repositories of a portion of supernatural power and this they manifest by performing miraculous acts. People want striking credentials and not a mere moral life from a prophet : how else is he to be distinguished from the common herd ? So, at the risk of being regarded as an imposter, he has been obliged at all times to show signs and wonders to convince the people and to win a following. Whether miracles are at all possible is a philosophical and scientific problem that has not yet been satisfactorily solved—that they should abound in ancient accounts and get rarer with the dissipation of ignorance and credulity has been urged as a strong ground against their

possibility. The falling rate of conversion among cultured heathens is a sure sign that, at least in regard to Christianity, the empirical possibility of some of the miraculous stories is being widely questioned and that in future the value of any creed would be determined solely by its moral and spiritual character. Except where popular credulity is still strong, the miraculous elements are gradually disappearing in all reforming movements. But in all ancient religions a striking performance is as much an integral part of the religion as the morality taught. Just fancy what amount Judaism and Christianity would lose in prestige if the episode of the Red Sea crossing, the phenomenon of the Burning Bush, the many miracles connected with Moses, Samuel, Elijah and Elisha, the Immaculate Conception and the Resurrection were all branded as old wives' tales. We may leave aside the many secular miracles the prophets performed, for their significance is so childish at times that we wonder what other function these perform except that of acting as a bait to catch the credulous. To make a tiny pot of oil inexhaustible or to convert water into wine verge on the magical; the raising of the dead does not abolish death for the second time although it gives a temporary lease of life. And what are we to think of a dead man reviving at the touch of the buried bones of the dead Elisha?

Mahomet contented himself with giving a small list of miracles,—the sending down of the Quran, the splitting of the moon, the listening of the Quran by the jinns, Muslim victory through angelic agency,—but his followers have not failed to lengthen the list by adding the angelic purification of his heart and his supernatural mode of transport. On the whole, Islam relies less upon these fables although Mahomet himself believed in miracles and felt at the same time that he was not destined by God to perform them and consoled himself with the thought that even if he had performed miracles he might not have been more believed in than the previous prophets about whose miraculous exploits he does not seem to

have had any doubt. Still, he pointed out that, for those who wanted to believe, the ordinary phenomena of nature were enough as evidences. That even of the elusive teacher Buddha, whose belief in God and future life is problematical, stories of miraculous deeds should be narrated by posterity shows the psychology of popular mind, which at no time gets rid of the idea that the supernatural being must have a supernatural way of manifesting himself to our empiric experience or else he does not exist.

And how do we manifest our reverence to the Holy One? We need not refer to the Hebrew religion where the formless character of God did not stand in the way of presenting material offerings to him throughout the year and on special occasions—a chosen menu of variety dishes which God is supposed to have himself dictated to his chosen people and which prescription later on converted a temple of God into a house of merchandise. No wonder the spiritually minded Jews were sore grieved in heart and exclaimed that to obey was better than sacrifice and to hearken than the fat of lambs. Islam too could not get away from ceremonial slaughter as a joyous thanksgiving, although Mahomet put the matter in a nutshell in his pregnant utterance that of the camels offered as sacrifice neither their flesh nor their blood but the piety of man reached God. Even in ceremonial-ridden Hinduism, where the material form assigned to godhead makes material offering tolerable, we have the remarkable utterance that, as compared with formal rites, muttering is ten times, secret prayer a hundred times, and the communion of soul a thousand times more valuable.

And now consider the cumulative effect of these empiric factors in each religion. Let there be an honest heart-to-heart talk of two good souls without reference to these factors and you are surprised to find how closely they agree. But let these factors be introduced and you see that the spirit of *rapprochement* is gone and in its place appear fanaticism and persecution. We think of the god revealed by *our* own prophet as the most

attractive god and we think of *our* heaven as the most enjoyable post-mortem residence. We institute empiric environments of faith, like festivals, pilgrimages, church organisations and saints, and these act as dividing gulfs between ourselves and our neighbours. But, most of all, we claim an empiric origin for our scriptures which are supposed to have been revealed, not to human reason or to human heart, but to the eyes and ears of men by God. Were not the Vedas seen by the seers with their own eyes? Did not God make known in writing to Moses what his laws were? Did not God send down an Arabic Quran for the guidance of the faithful? Did not Ahura-Mazda verbally answer the queries of Zarathushtra? Did not God publicly confirm Christ's ministration by divine voice? How then can one doubt the words of God without risking damnation? Thus a subtle distinction has entered into faith between visual appearance of godhead and the other sensuous revelations through which God makes his existence and wishes known. And if it is the same God that proclaims himself through the different channels, we must either rest content with what he has given us or we must be vociferous in selling our own wares even though others have the same brand. Or, we must discredit some of the revelations and thus ultimately have recourse to reason. What we generally do, however, is to organise a band of salesmen for our goods, and these energetic salesmen are the missionaries of different faiths. Most of them are affected by auto-suggestion by constantly advertising for love or money their faith-merchandise, and they energetically push the sale of their patent spiritual nostrum to a populace suffering from a sense of spiritual *malaise*, real, imaginary or artificial. In this way religious communities grow up with marked external features and peculiar social customs, ceremonies and formulae, and these serve to group and divide men, just as dresses differentiate and grade the same rational bipeds whom Carlyle described as forked radishes with curiously carved heads. If ever an ethical Utopia aiming at universal concord comes to be written, it is likely that from it

the missionaries with extreme views would be banished as the poets were banished from Plato's Republic. It is not unlikely that religion in some form or other will persist as long as human nature remains essentially unchanged; but the sectarian gods are doomed together with their prophets and their scriptures. The common endeavour of all spiritually minded people of a cultured age would be not to inoculate the backward ones with the virus of this or that faith but to prepare the intellectual ground on which every man will build his own personal religion and will be prepared to change it as often as he is convinced that he has built it wrong. It is then only that he will be able to make more abundantly than now his own independent contribution to the deepest problems of life and experience to the common stock of social achievement. When all around the signs of progress are writ large, let us not cramp our souls with the shibboleths of dogmatic faith or attempt vainly to stem the tide of a greater revelation in future in which the main characters will probably be the absence of sensuous media and the illumination of individual souls prepared by culture to resist emotional and unthinking conversion. Let us not close the door against honest doubt by putting the divine stamp on the scriptures, and let us admit that all of them are man-made, albeit at different moments of human exaltation. Let us not keep our gods in the darkest chambers of our heart for fear that the glare of intellect should expose their lineaments and remove the mystic awe with which we like them so much to be shrouded. If we are bold enough, let us repeat once more, if necessary, the ethical experiment of Buddha and acknowledge no other religion than morality touched with emotion.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

THE EARTH IS FOR THE COMING RACE

The earth is for the coming race,
It is not for you and me,
In future weal we have no place,
In the happy days to be.

Our daily toil grows rich in fruit,
And wisdom crowns our years,
While deep in earth life strikes its root,
It's watered by mist of tears.

A shadow on our lives is cast,
The shadow of other men,
The glory we thought our own is past—
Is past beyond our ken.

It shines now for another race,
As once for us had shone,
To them the earth turns round her face—
The earth we called our own.

Of old joys there's left no trace,
Alas that it should be,
The earth is for the coming race,
It is not for you and me.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

ATMAN *versus* BRAHMAN

In the *Calcutta Review* for November, 1926, the leading article is by Prof. Carlo Formichi of the University of Rome. The learned writer discusses in it the conception of *Ātman* in the *Upanishads*. From the exposition he gives of some of the passages culled from these immortal treatises, it is clear he understands the central idea underlying the writings of Rishis. With admirable succinctness he has brought out towards the conclusion the unique synthesis which the ancient seers of India effected of physical science and metaphysical philosophy and religion.

In the beginning of his article he attempts to give his exposition a historical setting. To him *Brahman* appears an earlier conception, which *Ātman*, a later product of the vision of seers, seeks to supplant. 'It (*Ātman*) sometimes rivals and opposes *Brahman*, sometimes eliminates it through silence, and sometimes lets it live on as its own synonym.'

To corroborate his theory of imaginary warfare between what he regards as two rival terms he refers to passages in the *Upanishads*. '*Ātman* clearly challenges *Brahman* in Chandogya VII. I., where Narada, a Brahman asks Sanatkumara, a warrior, to be initiated into the doctrine of *Ātman* inasmuch as the knowledge of *Brahma* (*brahmavidyā*) is incapable of rescuing man from misery, while every knower of *Ātman* (*ātmanvit*) overcomes sorrow.'

'Every knower of *Atman* overcomes sorrow' is a literal translation of a line in the *Upanishad* itself. One should expect that 'the knowledge of *Brahma* (*brahmavidyā*) is incapable of rescuing man from misery' is likewise a literal reproduction, which, however, it is not. Prof. Formichi is advancing an original hypothesis. He owes it to himself as well as to his readers to make no addition from his own imagination to what is sufficiently

expressly stated in the text. The Professor's probable authority for his derogatory statement about the efficacy of *Brahman* is the mention by Narada of *Brahmavidyā* among sciences he has already read, but which, as is clear from his request to be now 'rescued from sorrow, as the knower of *Ātma* is rescued,' have not effected his salvation. Now to this request is prefixed an affirmation, which the Professor appears perhaps to have ignored, that Narada is simply *mantravit*, the knower of the formula, and not *ātmavit*, the knower of the *spirit*. Sanatkumara in his reply repeats the same thing where he declares that all the literature he has named is *nāma* i.e., *letter* as distinguished from the *spirit*. Narada may have intellectually grasped but has not spiritually realised what he has read. This is his own confession, followed by a like affirmation by Sanatkumara. That *Ātman* and *Brahman* stand for the same concept in the eyes of the interlocutors will be apparent to the Professor if he proceeds a little further in the same discourse. In VII. 3.1, Sanatkumara, the warrior says :—'*Manas* is *Ātman*,.....*Manas* is *Brahman*.' *Brahmavidyā*, as long as it is mastered through the intellect alone is of course 'incapable of rescuing a man from misery.' So, too, is *Ātmavidya*, a synonym of *Brahmavidya*. As soon as it is realised through a gradation of esoteric exercises and attempts enumerated in the Upanishads, it works out one's salvation.

The Professor's next authority is Brihadaranyka II. 1., where a 'Brahman, Gargya, has his *Brahman* defeated by the *Ātman* of a Kshatriya, Ajatasatru.' 'Gargya never uses the term *Ātman* but is always speaking of *Brahman* while on the contrary, the king never uses the term *Brahman* but is always speaking of *Ātman*'. Does the Professor contend that *Brahman* had abjured the term *Ātman*, and the Kshatriyas eschewed on oath the term *Brahman*? In the passage to which he has already referred, Narada, a Brahman, longs to be *Ātmavit*, the knower of *Ātman*, while Sanatkumara, a Kshatriya declares *manas* to be both '*Ātman*' and '*Brahman*'. In the discourse

from Brihadaranyaka, too, which we are now considering, Ajatasatru, when asked to explain *Brahman*, says :—*Ṛatīlo-man chaitad yad brāhmaṇa Kshatriyām upeyad brahmame vakshyati*. II.1.15. 'It is reversing the proper procedure that a Brahman should approach a Kshatriya with the request that the latter may teach him of *Brahman*.' Now the word *Brahman* falls expressly from the lips of the Kshatriya, Ajatasatru, who proceeds in what follows, to expound the nature of *Ātman*. What implication from this alternate use of the terms could be more clear than that *Brahman* and *Ātman* were synonymous terms to Ajatasatru himself, though an interpreter of his teachings come to enlighten the public as to his meaning in the twentieth century, may, on what authority he may himself know, vouch for a deadly animosity between the concepts, an animosity taking its rise from the clash of caste or perchance of colour between the Brahmins and Kshatriyas, who had vowed in all seriousness in the heat of their word-war to boycott each other's vocabulary. It was the merest chance which let slip the word *Brahman* from the mouth of the warrior-preceptor, who, therefore, cannot to-day accept the position of a linguistic foe, which Carlo Formichi seeks to assign him, instead that of a teacher whom the seeker after truth approaches in sincere humility. The Brahman pupil stuck to the term *Brahman*, as to him in accordance with the usage of the time it was nothing distinct from *Ātman*, not surely in obedience to his caste vow to abjure Kshatriya terminology.

This becomes even more manifest in *Chandogya*, V.2.1., which the Professor seizes on as his next authority. A few Brahmanas start on their search after knowledge with the query *ko nu ātmā*, which they simply repeat by saying *kim brahma*, and they first have a recourse to a Brahman, Uddalaka, who leads them to a Kshatriya, as he is convinced of the greater competency of the latter for such teaching. What greater proof could be needed of a spirit of absolute equality and cordial

amity prevailing among Kshatriyas and Brahmans of those days so that one class had no hesitation in resorting to the other for enlightenment? Would such intercourse be possible if even the philosophical concepts and formulae of one caste were mentally at loggerheads with those of the other?

To Professor Formichi alone does the *Īsha* give 'the example of an Upanishad which never mentions *Brahman*, and seems to know only one universal principle, namely, *Ātman*.' The Professor has apparently read only the Kāṇva recension of *Ishopanishad*. In the Madhyandiniya version, we do meet with the formula *Om Kham Brahma*. This as also the term *Ātma* used in verses 6,7, is one more evidence of the indiscriminate acceptability of the two terms to the seers.

The Professor's last instance is from Brihadaranyaka, I.4. He himself notices that 'while in I.4. 10, 11 it is stated that in the beginning this word was only *Brahman*,' 'we read in I.4.1, in the beginning the whole word was only *Ātman*.' '*Ātman* and *Brahman* are here identified.' We fail to see what prompts the suggestion only a few lines further "that finally in I.4.17, the author, as if repenting of having stated in I.4.10 that in the beginning the whole world was *Brahman*, says:— 'In the beginning the whole world was *Atman*.'" How repentance comes in at I.4.17 and not at I.4.10, where 'this whole world' is declared to be *Brahman* after a former declaration in I.4.1 that it is *Ātman* is a mystery. Why not stick to the more sound position taken above that 'Brahman and *Ātman* are here identical'? The idea of repentance is quite extraneous to the theme. The Professor may claim originality for it, but not at all fidelity to the text, nor even consistency in his own exposition.

It is in the *Svetasvetara* that prospects of 'amicable electicism,' which is 'not long in reconciling all kinds of opponents' force themselves on the notice of the Professor. He sees, 'therefore, the Svetasvetara busy not only with identifying *Brahman* and *Ātman* but also bringing into line with them the

Puruṣa.’ As if *Puruṣa* had not in the earlier Upanishads been expressly mentioned as the synonym of *Ātman*. The Professor evidently ignores the opening line of Brihadaranyaka, I.4.1. where *Ātman*, which alone was in the beginning, is given out to be *Puruṣa Vidhah*, i.e., in the likeness of *Puruṣa*, and towards the conclusion to be distinctly ‘*Puruṣa.*’ And why so? *So yat purvo asmāt sarvasmāt sarvān papmana auṣat tasmāt puruṣah.* ‘As it burnt away all sins before anybody else, so it was called the burner, *Puruṣa.*’

The Professor avers :—‘We western people are shocked by such contradictory statements; for in the name of logic and consistency, do we not fight and are we not ready to die?’

To us neither logic and consistency, nor even fighting and the readiness to die have appeared to be the monopoly of either the East or the West. Contradictory statements shock all. The only essential thing for their being universally shocking is that they should be in fact contradictory and not simply imagined as such. In all the passages adduced by the Professor there are the earnest pupil and the earnest teacher disclosing to each other the very pith of their inner feeling. They meet in the spirit of genuine *camaraderie* of heart, not with fires of caste jealousy smouldering under the ashes of hypocrisy in their inimical bosoms, to blaze up at the first opportunity of warfare. ‘Conflict,’ in the effort towards peace is not simply ‘avoided’; it has not arisen. *Brahman* and *Ātman* are not only ‘considered’ as synonymous, they *are* synonymous. To us ‘whether we (Westerns) or the Indians are wiser’ is no more ‘an open question.’ It is decided once for all. Those who conjure up contradictions, where in reality there are none, cannot, irrespective of their birth and race, help being shocked. They, in fact, purposely shock themselves, and then either find fault with, or give credit to, their western birth for an unpleasant feeling which is a creation of their imagination. To escape being gratuitously shocked, let them give up conjuring contradictions.

Let us, in conclusion, repeat our appreciation of the Professor's right apprehension of the central meaning of the seers of the Upanishads. Simply he has assigned to certain terms used in the discourse a wrong history where in reality there was no history.

CHAMUPATI

EPITAPH ¹

Gay little sister, when you met with Death
I am sure you took his hand with all the zest
You had for Life's adventures—though the breath
Had scarcely left your breast :

And as he led you on to shadowland
You skipped and called him names and laughed at him,
Death, the great policeman, trying to look grim,
Smiling behind his hand.

L. A. G. STRONG

AJANTA

We left Ellora for Ajanta in the gray twilight of an October evening in 1922. The play of protean colours that tinted the dappled clouds in the horizon had just ceased. The last ray of the sun had just faded away on the top of the rock. The moon of the *Navami* or ninth night was just beginning to shine. In that mellow light the beauty of the crescent shaped Ellora rocks in the dim distance very much like the horned moon on the crest of Siva's matted locks filled us with that exquisite happiness which almost bordered on pain. We were still thinking of the marvellous work of art we left behind—nobly conceived, far nobly executed. How pliantly had the obdurate rock yielded to the chisel of the sculptor, and suffered itself to be converted into myriads of shapes, huge, stupendous, natural, grotesque, fanciful!

We passed through the courtyard of the fort of Daulatabad and left the famous Chand Minar to its solitude, all wrapped in the silvery rays of the moon. We were now dreaming of the splendours of Ajanta and were almost having a fore-taste of that subtle delight which is bred of sweet imaginings and expectant fancies. Should the brush triumph over the chisel?

We reached Pahur on the Pachora-Jamner line in the evening of the next day. From this place the *lenā* (i.e. the caves) is nineteen miles off. We started at half past three in the morning and passed Fardapur about three miles from the caves when the sun was just peeping out of his mansion in the eastern quarters. Further ahead the road has gone to the left over the hills to the village of Ajanta. We took the path to the right to go to the caves. Our path lay through fields of small cotton plants all abloom with their tiny flowers of varying hues—white, yellow and reddish. This together with the

verdure of the vegetation as far as the eye could scan—here little dewdrops poised on leaf ends and shining like pearls in the shade of the hillocks, there radiant with the first beams of the sun playing upon them looking as if sprinkled over with all the colours of the powdered rainbow—presented a fairy spectacle enchanting beyond expression. A few paces onward the crescent-shaped scarp of the hill stood in front of us ; a little stream gurgling on as she passed and stumbled over the pebbles was meandering her slow course. We crossed her and under the shade of the trees made our way to the beautiful caves. The gentle breeze was heavy-laden with the aroma of their wild flowers. Such a calm, sequestered, beautiful spot rich in natural scenery is extremely rare. The steep hill has risen three to four hundred feet high,—two half moon segments of the hills confronting one another have shut out the entire noise of the world, as if the narrow entrance is only for the privileged *Sādhaka*, the devotee—a spot designed for the devotional exercises of the *Yogī* only. Thousands of trees and creepers intermingling with one another in endless riddles and intricate mazes have contrived to build a fit nook for *upāsana*, for meditation. Who knows in what dim past the place was consecrated by the heart-offerings of countless *bhaktas*, and made pure by the *ārādhana*, the devotion of the *sādhakas*? *Bhakti* and *jñāna*, reverence and knowledge, of countless artists took form here and ornamented the walls of the caves. The work was altogether selfless, for none of the innumerable paintings have been signed, a self-denial truly characterising the *sādhaka* artists of ancient India, who worked in the eyes of the great Task-Master only, ensconced in the solitude of this sacred place screened from the vision of man, and who cared naught for mundane praise or mundane blame.

In the remote past, long before the coming of the Christ, this crescent-shaped nook unfrequented by man was the abode of the Buddhist Bhikshus chosen by them for devotional exercises. Havell says in his *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture*

that just as at Hardwar the Ganges coming over the steep hills falls in torrents over the precipice so the river here rushing through the deep forest crowning the precipice falls divided in several loose tresses like another Ganges bursting madly from the close locks of Sankara.

Mr. Solomon in his *Women of the Ajanta Caves* thus describes the scene :

“The cliff sweeps downward to the valley in a double cascade of volcanic rock, topped with a soft curling spume of greenery, and vanishing into verdant brake and coppice below. This rock wave is punctured with human eyries of the monks, fit habitations indeed for those soaring spirits. From the great half-moon gallery that connects the temples, one looks across the vale, and serpentine river upon opposing crags that seem to heave and billow with superabundant green. The head of the crescent swings southward in its full curve and is closed by a huge buttress of perpendicular rock down a chasm of which the river tumbles in a light cascade. The wavelike hills are here and there broken, by tall splintered rocks that tower in stern contrast above the verdure. But this greenness has clung and crept, climbed and crawled, and at last conquered every cranny and crevice of the landscape. The greenness of Ajanta seems fraught with tenderness. It is Love the beautifier who presses a vernal kiss even on the forbidding lip of the precipice.”

I cannot help quoting the artist once more, since I am in full agreement with him and since I cannot express with greater effect :

“Seated on the threshold of the Seventeenth Cave under the far-projecting caves of virgin rock, I gazed at the great cliff opposite. From this vantage point one can see the waterfall. The sun now getting low had thrown the rugged eastern angle of the valley into shadow, but its light hung like a great ruby upon the broad bosom of the cliff. Far beneath at the cavernous base of the rock the river had a tarn-like look, so turbid and slow flowed its current.

Across its unruffled surface was drawn a gleam like a dagger blade of jade. As I eyed, I found myself speaking aloud the words, ‘Majesty and Power.’ The action was a sub-conscious one. I do not know how the words formed in my mind, nor why I uttered them, but I am sure the syllables were forged by something more subtle than

chance, by some impression in a remote brain-cell which worked responsive to the influences, both external and viewless, of my surroundings."

There are altogether twenty-nine caves here, great and small, finished and unfinished. Of these four are *Chaityas*, and the remaining, *Vihāras*. Perhaps a word or two regarding these will not be out of place. There was *Samgha* or congregation among the Buddhists, and the *Samgha* was so honoured that it found a place in the formula of Buddhist initiation known as the Three Jewels (*Triratna*) or the Three Refuges (*Trisāraṇa*), viz.,

Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi |
Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi ||
Samghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi |||

The Buddhistic worship was not individualistic like that of the Brahmins and the Jains, but *Congregational*—all prayed together. The Assembly Hall or the Chapter House where they congregated was called the *Chaitya House*. Many householders without renouncing the world accepted the Three Refuges ; they were called *Upāsakas*. Those, however, who renounced the *āgāra* or the home and became *anāgārī* or homeless were called the *Bhikshus*. These latter consecrated themselves entirely to religion. Thus the *Upāsakas* were distinguished from the *Bhikshus*. The maintenance of this distinction regulated the construction of the *Chaityas*, an explanation of which is forbidden by consideration of space in this article. Such Assembly Halls were used for prayer. The *Vihāras* consisting of many cells were occupied, in most cases, singly, by the *Bhikshus*.

The primitive religion of Gotama Buddha underwent a great change as time passed on, and about the second century after Christ became mixed up with several creeds and superstitions and became known as the *Mahāyāna* doctrine. Those who followed the primitive religion were called *Hīnayānists*, those who followed the developed and complex faith, the

Mahāyānists. Caves No. IX and X were Hīnayānist Chaityas. These are simple constructions without any decoration or ornamentation quite in conformity with the severe simplicity of their faith which was opposed to all sorts of complex ritual or image worship. The two Chaityas mentioned above have been assigned to the second and first centuries before Christ. The axis of the Halls turns towards the North and North-East. And there is a symbolism in this. For, the North signifies darkness and night, fit symbols of *Parinirvāṇa* or the Great Decease of the Buddha. The *Hīnayānists* who were severe rigourists did not take the Buddha as the rising sun as subjects of their meditation, but elected to think on his *Parinirvāṇa* indicated by the dark night sky conventionally symbolised by the northern quarter.

At the head of the entrance of the Chaityas is the archway called the *Sun-window*. Havell calls it the lotus leaf arch. The pencil of the rays of the sun makes way through it and falls directly on the dagoba or Buddha image illuminating it and throwing the rest of the space into what the poet calls "the minster gloom." Havell says :

"As a theological symbol it stood for Brahma or Buddha or Siva and when image worship gradually crept into the Indo-Aryan ritual, the arch became the aureole of a seated figure of divinity, the form of which was associated in the mind of the devout with the lotus leaf. The outside line of the arched opening took the shape of a conventionalised leaf of the sacred pipal—the Bodhi Tree."

We meet at Ajanta rather than anywhere else in the world with "the true symphony of the three arts, *viz.*, painting, sculpture and architectonic design." I will limit myself to the first.

The subjects of the paintings are traditionally divided into two groups (1) mundane and (2) supermundane. Ajanta was a University in the same way that Takshasila and Nalanda were and was indissolubly connected with religion. The Chaityas being solely designed for prayer and worship, no

paintings were devoted to mundane subjects, but all dealt with religious topics. Here we find depicted the scenes connected with the life of Gotama Buddha, with the stories of the Jātakas relating the deeds of the Buddha in the innumerable previous births through which he passed as the Bodhisattva before he finally became the Buddha or the "Enlightened," and thirdly with the Mahāyāna pantheon with its bewildering assemblage of *Daivī* and *Mānushī* Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, with Dvārapālas, Kinnaras, Kinnaris, dwarfs, demons and griffons and other grotesque creations. In the Vihāras are found mundane scenes, but not to the exclusion of religious ones. It is said that here also are represented historical scenes such as the receiving of the Persian Embassy by the great Chalukyan Monarch Pulakesin II and the conquest of Lanka by Vijaya who landed there and vanquished the Rakshasas, but I agree with M. Foucher in maintaining that they were not so, but were only scenes connected with the Jātakas and the Avadānas. The conventional division of the subjects into mundane and supermundane therefore disappears, all subjects being connected with religion.

I will briefly allude to some of the paintings. In the *Nidānakathā* we read of the conception of Māyādevī; as she is sleeping she is dreaming that a graceful white Elephant—the Bodhisattva—approaches her. The painting is excellent. The subject, however, was mistaken by Griffiths who took it to be the scene representing the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* or the Great Retirement of Gotama. Foucher has given the correct interpretation (see the translation of his article in the Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society).

Then Prince Gotama is born. A scene represents the events of his infancy. Rishi Asita or Kālā-Devala came to pay reverence to the baby saviour much in the same way as Simeon, one of the wise men of the East, who came star-guided to the lowly cottage at Bethlehem to see the saviour, the Christ. Incidentally I may mention that many scholars are of opinion

that the Simeon incident in the Bible has been suggested by Asita's visit to infant Gotama. Burlingame says :—

“The theory of Buddhist loans in the New Testament has been advocated by several scholars, notably R. Seydel, G. A. Van der Bergh, Van Eysinga and A. T. Edmunds. In one form or another it has won the acceptance of many distinguished scholars, among others, O. Pfeiderer, E. Kuhn, R. Pischel and R. Garbe.”

Other parts of the same scene depict his study and instruction in athletic sports.

The temptation of Gotama by Māra, the Buddhist Satan, has been represented in a skilful manner. After renouncing the world Gotama studied under Brahmin preceptors and practised austerity for six years. Then he attained illumination under the Bodhi Tree. He was there tempted by Māra. It is related that Māra with his entire cohorts of demons tried to unseat Gotama from under the Bodhi Tree by frightening him. The elements under his command raged round the *Yogī*, the forked lightning tore up the sky, the thunder clanged, splinters of rocks were thrown upon him, blazing coals of fire were sprinkled on him, but nothing availed, nothing appalled. The great yogī sat undisturbed in his yoga. The daughters of Māra, Taṇhā (Thirst), Rati (Desire) and others were commissioned to break his virtue ; they tried all their lascivious arts and charms but were vanquished by the great conqueror. On the top left of the scene one is holding out threats to him with his forefinger ; hideous demons raise their arms against him ; an ugly monster with an owl—the symbol of destruction—sitting on his head makes the eyes protrude out of their sockets by a device well-known to those who have at one time or another frightened children out of their wits ; another monster from whose mouth a hissing serpent comes out can be seen to his left. Tigers and bear-headed monsters are also seen. Thus assailed by Māra Gotama silently touched the earth with his right hand coming over his right knee and appealed to her to witness the attack of Māra on him. This

attitude is the celebrated *Bhumisparśamudrā*. In response to his appeal the Earth yelled. The hosts of Māra were scattered away and Māra himself crest-fallen is seen slinking away. Sākya Gotama is hailed as Buddha Vīra by the gods.

There are many other interesting scenes *e.g.*, the first sermon at Benares where he turned the wheel of the Law (*Dharma cakrapravartana*), the exhibition of the Twin Miracles (*Yamakapāṭihāriya*), the Buddha in several attitudes or *Mudrās* etc., which may not be detailed here.

Let me briefly allude to the so-called historical paintings. In a scene four soldiers on horse back with spears are in the boat, two elephants are seen carried on the boat; the rider on the white elephant is supposed to be Vijaya; minor chiefs accompany him—all shaded by an umbrella. Foot soldiers bearing banners and spears, swords and shields follow them. Evidently they are engaged in battle, the elephants swaying their trunks in excitement. The swinging of the bell indicates motion. In other part a fierce fight rages. The female demons with flowing tresses, long curved teeth and pendent breasts are evidently vanquished. Some are supplicating the chief. Disembowelled entrails, fallen riders, broken swords and spears complete the scene of discomfiture of the Rākshasīs. The scene then turns to the coronation of the Victor who is seated on a couch, his feet resting on a low stool. Two attendants pour over him the consecrated water. Musicians beating drums and cymbals are seen below. Foucher who studied the paintings on the spot with great care and whose wide acquaintance with the Buddhistic lore and the Jātakas in their Chinese and Indian versions and who may, therefore, be regarded as an authority, says that there is nothing historical in the scenes. The landing of Vijaya ingeniously so named by Mrs. Speir indeed refers to the *Simhalāvadāna* (included in *Mākandikāvadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna*—K. P. M.) which recounts the adventures of the merchant Simhala in the isle of the Rakshasīs, his accession to the throne and conquest of

Ceylon. The Divyāvadāna, Mahāvastu and the Jātakas bear that out.

The same is true of the so-called embassy received by the great Chalukyan monarch Pulakeshin II from Khusru II of Persia (A.D. 591-624). Fergusson came to this conclusion. That the members of the embassy are Persians is nearly certain from their complexion and general appearance as well as from their costumes, which are in marked contrast with those of the Indians, and from their high conical caps. The drinking scenes were supposed to refer to the drinking bouts of king Khusru with his beautiful wife Shirin.

Foucher says :

"I must declare that, to my great regret, we must decidedly give up the hope, cherished by many admirers of Ajanta, of finding there a sort of historical gallery telling us about the great events and showing us the great personages of the Indian past.....the subject of all the depicted scenes is borrowed from one or other of the two great parts of the Buddhist legend, the Jatakas and Buddha's career. Regarding the supposed 'Persian Embassy' in cave I, if this picture were the only one that represents people dressed in Persian costume, there might have been some reason to consider it the unique exception from the rule ; but this costume appears almost everywhere in the paintings, as one can easily make sure, and the ready knowledge of the dress shown by the artists of Ajanta is sufficiently explained by its nearness to the western coast of India. I do not believe, I am too dogmatic in saying that of historical matter properly so called, there is none to be found at Ajanta; nor have I in the course of our review of the iconography found the least trace of historical portraits. I do not think that anybody now is likely to defend the hypothesis, as wanton as it is seductive, that the caissons of the ceiling of Cave I show us the Sassanian king, Chosroes in the company of his beautiful wife Shirin."

Interesting are the various devices of ornamental work used in the border of paintings in the ceilings and elsewhere—lotuses in bloom, or half budding, bunches of mangoes, goose pecking at a lotus, ridiculous figures talking confidentially, running elephants, etc. The lotus and the goose had with the

Buddhists and the Hindus deep spiritual symbolism. They were used in countless combinations and endless variety.

Many grotesque images are found such as the traditional Kinnaras, Kumbhandas, Yakshas, dwarfs, etc.

The Master-builders of Ajanta were thoroughly acquainted with the treatises on building. Numerous references are found in Pāli literature to works of construction known as *Vatthuvijjā* or *Vāstuvidyā*, e.g., the Vinaya texts, *Vimānavatthuaṭṭhakathā*, and the *Jātakas* (see *Mahāummagga-jātaka*). Treatises in Sanskrit such as *Vāstuvidyā* and *Silparatna* were many, but now unfortunately lost. In one such *Silparatna* now edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series *recipes* are given for preparing the ground on which the frescoes were to be painted.

I will conclude by quoting the opinion of a famous modern artist on the execution of the work of the ancient monk-artists of Ajanta. Here are extracts from the opinion of the Danish artist, M. Axel Jarl, taken from the *Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archæological Survey* (1914-1915) :

“The water-paintings in the rock-cut caves at Ajanta exhibit the classical art of India. That is to say they represent the climax to which genuine Indian Art has attained and they show the way to be followed by Indian artists.

The colours are deeper and often purer and the whole scale of colours is far richer than in other stucco paintings of similar dimensions, e.g., Egyptian tombs, Pompeian houses, Italian churches from the Middle Ages onwards...The painters were guided by a highly developed sense in their blending of colour with a view to the total impression produced.

This technique which reaches its climax in a Bodhisattva figure in Cave I bears a striking resemblance to that of Michael Angelo. If one placed a good photograph of this Buddha head by the side of a photograph of a figure from the Capella Sixtina, one might be inclined to think, if no attention were paid to the different types of the figures, that they were painted by the same master.Extensive use of ornaments skilfully done...If the figures are moving such ornaments are used to give an impression of the speed. There are flying figures whose rapid movements are suggested more vividly, for instance, by the heavy pendants swinging out almost horizontally.

One meets with an unlimited freedom in the choice of postures and movements. Even those that are more improbable get appearance of life and reality... This perfect freedom in the painters' handling of the human body places Ajanta one thousand years ahead of all other paintings that we know. There is no exhibition of the painters' knowledge of Anatomy, nor is there any offence against anatomy. The Hindu racial type is simply concentrated and intensified in their art and thereby have been secured a gracefulness and an expressiveness in the representation of the human body the equal of which it is hard to find anywhere.

Figures like that of "Prima Vera" by Boticelli may be called the sisters of some of the female figures of Ajanta, *e.g.*, in Cave II.

Great and thorough study of Nature and a patient and industrious training in tradition made it possible for the artist to transcend reality as he does so often to express what is the distinctive aim of all oriental art, the *soul*, the spiritual side of the existence..... The anatomy of the eye is so well understood and so well reproduced in the drawing that these strange and peculiarly curved lines cannot possibly represent any thing else in the world except just a human eye. India will get her Renaissance if she turns to Ajanta and goes to school there.

Whoever wants to serve the cause of pure Indian Art will find his masters here, in whose steps he must strive to go. He will do as they did, first of all study Nature to master the secrets of form, volume and movement. But then he will go to Ajanta to cultivate his sense of deep and harmonious colours, of distinct and full composition, of expressive and pleasing lines, and last and not least of genuine Hindu figure and style. As he lives and studies among their works, he will catch something of their sacred fire, until in him he feels the heart vibrating while the hand draws a clear and bold outline. This is why those old masterpieces so often leave upon the observer the impression of a prayer or a hymn of praise."

Will this call of a foreign artist to Indians go in vain?

KALIPADA MITRA

BURMA AND BURMAN TREASURES

(An Indian's Impressions.)

On my first hurried visit to the picturesque river-port and city of Rangoon which is still rather mainly Indian in its population and internal life and the name of which is a living symbol of triumphant marches and conquests made by Alompra, the well known founder of the last great dynasty of Burmese kings bearing his name, I had the courage, in October, 1924, of giving out just a few of my first impressions about Burma and her people.¹ I could not surely do more than this even if my courage was bold enough to follow the unbridled course of my imagination and enthusiasm. I could not indeed flatter myself so much for my courage as I was enabled to thank the citizens of this noble city for the patient hearing they gave me, and much for their ready willingness to be amused and be thinking about the life of a youthful people who might be seen around them.

Those first impressions which I then formed and with which I came back to Calcutta without having the opportunity of going into the interior to see more of men and things really Burman, remained unabated. I went for the second time to find myself again in the midst of those welcoming friends and attractive surroundings I made my first acquaintances of, and I was happy that I had gone with a determination to penetrate into the interior to see men and things, collecting information, broadening my outlook and deepening my sympathy, which is undoubtedly one of the very best ways of making oneself interested in the study of the past, present and future of a country, which is not apparently one's own. Before one has seen more and enough and read sufficiently well, before one has definitely formed one's opinion or has settled conviction, one cannot do

¹ The Lecture on *Burma and Burman Life* appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, 1924.

better than modestly state what other impressions one has gathered of things other than those previously noticed. I am to state my first impressions not about Burma and her people but about Burma and her treasures.

Awaiting Exploration.

The picture which presents itself of this wonderful land where everything is so strikingly amazing and in some instances quite bewildering, consists of the panorama of a richly poor country where many treasures lie yet buried underground awaiting exploration, or neglected awaiting a natural doom, or unvalued even though they are exposed to view and preserved in safe custody.

What do I mean by treasures, and why I am tempted to delineate here a picture of a land of treasures however incomplete? What I mean and what I do not mean by treasures in Burma can easily be guessed by those who have ever cared to acquaint themselves with the instructive teaching brought home in the simplest diction of a Pāli Poetical Discourse, Nidhikaṇḍa Sutta, being a Discourse on the hoarding of treasures. I shall present forthwith an account of the same in as brief an outline as possible.

In the Pāli Sutta and in its commentary, the term Nidhi is derived from a root, meaning 'to bury,' 'to hoard up,' 'to conceal,' 'to guard.' Thus taking this term in its general and wider meaning, one can say all that deserves to be buried, hoarded up, concealed, guarded, cherished or protected against spoliation is Nidhi or Treasure. Naturally then the actual signification of Nidhi or Treasure varies according to the interest of the man. The commentary recognises four kinds of Nidhi and mentions a number of things as examples of each kind.

Kinds of Treasures.

The first kind is called Thāvara, Standing or Stationary, not exactly immovable but rather immobile. The objects

terrestrial or aerial, the precious metals, metallic jewellery and medium of currency, landed property, homestead and such other things that are incapable of voluntary movement—these constitute the Thāvara Nidhi or Standing Treasure.

The second kind is known by the name of Jaṅgama or Moving, not exactly movable, but rather mobile. The slaves and servants, male or female, the elephants, cattle, horses, mules, goats and rams, fowls and swine, or such other living creatures capable of voluntary movement—these go under the name of Jaṅgama or Moving.

The third kind is characteristically named Aṅgasama, meaning peculiar to the individual, Personal or Private in a sense. The occupational fitness, artistic skill, scientific knowledge, erudition or other attainments acquired by patient study or practice and bound up with the self like the body and its constituent parts—these go under the name of Aṅgasama.

The fourth kind is Anugāmika, the Accompanying or Undeserting. The puṇya or merit of pure mental joy arising from piety, or from morality, or from meditation, or from the hearing of messages of the Dharma, or from the imparting of instruction on the Dharma, or such like merit of pure mental joy serving to produce the desired fruit and attending wherever he goes, in whatever state of existence he may be,—this is what is called Anugāmika or Undeserting.

Pride of Place.

Those who have got to know Burma intimately, and those who have even glanced through the “Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma,” a costly and magnificent publication which is now very rare and hardly to be found for sale in the market, will, I am sure, agree with me that there are few countries in Asia that can vie with, not to say surpass, Burma in the possession of the first two kinds of Nidhi, the Thāvara and the Jaṅgama, the vast resources of her wealth abounding in her expansive rice-fields, timber-forests, stone-quarries, gold-

mines and oil-fields, her poverty in coal being in some degree made good by her abundance of other fuel.

With regard to the productions of manual labour and skill as an example of Aṅgasama Nidhi, Burma can still claim a distinct place of her own for a very large variety of ornamental lacquer-ware, wood-carving, exquisite ivory-work, fine-silver-jewellery, cigars-and-cheroots manufacture, and similar handicrafts displaying a good deal of originality, and maintaining their native appearance even when presented in the disguise of foreign imitations.

Mental Supremacy.

Regarding the attainments and acquisitions bearing evidence of the triumph of human intellect and imagination and serving as other examples of Aṅgasama Nidhi, my impression is that Burma ranks the foremost among all the Buddhist countries that emerged into a higher form of active life comparatively in recent times, compared, I mean, with India and Ceylon, China, Central Asia and Tibet.

Lastly, in the wealth of the merit of pure mental joy arising from the act of piety, deep meditation, Dhammasavana, and Dhammadesanā, Burma reigns supreme. One having the welfare of Burma at one's heart would wish that she was equally rich rather than poor in the boasted tradition of the purity of conduct. But even here the one redeeming feature is that her people have a long tradition of sobriety, simplicity and hospitality, one of her distinguished rulers, patrons of learning and supporters of Buddhist faith being noted in history for his valued decisions against the intoxicants.

My task now is to invite attention to treasures in Burma which consist in her cultural attainments, general humanity and liberal piety. For the fulfilment of this task it will be necessary also to acquaint ourselves with the contrast drawn both in manner and effect between the two methods of treasure-hoarding in the Pāli Discourse under notice.

Two Methods of Hoarding.

There are two methods of hoarding treasures, we are told, the first of burying them, especially the Thāvara Nidhi, in a deep hole, pit or cavity in the fondest hope that whenever necessity arises, in times of emergency, they will come into use, and the second of building up a tradition of piety, purity of conduct, moral restraint and self-subjugation; in short, humanity. On emergent occasions, as when, for instance, the tyrants in power are oppressive, the villainous thieves are harassing, the relentless creditors are exacting, or famine and other calamities are overwhelming, the treasures will come into use,—it is to meet these pressing needs that people generally hoard up their earthly treasures. But in common experience the treasures thus hoarded up underground in holes and cavities do not prove to be availing always and all of them, this method of hoarding having its attendant perils. The treasures thus hoarded up may disappear from the place where they are deposited, the depositor may fail to recognise the spot, they may by mysterious agent be removed or stolen, their rival inheritors may dig them up without the knowledge of the owner, or when ill luck would have it, all of them be destroyed.

Anugāmika Nidhi.

The treasures belonging to men and women are well hoarded up and remain intact and unsurpassed, if they are spent on the erection of the various shrines perpetuating the memory of their builder, and for helping and entertaining the Saṅgha, and other deserving persons like guests, parents, brothers and elders. The treasure which is the summation of all this is inaccessible and safe from thieves. All that men can long to have can be obtained by this means. All estates that are human and all blissful experience that are celestial, even Nibbāna, the highest attainment, can be attained by the same. Personality, leadership, sovereignty, even amongst the gods, true

friendship, true knowledge, true emancipation, and perfection even unto Buddhahood—all these can be realised by the treasure which is Anugāmika or Undeserting.

I have a strong impression that this hallowed land of Pagodas and Kyaungs presents an uninterrupted record of attempt on the part of all to fulfil, in the spirit, the teaching of the Pāli Sutta, and to my knowledge, there is hardly another country where the rulers and the ruled, the oppressors and the oppressed have all along combined to put forth their energies and to make all possible efforts to produce and accumulate the wealth of the merit of pure mental joy constituting the boasted Anugāmika Nidhi, the undeserting and unwearing treasure of Burma as a whole. And casting glances on all sides, it is not difficult to find out that so far as these efforts and their results are concerned, Burma has afforded in history an extensive battle-field for the beating of Dhammāsoka's drum of the Dhamma, and the effecting of the same monarch's lasting conquest by the Dhamma.

Pali Literature.

The Pāli literature produced and also widely read in Burma, varying in diction, extensive in scope and comprehensive in the treatment of all useful themes, is itself a priceless treasure. The brilliant achievement made by the Sayadaws and scholars of Burma in the field of Pāli literature is a triumph, beyond doubt, of modern Buddhist scholarship. Kings, merchants, traders, and all inhabitants rich and poor alike have ungrudgingly spent their wealth to build and maintain the Kyaungs in all parts of the country, and to develop themselves into 'a people at school.' The picture of the paradise sought to be drawn in the charming verses constituting the prologue of the Apadāna, a Pāli Piṭaka work which appears to be a post-Aśoka compilation, is that of an eternal school situated in the calm and serene atmosphere of natural surroundings and in the midst of cool bowers and lasting

monuments of sublime architecture, sculpture, painting and iconography, giving expression to lofty and refined imagination, emotion and faith, an ideal institution where everyone entering or residing is expected to be at once teacher and pupil, a centre, in other words, of learning which would foster the spirit of open, progressive and unending enquiry. If one looks deep into the details of life in Burma, one can easily discover how the monks and the laity have always united and co-operated with each other to materialise the Buddhist poetical vision of Buddhakhetta, the Paradise of Bliss (*Sakhāvati*) as it is called in some of the Mahāyana works. It is gratifying indeed to note that even in the worst time of disorder and change there were centres of learning where ordained members of the Buddhist Saṅgha, acting as the custodians of Buddhist traditional learning, could be comparatively at peace, that there were protected monasteries, where old texts could be copied and new commentaries and treatises composed, and that the stream of learning flowed wherever a channel offered itself, whether in the North or in the South.

But I do not intend to dwell upon this priceless treasure as this task, supreme in its importance, has already been fulfilled by my teacher the late Mrs. Mabel Haynes Bode. One wishing to form a correct estimate of the value of this accumulated treasure may simply be referred to her charming little book "The Pali Literature of Burma," published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1909, which is sure to live as a classic of Buddhist work in English, connected by lineage with Nandipaṇṇa's *Gandhavaṃsa*, and Paṇṇāsāmi's *Sāsanavaṃsa*, two works written in Pāli, and *Pitakathamaing* written in Burmese. It must be said always to the credit of the Buddhist teachers and scholars of Burma that they have actively returned the inestimable gift of the Pāli Piṭaka commentaries received from South India and Ceylon and one can still see here the process and zeal of novel expositions and original writings.

It is a most astonishing feat indeed that the people of Burma, whether Talaings, Burmans or Arakanese, have succeeded in producing an enormous Pāli literature on all divisions of the Pāli Piṭaka, the Sutta, the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, on grammar, rhetoric, prosody, metrics, etc., they have produced works either supplementing, or abridging in some instances, even surpassing similar works which they had brought over from India or Ceylon.

Burma has important place in the history of Buddhism and Pāli literature as the greatest known centre for the study of Abhidhamma treatises and such classical works on Buddhist exgetical methodology as the Nettipakaraṇa and the Peṭakopadesa. The law-codes compiled both Pāli and Burmese whether on the basis of the Indian law-codes of Manu and other writers or independently, with the progress of time, on the basis on the Pāli text in the Sutta, the Vinaya or the Jāṭaka, far outweigh similar attempts that were made from 12th Century A. D. onwards in Nepal.

Apart from all literary works on the Vinaya, when we consider the Kalyāṇi-Stone-Inscriptions set up by the Talaing King Dhammaceti who was filled with the noble zeal of reforming the Saṅgha, we cannot help appreciating their contents as the final and the finest product of extensive study and the critical judgment. Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Major R. C. Temple, the two great pioneers who made attempts to edit and preserve these inscriptions, have placed us for ever under a debt of gratitude.

In making even a brief survey of Pāli collections and literature in Burma one fact strikes us most, namely, that the best intellects in Burma have throughout been engaged on developing the Buddhist doctrines of method in all spheres of human interest. There is no other country in the East where the Kammavācās, the typical forms of proceedings, Nettipakaraṇa and its numerous expositions all dealing with exgetical methodology have been zealously preserved and widely studied.

I am sure that through the traditions of discipline sought to be created through Buddhism, the people of Burma have acquired great fitness to adapt themselves quickly to the principles and regulations of modern institutions.

Vernacular Literature.

The study of Pāli literature has been fruitful in other fields too. The attempt made by the Buddhist teachers and scholars to translate the Pāli classics and to write expositions in Burmese as well as in Talaing, have helped them to develop their own dialects into literary languages and surely these Buddhist works in translations and expositions constitute the greater bulk of vernacular literature, which again is a treasure of great national importance and yet await a careful scrutiny and research. The Burma Research Society founded in this city is one of the greatest institutions, and I must say that the manner in which it has been directing its researches ever since its foundation promises a bright future of researches into and the development of vernacular literature. It is no less gratifying to me, as a student of Pāli, that the Professors of Pali attached to the Rangoon College, whether the late lamented Professor Forchhammer or Professor Duroiselle or Professor Pe Maung Tin, have keenly interested themselves in the study of vernacular literature and taken pride to make their contents known to the outer world. It is a pity that the University of Rangoon is not yet in a position to make sufficient provision for the study not only of Burmese literature but also of the Mon, the Cambodian, the Pyu and the Shan. Before any headway can be made it is essential to raise the standard of newspapers and magazines poorly conducted at present in vernacular and to found literary societies all over the country to create among the people at large an interest in their own languages and literature. No Government on earth, however solvent it may be, can afford to finance these undertakings entirely, though the impetus given by it may go a long way.

But here is a curious instance where, in spite of the initiative taken by the Government, the people remain almost indifferent.

The mass of vernacular literature is not only rich in its earthly treasures of folktales, songs, treatises on law, astronomy, medicine, astrology, poetry and ballads, and Zat-pwes and Magic, but includes also a large number of inscriptions and royal edicts and votive tablets which present the indelible records on the changes, political and social, religious and artistic, that have occurred at different periods in the history of this land. The under current of Brahmanical treatises on Law, Astronomy, Mathematics, Grammar, Philology, Rhetoric, Prosody, Metrics, Lexicons, Epics, Manuals of political and moral maxims and handbooks of architecture, sculptures, paintings and bronze-casting still flow on to enrich the vernacular literature.

Brahmanical Works.

One of the inscriptions collected by Forchhammer at Pagan and dated B. E. 804 (1442 A. D.) contains a number of titles of Sanskrit works, the identification of which is not altogether difficult, though sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcriptions. The evidence of this inscription goes only to show that as early as the beginning of the 15th century, Pagan Monasteries were centres not only of Buddhist learning but of standard Indian Sanskrit scholarship also. Fortunately some of the manuscript copies of these works are in safe keeping of the Bernard Free Library, which is another great institution and a lasting monument to British fame.

It is important that during the early period the interests of the Burmese Sāyādaws and scholars were not unduly concentrated upon the Pāli sources of their culture. There is very clear evidence to show that they studied with care, and I should also say, with profit, the Sanskrit Buddhist treatises on Logic, Dialectic and Scientific method, notably Dhammakirti's famous manual the 'Nyāya-Bindu,' along with Brahmanical

treatises on linguistic speculations and Nyāya. It appears that the scholars have failed to identify the work entitled 'Tanoga-buddhi.' It is apparently a title corresponding with Chāṇakya-buddhi, the wisdom of Chāṇakya or Kauṭilya, the putative author of great Arthaśāstra and all popular manuals of statecraft. The Pāli-Burmese literature including a number of works like the Lokanīti and the Rājanīti surely point to the Indian manuals of popular maxims generally ascribed to Chāṇakya-Kauṭilya. The Pāli-Burmese literature has a peculiar value as a case of the amalgamation of two distinct trends of thought, namely, the Hindu and Buddhist. I shall not mention here the numerous archæological finds of literary, epigraphic or artistic interest which in themselves constitute a bewildering mass of historical evidence, requiring the most careful sifting before conclusion may definitely be drawn from them. What strikes me at present as the main features of these finds is that they give us a glimpse of the flow of a mighty stream with distinct currents of civilisation that reached Burma from various directions, from South India, Ceylon, Cambodia, Northern India and from China and Central Asia.

Visitors from outside as well as visitors from the moffusil have reasons to congratulate the guardians of the city of Rangoon next to Calcutta and Bombay in its volume of trade, that they have been able to make arrangement to lay out a garden for exhibiting the various living species and another garden for the exhibition of horticultural plants. We might have congratulated them even more, if they had, instead of whetting our appetite with the alluring name of a museum, actually appeased our hunger by properly founding it for the preservation of the priceless treasures of art and industry, and we might assure them that some of these exhibits would cost them far less than a living hippopotamus or a rhinoceros, and that many of the dead exhibits would fetch them a greater price and be found to be far more eloquent in expression than the squeaks of the monkeys at the zoo.

Caves in Moulmein.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Major R. C. Temple made it long ago known to the world that some forty ancient caves existed in the Talaing country containing a large number of images of the Buddha and other deities, frescoes and mural paintings that spoke of the glory of the past. Once these caves served as calm retreats of serious meditative scholars. All these caves were in use as protective cabinets for depositing priceless old manuscripts. Now, in spite of ruthless vandalism perpetrated by the Portugese Philip De Brito and other reckless enemies of culture, there survived a few stone-boxes in these caves with priceless treasures stored in them. No one knows in the least what has become of these treasure-troves. All the Talaing traditions record the great respect which the Sangha of Burma entertained for the great commentators Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla who flourished as celebrities of Kāñchīpura in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. Buddhaghosa has quoted the authority and views of four or five distinct schools of older commentaries. Where these older commentaries have gone no one can say. This is another priceless treasure redolent with evidence of the early development of Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma and Farther India. Who knows some of the old manuscripts in these Talaing caves may give a clue to those missing commentaries?

Hluttaw Records.

Before I conclude, I shall draw attention to another treasure in Burma bearing clearest evidence of Burman achievement in the art of administration and diplomacy. I am referring to the Hluttaw records, specimens of which Mr. Taw Sein Ko has edited in a notable volume. All these specimens pertain all but the first to the reign of Thibaw, the last independent king of Burma. The first one, too, may be taken as relating to the reign of the same king, since it is but king Mindon's Royal order appointing king Thibaw as the Crown

Prince and Heir-apparent to the throne. Whatever men of Burma may say about the origin of the institution of the Hluttaw during the reign of King Narapatisithu of Pagan and his successors, there seems to be much truth in the suggestion made by Mr. Harvey and other historians that it had really existed from the earliest times. The Hluttaw is a standing assembly of four highly responsible ministers and the supreme court of Royal Commission for transacting ordinarily all the most important business of the State. The Burmese Hluttaw has a parallel in Indian history in the form of an assembly of three or four chief ministers selected out of a larger body, known as the Council of Ministers. As in Burma, so in India, this institution was meant to check the abuse of the powers of the kings. Mr. Harvey rightly points out that the Hluttaw failed to develop into a constitution as the ministers constituting it were after all appointed by the king and so far were the creatures of the king. The ministers represented in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, the Indian classic on Royal polity were on no better footing. I need not lengthen my expositions of the Hluttaw by an examination of the Royal edicts of Dhammāsoka, and shown what evidence they still bear to the attempts of a systematic kind made by the great Buddhist emperor of India to relegate independent authority to the assembly of chief ministers of the State to evolve by their joint deliberation, a policy beneficial to the people of the land, and no less to found the system of justice in a uniform and equitable basis and what is more, to temper, wherever possible, justice with mercy.

However powerless the ministers of the Hluttaw might have been, it cannot be denied that there was a representative element in that institution, and that the introduction of this element of representation could be traced to the influence of Buddhism.

We do not know what the records of the Hluttaw were in earlier times. Even as they are, they are no less precious than the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the *Hindu Lekha-paddhati* included in the

Gaekwar's Oriental Series, the Arthaśāstra, or the inscriptions of the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka.

Double History.

Reflecting upon the treasures in Burma, one cannot fail to detect that Burma has a double history instead of one. Here political history, of which we have glimpses through the many chronicles and inscriptions, considered by itself, is but a black record of tribal feuds, Court-intrigues, assassinations and heartless atrocities and callous crimes. The other history, presenting a striking contrast to the former, is the history of the expansion and development of Buddhism. It is in this latter history, her nobler history, that we discover all her most precious treasures.

B. M. BARUA

THE CURRENT DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

In the previous lectures in this series, I have attempted to account for the growth of international co-operation during the course of the last one hundred years, and to point out the service which is being rendered to our modern international community by the co-operation of various states in agencies established both before and since the World War. It was in continuation of a process of organization begun soon after the middle of the last century that the League of Nations was inaugurated in 1920 ; and on the record of the past seven years, it seems possible to say that this method of co-operation has brought the world much nearer to adequate provision for protecting those interests which all peoples have in common not only the interest in the maintenance of peace, but also the interest in an intelligent handling of the many complicated questions of our daily life which demand patient and continuous attention. It was in continuation of efforts begun a generation ago at the first Peace Conference at The Hague that the Permanent Court of International Justice was established in 1921; and the very promising start of its career during the past five years seems to warrant the belief that a great extension of law and order has already been achieved, and that as a supplement to the Council of the League of Nations the Court may be expected to render signal service as a guardian of the world's peace. It now remains for us to consider some of the phases of the current development of an international law which may meet the needs of our world society more adequately than they have been met by the law of the past.

Before the beginning of those changes in our industrial life and in the methods of transportation and communication which were destined to revolutionize international society, the

body of doctrine and received tradition which had been developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the inspiration of Grotius may have served with some degree of adequacy the needs of a limited community of states. As was pointed out by my friend and colleague, Professor James W. Garner, in the Tagore Law Lectures for 1922, that "system of international law was of European origin and until near the end of the eighteenth century there were no states outside Europe to which its rules applied."¹ One of the most important developments of the nineteenth century was the universalization of the system, and the abandonment of the narrow assumption that international law was applicable only to the so-called Christian states. If there are still certain communities which do not possess the full protection of international law, we have at any rate abandoned the theory of its connection with a particular religion or a particular kind of civilization.

But throughout the nineteenth century, the development of international law was impeded, it was prevented from keeping pace with the growth of the international community and indeed with the progress of juristic science in general, by the prevailing philosophy as to its nature and purpose and by lack of agencies which could devote to it their consistent effort. The law of nations was made to depend upon the law of nature, and to partake of its unchangeable and unmalleable qualities. Only two generations ago, a distinguished writer on international law in my own country introduced his treaties with the explanation that "the creator of man has implanted in his nature certain conceptions which we call rights, to which in every case obligations correspond";² and but recently important bodies have approached the subject with an apparent desire to discover somewhere outside the reach of man funda-

¹ Garner, *Recent Developments in International Law* (1925), page 23. See, however, Pramathauath Bandyopadhyay, *International Law and Custom in Ancient India* Calcutta, 1925.

² Woolsey, *International Law* (1860), page 1.

mental principles which must govern international life whether we like them or not.³

Almost any modern treatise on international law will show traces of the philosophy of natural rights, which by its rationalization of an "anarchy of sovereignties" has latterly had the anti-social effect of increasing the difficulties of organizing the society of nations under a universal law. That philosophy continued the emphasis on national independence at a time when we have so needed to recognize nations' growing interdependence. It operated to kill the confidence of jurists in themselves and in the efficacy of juristic effort⁴. It served to content them with a thesis, based upon the doctrine of evolution, that progress could only come as an automatic process through the unfolding of the ages. But I think these early years of the twentieth century have made us dissatisfied with the mere lengthening and broadening of past heritages, and a determination is growing that we must strike out along new lines of our own drawing, to work our own juristic salvation. I am confident of the prediction with which Professor Garner closed his lectures four years ago, that "more and more there will be a shifting of emphasis from the rights of states to duties; from individual to collective responsibility; from national sovereignty to international control; from independence to interdependence, and ultimately the law governing the relations of states will tend to become less and less international and more and more supernational."⁵

This must not be taken to mean that I place an underestimate on the efforts made during the past decades to improve the rules of international law. If such efforts have not been

³ See the Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations, adopted by the American Institute of International Law, at Washington, January 6, 1916.

⁴ "The nineteenth century achieved relatively so little in international law" because "the jurists of the last century had no confidence in themselves *qua* jurists." Roscoe Pound, in *Bibliotheca Visseriana*, I. p. 88.

⁵ Garner, *Recent Developments in International Law* (1925), page 818.

attended with as great success as we could have wished, they have had some significant results and have served to keep alive our determination and desire for improvement. In an era when so many Western nations were expanding and when so much attention was being given to the increase of military and naval establishments, it was quite natural that many of these efforts should have been devoted to changes in the laws stated to govern the conduct of warfare. In 1856, the Congress of Paris adopted important regulations dealing with privateering, blockade and the immunity from capture at sea of private property on neutral vessels, which have since been recognized to exist by states not there represented. In 1864, the Conference of Geneva drew up a convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded in war, which expressed the humanitarian tendency of the time. In 1874, the representatives of fifteen European states met in conference at Brussels, and attempted to codify the rules of international law governing the conduct of war on land, but the Declaration of Brussels was not ratified. Much of the time of the two Peace Conferences at The Hague was given to a consideration of the laws of war, and eleven of the thirteen conventions adopted in 1907 related to them; but the effort to supplement this body of new law with the declaration of London of 1909, relating to naval warfare, was doomed to failure.

The experience gained during the World War has probably undermined the confidence of many people in the utility of such efforts. War psychology does not encourage a respect for the restraints of law, and a nation which feels that it has its back to the wall is not likely to forego the advantages seen by its military experts in a certain course of action, even though it be forbidden by some formal enactment. The doctrines of *rebus sic stantibus* and of retaliation, and the vagaries of opinion controlled by the censorship of news, stand ever ready to neutralize the stirrings of conscience on such occasions. People at war are eager enough to find a law that will restrain their ene-

mies, but they are no less supple in their ability to discover reasons why it does not restrain themselves.

The end of the War seems to have been followed by a revulsion against any continuance of these efforts to legislate for the conduct of war. It is true that the Advisory Committee of Jurists, meeting at The Hague in 1920, adopted an ill-timed recommendation that a conference be held to formulate and approve "the modifications and additions rendered necessary or advisable by the war." Such a conference at that time, from which Germany and Russia and Turkey would almost certainly have been excluded, would have been little short of mockery. At the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments in 1922, a convention was drawn up concerning the use of submarines and gases, but it has never been ratified. The Washington Conference also set up a commission of jurists to consider whether "existing rules of international law adequately cover new methods of attack or defense resulting from the introduction or development, since the Hague Conference of 1907, of new agencies of warfare"; but the mandate of this commission was afterwards restricted, and its report sleeps to-day in the archives of the Foreign Offices. The Committee of Experts on the Progressive Codification of International Law, set up by the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations in 1924, has so far adjourned consideration of the problems connected with war and neutrality, and the whole tendency to-day seems to be opposed to continuing the effort to develop the laws of war. Perhaps, these threads have been dropped but temporarily; the fissures caused by the excess of the War are not yet well-healed, and the professional military and naval men now seem disagreed as to the instrumentalities which might be used in a future war. But for the present, at any rate, it seems that attention, can more profitably be given to the development of the law of peace and a law which will better guard the peace.

It is very disappointing that so little common action was

directed to legislative changes in the general law of peace during the nineteenth century. There are a few notable instances, such as the pronouncement of questionable soundness concerning the binding nature of treaties, made by the London Conference of 1871. But for the greater part of the century, there was no machinery available and no method accepted for legislative activity. The community of states was thought to be governed by law, but it lacked any legislative agencies which could attempt to fashion the law to meet its needs. Only as some acute situation developed, or as some peace treaty had to be made, was it possible for statesmen to meet and to give their attention even incidentally to some glaring legislative need. While world society was in the throes of revolutionary changes, it lacked both a legislature to make new law and a court to apply it after it was made. But in the latter half of the century, the growing frequency of bilateral treaties and of general conferences offered some relief. The various international unions were established by a process of legislation by conference, and the multipartite treaties of that period deserve to rank as an important part of international law. Many of the formal writers have not considered them as such, but have stuck to the classic materials and neglected them altogether. Indeed, one may read an edition of Hall's treatise on international law, prepared within the last three years, and remain quite ignorant of the fact that these unions even exist. But there is a growing disposition to-day to study all of the jural materials of our world society, and I hope the day is not far distant when all of these multilateral conventions will be fully received into our treatises. Certainly, we, in the universities, have no excuse for neglecting them. Unless we teach the living law, it were better that we should not teach at all.

I think one may sense the influence of international organization on the growth of international law by turning to a book published in America in 1872. Its author, David Dudley Field, had been prominently identified with the codification

movement of his time ; and impressed by the changes in international communication in which his brother, Cyrus W. Field, had taken part by laying the first successful cable across the Atlantic Ocean, he undertook to prepare the "Outlines of a Code of International Law." One part of his book was devoted to suggested "uniform regulations for mutual convenience," and those regulations covered the topics of shipping, imposts, quarantine, railways, telegraphs, postal service, patents, trade-marks, copyrights, money, weights and measures, longitude and time, and sea signals. Those matters were practically all outside the scope of the international law existing at the time, for Field wrote before the great legislative activity which began with the establishment of the Universal Postal Union in 1874. Yet before the end of the century, most of them had been made the subject of legislation, and Field's list is now almost an index to the great multipartite law-making treaties which came into existence before the War.

With the establishment of new machinery for conference and the development of the conference method in the League of Nations, the period since the War has been one of great legislative activity. More important multipartite treaties were made in the first five years after the War than in the fifty years which had preceded it, and as a consequence we have to-day a vast body of new international legislation which is of constant application in the daily lives of many nations of the world. The Paris Peace Conference, itself, was regarded by many people as a golden opportunity for enabling international law to catch up with international life, and some of the legislation inspired at Paris related but remotely to liquidating the problems created by the War. Soon afterwards, and even before the Treaty of Versailles came into effect, the first International Labour Conference was held at Washington, and whereas but two conventions for the international protection of labour had resulted from a generation of effort before the War, in the past seven years twenty-three conventions have been

adopted by the International Labour Conference and most of them have been widely ratified. I know you are proud of the fact that India has been one of the leading states in the acceptance of this international legislation. The legislative process has been actively continued in many different fields by conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations, and I am inclined to regard it as being as significant as any of the results of the establishment of the League of Nations. The most recent product of this activity is the Slavery Convention, which was drawn up at the Seventh Assembly in 1926, and signed on behalf of India and some twenty-four other states. This convention binds the signatory states to undertake the suppression of the slave trade and to bring about progressively, and as soon as possible the disappearance of slavery in every form. Such legislation must be of special interest in India, in view of the efforts now under way to abolish the vestiges of slavery in Upper Burma. .

If it is not improper to speak of these numerous international conventions as international legislation and as a part of international law it must nevertheless be borne in mind that they have not been ratified by all states, not even by all Members of the League of Nations, and no powers have been delegated or assumed which would make them binding on states which have not ratified them. If one were using the term legislation in the sense in which it applies to the acts of a national parliament, of course it would not be apt in this connection. But international legislation has always been different. No one would think of stating the international law applicable to international rivers without reference to the rules adopted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815; yet but few states were represented at that Congress, and the rules have never been formally binding on all others. Similarly, the Declaration of Paris of 1856 was promulgated by a few Powers, but its influence has extended to a wider circle; almost as a matter of course it was adopted by the belligerents in the Spanish-American War

of 1898. Likewise, reference is commonly made to the formulations of The Hague Peace Conferences by Powers that have never been bound by them as a result of formal ratification. It would be improper to treat all multipartite conventions as having the same value as law-making measures; but it would be equally improper to deny them any value as such.

Disappointment was expressed by the Seventh Assembly that these multipartite conventions resulting from League of Nations conferences had not been more generally ratified. Perhaps delegates sent to international conferences sometimes act in advance of the views of their own governments. The participation of parliamentary bodies in the exercise of the treaty-making power in many countries has been a factor which has made for delay in ratification, where conventions have not been rejected altogether. But, doubtless, the chief reason is that in most countries international problems which are not urgent must yield place, in the appeal for official attention, to domestic problems which are more likely to affect government stability. It is not easy, therefore, to see a remedy for this situation. It is important that multipartite convention should contain some provision looking to the possibility of its revision from time to time, and the inclusion of such provisions is now becoming an established practice. Perhaps some method can be devised for keeping officials in various governments more continually mindful of the problem of ratification—the Seventh Assembly invited the Council to call for a report every six months on the progress of ratification; but it is not a situation in which any simple device is likely to be of much service. We may have to do a good deal of stumbling before we arrive at more effective methods.

The growth of international law since the War has also included a rapid development of the law of international arbitration. Not only in the number but also in the content of arbitration treaties, a great gain has been made. Many nations have discarded the formula reserving questions pertaining to

national honor and vital interest, and have made all-inclusive treaties of arbitration. The lead has been taken by Switzerland and the Scandinavian states, and it has been followed in the treaties drawn up at Locarno, which came into force when Germany was admitted to membership in the League of Nations last September. Only a month ago, an important arbitration treaty was signed on behalf of Germany and Italy. A current usually flows in but part of a stream, and there are still instances of treaties which follow the pre-War model; for instance, the treaty between the United States of America and Sweden, signed in 1924. But the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice has proved a great boon to arbitration, and more all-inclusive treaties seem probable for the future. Various groups of states have also created conciliation commissions in the last few years, inspired, in some instances at any rate, by the resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations, of September 22, 1922. Such increase in the machinery for arbitration and conciliation has added new importance to the law of arbitral procedure, and a recent book on that subject⁶ furnishes a guide which has long been needed.

If some lawyers are tempted at times to underestimate the importance of these recent legislative developments of international law, I take it that Indian and Anglo-American lawyers will not be tempted to place light estimate on the possibility, now opened to us for the first time by the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, of our getting in time a new body of international case-law. Throughout the nineteenth century, the judicial development of international law depended largely on the decisions of national courts, which were seldom separable from the commitments of national policy. There were the decisions and awards of various arbitration tribunals and claims commissions, some of which were notable for their influence, but they never formed a volume of developed

⁶ Balston, *The Law and Procedure of International Tribunals* (1926).

precedents. The more consistent decisions of single judges in national courts, such as Lord Stowell in England and Chief Justice Marshall in America, did much to determine the course of the development of international law—particularly when such judges had a faculty for inventing quotable phrases. Nor was there a cumulation of a consistent case-law in the awards of the tribunals of the Permanent Court of Arbitration—the cases were too variant and infrequent, and the personnel too changing. But with the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, we may hope that a new opportunity has been created. The Statute of the Court provides (article 59) that its decisions have “no binding force except between the parties and in respect of” the particular cases decided. If this is an enactment of the civil law as opposed to the common law conception of the force of precedents, still it does not forbid the Court’s following and citing its previous decisions. Already, this has been done a number of times ; and if the record of the past five years can be continued for another generation, I think there can be little doubt that in a relatively short time we shall have at hand a body of precedents which will be of inestimable value. This may be one of the chief advantages in having a permanent group of trained judges devoting their time to the international administration of justice. If I am too sanguine in my expectations, it is nevertheless clear that scholars a generation hence will be assisted by jural materials which we do not have to-day, and for the lack of which we are clearly handicapped. It will always be true that there is a great variety in the international cases which actually come to adjudication, just as there is a similar variety in the cases decided by national courts.

The legislative process which I have described, and the evolution of case-law which seems in prospect, may still leave parts of the field of international law unaffected for some time to come ; and possibly there will be lacunae in our legal system where needs will go unfilled and where opportunities for further

progress will be missed, if other approaches are not made. It is important, therefore, that some more comprehensive effort be undertaken, and it is widely insisted that such effort should take the form of a codification of international law. The term 'codification' seems to be very differently understood by different people. To some it has come to connote the erection of a great bulwark against war. It has seemed axiomatic to many laymen that there is nothing for an international court to do unless it is furnished with a code which it may administer and apply; and because we have no comprehensive code at the present time it has been assumed in some quarters, not always by laymen surprisingly enough, that the Permanent Court of International Justice is acting in a vacuum. Such a view takes scant account of the many multipartite conventions which I have described, and of the great increase in the number of other treaties which is indicated by the registration of more than thirteen hundred current treaties with the Secretariat of the League of Nations during the past seven years. But it is urged that the enactment of a code is a *sine qua non* of the usefulness of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and people not infrequently jump to the conclusion that with a code and a court to apply it there need be no more disputes which might lead to war. On the other hand, the very term 'codification' conjures in some minds visions of a structure in the air, and of impracticable attempts to foist on the world an artificial system of mondial law which would have no relation to the facts of international life. Curiously, this latter view seems to prevail more generally in countries where more or less complete codes of national law are in force. The former group have come to speak of codification as the key to the temple of peace, the latter group have been so frightened by the term that they have lost all willingness to join in any effort to which it may be applied. Now I think it is clear that both of these views are extreme. The very euphony of the word 'codification' has led to its application to many varying sorts of processes,

and perhaps some differentiation of them will show us a better approach.

Codification is employed, first of all, by people who are very dissatisfied with our present law, who are frequently not too conversant with the kinds of development which we have been considering, and who desire to see new legislation which will effect certain reforms. In latter years, a reform widely urged is the so-called outlawry of war. That is an end which I think most of us would like to realize, but the nature of the legislation which would achieve it is not so clear. A mere fiat might help, but few of us would expect it to execute itself. Certainly a great advance was made in the Covenant of the League of Nations when a certain procedure was prescribed as a condition precedent to the beginning of hostilities. In 1924, a further effort in this direction was made when the Protocol of Geneva was drawn up by the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations; but that instrument proved to be either in advance of the time, or incompatible with the ambitions and fears of certain Powers. The success of Locarno then removed the greatest pressure pushing for such a measure, and though we may come back to it, especially if the anticipated Disarmament Conference should be a great success, this attempt at framing a comprehensive legislation to outlaw war has for the present been abandoned. Codification in this sense is not now on the tapis. Nor does it seem practicable to attempt a comprehensive legislative effort with reference to such subjects as are now being dealt with by separate multipartite conventions. They require the attention of many kinds of experts, and cannot be entrusted to lawyers upon whom the task of codification usually falls.

In a second sense in which the term is used, codification refers to the process of introducing uniformity into the national laws of various countries, covering fields in which such national laws already exist. Thus interpreted, much of the output of the International Labour Conferences may be explained as codification, for many of the twenty-three recent labor con-

ventions have as their chief purpose the harmonizing of various national legislations so that one country may not possess advantages over its industrial competitors gained at the expense of industrial laborers. In this way also, the efforts of the International Maritime Committee have been most fruitful; its convention on immunity of state-owned ships from foreign local jurisdiction, which was signed at Brussels on April 10, 1926, by the representatives of seventeen states, is a striking example of the success of its persistent efforts. The President of the Committee has recently assured us that "the time is not far off when by far the greatest part of the law relating to maritime commerce and ship-owning will be uniform." The conventions signed at the several Hague conferences on private international law introduced a measure of uniformity into certain parts of the private law of various European countries, but the movement to codify private international law in this way has met with little favour where the Anglo-American system of law prevails. On the continent of North America, where more than fifty-seven separate jurisdictions apply local law, considerable progress toward uniformity has been made through the work of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws in the United States, and the Conference of Commissioners on Uniformity of Legislation in Canada. But there are limits to what can be done, and indeed to what it is desirable to do in this direction, and such codification of international law is not likely to satisfy the popular insistence of the present time.

In a third sense, the term 'codification' is used to cover a re-statement of the principles of our classic international law as it is now applied in the modern world, its adaptation to changed conditions in some respects, and its extension to fill some of the lacunae which may be found to exist. Such an effort is likely to prove far removed from a dealing with the chief subjects of such serious international controversy as will

* M. Louis Franck, in 42 *Law Quarterly Review*, page 25.

endanger the world's peace, and if it succeeds even in generous measure it will probably give but limited satisfaction to the non-professional people who in recent years have looked to codification for relief from war. But systematic development of this sort seems essential at this time if international law is to follow the course of other changes in world society, and agencies are now at work which promise that the need is not to be neglected.

In 1924, the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations created a Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law, which is directed "to prepare a provisional list of the subjects of international law the regulation of which by international agreement would seem to be the most desirable and realisable at the present moment," and "to report to the Council on the questions which are sufficiently ripe and on the procedure which might be followed with a view to preparing eventually for conferences for their solution." The personnel of the Committee represents the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world, and I think you will agree that it includes a worthy representative of India in Sir Abdur Rahim. Two meetings have already been held, at the first of which in 1925 eleven topics were selected for investigation and consideration, and sub-committees were constituted for their exploration; and at the second of which in 1926, three of these topics were eliminated, and seven questionnaires on others were prepared for circulation to the governments of the various states, whether Members of the League of Nations or not. I think opinion is not unanimous as to the beginning which has been made, and the work of the Committee did not escape criticism at the Seventh Assembly last September. It remains to be seen whether the method of questionnaires adopted will produce helpful results; some of them put too much burden on the Foreign Offices which must consider them, and by presenting for criticism views and drafts which do not represent the result of a careful prelimi-

nary hammering by various minds the Committee may seem to have prematurely sought the expression of responsible opinion. Nor has the line always been sharply drawn between the limited functions of the Committee and those functions which must eventually devolve on diplomatic conferences if legislative activity is later undertaken. The Committee's deliberations may also occasion some disappointment to the oversanguine because of a vein of pessimism which has at times cropped out; after enumerating several serious questions as to the law of extradition, for example, questions which would surely lend themselves to common solution by determined effort, it was decided that the difficulties were so great that nothing should be attempted and that subject was dropped from inclusion in the Committee's list. But these criticisms are not so serious that we should blind our eyes to the advance which the mere existence of such an agency represents, nor to the prospect which it opens up. We have learned from the experience of the International Maritime Committee that progress in this field demands long and patient effort. The greatest codification effort of modern times, that which resulted in the German Civil Code, occupied many jurists for a generation. For my part I should like to look forward to a continuance of the work of this League of Nations committee for a quarter of a century, and if it can go on so long I do not doubt that some important achievement may then be set down to it, and I shall then wish it be continued for another period equally long.

Another somewhat similar effort which is under way owes its inception to the creation of an International Committee of Jurists by a convention adopted by the Conference of American States which met at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. Previously, at the Conference in Mexico in 1902, a convention had been signed for setting up a committee of five American and two European jurists to draft a code of international law, but it had not been put into effect by ratification. Delay was experienced in the ratification of the Rio de Janeiro convention also, and the

Committee did not meet until 1912. Its work was then interrupted by the War, and though it was reconstituted at the Santiago Conference in 1923, it has not yet held a second meeting. But the executive committee of the American Institute of International Law, acting on the invitation of the Governing Board on the Pan-American Union, has prepared a series of thirty projects of international law conventions, which are to be submitted to the Committee when it meets. Until these are adopted as a basis of the Committee's work, they may be thought to occupy a position somewhat analogous to that of the resolutions of the Institute of International Law, which though they have had wide influence have seldom formed the basis of the action of official international conferences. But it is interesting to note the variety of subjects with which the thirty projects deal, and their general emphasis on co-operation "to insure the maintenance of peace and to foster the spirit of mutual trust." My own opinion would have been that the projects are too largely devoted to an attempt to stereotype the philosophy of the international law of the past, a dangerous thing for any generation to undertake. It is notable, however, that unlike the conventions adopted by the Peace Conference at The Hague, all of these projects deal with the law of peace, the declaration being proposed that "the American Republics are more interested in regulations concerning the peaceful relations of the nations and neutrality than in those concerning war, in the hope that the latter has happily and for ever vanished from the American Continent."

With these efforts under way, I think that we may hope that the term 'codification' will be given a practical and realizable content during the coming generation and that steps will be taken which will appreciably further the development of the law of nations. We cannot look forward to the adoption within that period of a global code which will compress all international law into the same kind of dimensions as your Indian Penal Code. We cannot know that the present lines are

those which may most usefully be followed. We cannot hope that the coming history will contain no records of failure. We can hardly entertain any illusion that the success of this process will appreciably diminish the likelihood of war. I can imagine that all of the topics selected by the Committee of Experts for the Progressive Codification of International Law might be made the subjects of conventions, and all the projects of the American Institute of International Law might be signed and ratified, without having very profound influence for the maintenance of peace. But I think we shall have travelled far if we can replace the juristic helplessness of the nineteenth century with a twentieth century faith in the efficacy of conscious effort. The tasks that lie ahead of us challenge us to mobilize the best of our professional intelligence. Fortunately they do not demand the world's passing through another dark decade such as that which began in 1914. Our willingness to pursue them should not depend on pressure coming from the vagaries of popular clamour. Our generation has a romantic opportunity to make the twentieth century more significant in the history of international law than the seventeenth century became as a result of the work of Grotius.

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What then is the importance of current international co-operation? With what perspective shall we view it, and what vista does it open? I have attempted to trace the growth of a new world society as a consequence of the far-reaching changes effected in the lives of all peoples during the course of the past century. I hope I am not wrong in finding the world of states of to-day very different from the world of states as it existed before there were any railroads, any steamships, any telegraphs, any telephones, and before mechanical invention had revolutionized industry. I hope I have not been too sanguine in describing what is being attempted during these recent years to meet the new conditions of life. The half-

century which saw the beginning of the Universal Postal Union also saw the beginning of the use of a new method of conference in the League of Nations, and so manifold are the activities now centering at Geneva that they touch the daily lives of all peoples, whether or not they have signed the parchment called the Covenant. The work begun at The Hague a quarter of a century ago has come to fruition in the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which is already on the high road to essential service. A fast-growing body of international law is freeing itself gradually from the obsolete vestiges of a former era, and is being brought into closer correspondence with the needs of the time which it serves. I think we may say that we are making progress toward transforming our world society into an organized community, and that it promises to become a community in which human endeavor, if not freed from the imminent possibility of defeat by war and strife, will be less subject to that fate than it has been in the past. And if we can trust ourselves for a glimpse into the future, I think we may say that mankind is moving slowly toward a larger loyalty.

MANLEY O. HUDSON

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NATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN WORLD POLITICS ¹

It is generally regarded that politics is really a reflex of economics; so the cross-currents in national politics are to be found in the divergent economic interests of various groups forming a nation. Similarly, the determining factors in rivalries in world politics are international economic competition among the sovereign states and in most cases among the imperialist powers of the world. Thus imperialism, economic imperialism in particular, is regarded to be the primary cause of all the international conflicts of the present age.

To competent observers, it is quite clear that the theory of "economic determinism" which reduces man to a mere machine devoid of idealism and other forms of emotion, fails to explain world events of vast consequences, such as the World War. It must be admitted that economic imperialism is a great factor, but the part played by the rising tide of nationalism in bringing about wars is not negligible. In fact, there cannot be any modern imperialism without nationalism; and nationalism cannot make its vigorous assertion among any people, unless the sense of nationality becomes the most dominant factor in its life. This being the case, those who are genuinely interested in fathoming the causes of international conflicts and the way out of them, must have to study various factors involved in militant nationalism, which in course of time takes the form of aggressive and expansive imperialism.

Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University, in his brilliant work on *Essays on Nationalism*, possibly for the first time, in English language, presents a comprehensive philosophical and historical study of the various

¹ *Essays on Nationalism*, by Prof. Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1926, Price \$2.50.

Imperialism and World Politics, by Prof. Parker T. Moon. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1926. Price \$4.50.

factors of nationalism. At the outset he discusses "What is Nationalism?" and shows its complex character, based upon linguistic, racial and cultural aspects. He comes to various interesting conclusions and some of them should be carefully noted :

"A national state is always based upon nationality, but nationality may exist without a national state. A state is essentially political; a nationality is primarily cultural and incidentally political."

To Prof. Hayes it is a myth to claim that nationality is determined purely by race. In fact, he rightly asserts that "purity of race, if it exists at all, exists now-a-days only among the uncivilized tribesmen." In a detailed historical, anthropological as well as sociological discussion, he disproves the claim of men who preach special superiority for Nordics and some special racial groups. He established the following hypothesis :

"Nationality rests upon cultural foundations, that nationality is any group of persons who speaks a common language, who cherishes common historical traditions, and who constitute or think that they constitute a distinct cultural society in which, among other factors religion and politics may have played important though not necessarily continuous roles. Thus defined, nationality has existed from the earliest times of which history and anthropology can treat."

"Present day nationalism involves a condition of mind among members of a nationality, perhaps possessed of a national state, a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its "mission" are integral partsIt is this nationalism which colours thought and conditions action in political, social and cultural spheres, in domestic politics and in our foreign relations."

"Nationality has always existed. Patriotism has long existed, either as applied to a locality or as extended to an empire. But the fusion of patriotism with nationality and the predominance of national patriotism over all other human loyalties—which is nationalism—is modern, very modern."

In the development of nationalism in its present form, the Crusade, Romanticism, the French Revolution, and Industrial

Revolution have played important parts. But nationalist scholars with their sometimes imperfect and modern propaganda machines, have made it possible to make the sense of nationalism—something very idealistic and grand, for which men are willing to die—so wide spread among the masses. Without mass education, effective propaganda on a large scale, is not possible ; and this has been one of the most important reasons for the nationalists always demanding “ mass education ” and on nationalistic basis. In this age, as in the past propaganda is a very effective weapon to secure human support in a cause, however dangerous it may be. The Chinese nationalists have marvellously exhibited this in their recent campaigns.

In fact to-day nationalism has become a type of religion ; and in the chapter on “ Nationalism As a Religion,” Prof. Hayes discusses this phenomenon in a masterly fashion and shows how the military heroes of nations have taken the place of saints and prophets. This is true all over the west, and it is bound to be so in the East. In fact to-day the Chinese nationalists who are Christians are demanding that the name of a Jesuit School be changed into the Sun Yat-Sen School. The Kuo-Ming-tang or the Chinese nationalists are demanding that teaching of religion be replaced by the teaching of the creed of Chinese nationalist movement as enunciated by its founder, the late Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Even in Soviet Russia where religion has supposedly no place, teaching of Communism and the doctrines of Lenin, have taken the place of teaching of the Bible, and pictures and statues of Lenin have displaced the ikon and religious symbols. However the religion of nationalism differs from the other world religions. They exerted unifying influence, whereas modern nationalism in its exaggerated sense has become a force which separates peoples.

Nationalism has very close relation with militarism and international wars. In fact nationalist wars—wars for national self-determination or independence and wars for national aggrandisement—have taken the place of dynastic and religious wars of the past. Nationalism in its aggressive

character leads to irredanta-ism and various "pan movements" such as Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Latinism and Pan-Anglo-Saxonism, which not only breed war, but fosters racial and religious hatred of vicious character.

The spirit of nationalism in its purest form with its idealism, like individualism, is not a curse. But as unbridled individualism often degenerates into utter selfishness which is decidedly anti-social, similarly when nationalism takes the form of "my country right or wrong" and assumes the attitude of ignoring rights of others, it becomes a curse to international society. Unfortunately the tendency is that a dominant nationalism, becomes power-mad and extols tribal selfishness, ignorant and tyrannical intolerance and war.

"Nationalism, unless it be rendered critical instead of ignorant, humble instead of proud, does not promise, despite its proved modernity, despite its admitted idealism, to promote real human progress. It promises not to unify, but to disintegrate the world; not to preserve and create but to destroy, civilization."

Prof. Hayes reminds his readers that "to urge the mitigation of nationalism and propagation of internationalism is not to decry patriotism. Rather it is to purify and exalt true patriotism." To promote human fellowship and international co-operation, in place of war, it is not necessary that cosmopolitanism should take the place of nationalism. Education is the most effective medium to promote international amity.

"Almost everything depends, in the last analysis, upon our national schools, and particularly upon the teaching of social sciences within our national schools. For above our nationality, above all nationalities, though many persons of our age forget it, there still is humanity; and humanity is the very stuff of the social sciences."

III

Dr. Parker Thomas Moon, Professor of International Relations in Columbia University, in his recent work "Imperialism and World Politics," presents a careful survey of the

dominating part played by imperialist powers of the world in the field of world politics of our time. The book is unique of its kind; in the discussions of important problems of World Politics since 1871, the author does not follow the conventionalized, chronological narratives of European diplomacy, but presents a realistic world view. Titles of a few main topics discussed in the book will give an idea of the scope of the work—Why Europe shouldered the White man's Burden? Dynamics of Imperialism, Five Decades of Business and Diplomatic Bargaining in West Africa, The Conquest and Exploitation of East Africa, The Legacy of Cecil Rhodes, North Africa and Great Powers, Near Eastern Question Old and New, Anglo-Russian Rivalry, In the Middle East, Imperialism in Southern Asia, The Battle of Concessions in the Far East, Fortunes of War and Profits of Peace in Pacific Islands, The Policy of the United States Toward Latin America, The League of Nations and Its Mandates and others.

Study of this excellent and comprehensive work on World Politics will make one realize that if one takes a world view of the recent diplomatic history of the world then he will be convinced that "almost without exception, they were but surface manifestation of the swift deep currents of imperialism." It is worthwhile to note some of the conclusions arrived at by Professor Moon :—

" The greatest war the twentieth century had witnessed before 1914 was the purely imperialist Russo-Japanese struggle for Korea and Manchuria. And the greatest of all wars was caused more by imperialism than by any other single factor. Americans who prefer to believe that the catastrophe of 1914 was brought about by the personal vagaries of William Hohenzollern may cherish their belief if they will, but the facts are opposed to it. The very alignment of European powers was dictated by imperialism, not by race or democracy or by kinship of culture. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were allied by the Teutonic domination of the Near East. Republican France and monarchist England were bound together by the far-reaching imperialist bargain of 1904 ; the liberal England and tsarist Russia, by an agreement of 1907 regarding imperialist interests in Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet,

"It is easy to heap up the evidence, though no labored proof is intended here. When the German Ambassador in 1914 offered to respect the integrity of Belgium and France, the significant question of Sir Edward Grey was whether Germany intended to take French colonies. During the war, even when hardest pressed on the battle fields of France, the Allies spared troops to conquer the German colonies and occupy those choice portions of Turkey. When the German Government secretly formulated its war-aims for communication to President Wilson, a large share of the world's colonies was the important point. The Allies, for their part, while professing publicly their interest in small nations and the sanctity of treaties, quietly arranged by a series of secret treaties the division to be made of Germany's colonies and of Turkey if victory should be theirs. And when victory was achieved, the Allies made it one of their first concerns at the Paris Peace Conference to wring from President Wilson's unwilling lips an assurance that, though the coveted colonial and Near Eastern territories might be nominally internationalized as 'mandates' the mandates would be given to the Allies in accordance with the secret treaties.

"Contrary to a quite general impression, imperialism is not a closed story now that the German colonies have been divided. The climax has not yet been reached ; the denouement is still uncertain. Never was the imperialist rivalry so keen as after the Great War. We are now entering a period of intensified international economic competition, in which the problem of imperialism is becoming all the more acute because most of the backward areas available for colonies have been appropriated."

In every chapter of this interesting study of Imperialism and World Politics, Prof. Moon points out facts to prove that the so-called backward nations in Asia and Africa have formed the alluring stake of diplomacy. Even to-day the statesmen of the west are doing their level best to keep their hold on these profitable regions. The display of force and interference in China's internal affairs by armed forces of foreign nations, in violation of all the existing canons of international law, is actuated by no other motive but preserving imperialist domination over the awakened millions of the East. In this connection Prof. Moon asks the following question, which might be food for thought :

"The day is dawning when the deficiencies which made these peoples 'backward' and impotent in the face of European imperialism will

no longer exist, and like Japan, such countries as China, India, Persia, Egypt, Turkey, Siam, perhaps even parts of Africa will use the machines and the weapons and respond to the nationalistic and democratic sentiments which have given Europe her seemingly impregnable world mastery. India has 320 millions to Great Britain's 44 millions of inhabitants ; China has possibly 400 millions to the 39 millions of France ; Asia and Africa have over a billion of Europe's half-billion. The imperialist 'Great Powers' of to-day are but pigmies prodding giants into activity. Which will be the Great Powers of to-morrow ?"

This question will be answered in near future by the nationalist Young Asia and Young Africa. It is our hope that they will work ardently to free their people from foreign yoke and prove by their scientific achievement that they will enrich human civilization by their contribution. Let us hope that the wars of national independence or self-determination which are being carried on in Asia and Africa will not end in aggressive nationalism, ignoring Humanity and advocating and championing imperialism. The price generally paid for imperial aggrandisement is not worth the sacrifice of the best in human nature.

Prof. Moon raises the question "Does Imperialism Pay ?" "Is it necessary for national Prosperity ?" He tackles the arguments generally advanced by the advocates of imperialism and proves that to secure market for surplus production, to make room for surplus population, and to assure the supply of raw materials, and even to propagate cultural missions, domination and economic exploitation of other peoples is not necessary. Through the increase of national efficiency and international co-operation, nations individually and humanity collectively can be far more benefited than by any scheme of imperialism.

It is the fashion to-day to minimise the aggressive attitude of present day imperialism. Some plead that British Empire is not an imperialistic endeavor, any longer ; as its spirit is to transform the empire into a Commonwealth of Nations. Others plead that the ascendancy of Soviet regime in Russia has wiped

out the menace of Russian imperialism. It will be interesting to note Prof. Moon's conclusions on these particular questions :

"It is now the fashion to substitute the new term, 'British Commonwealth of Nations' for the old name, 'British Empire' but only if one ignores all except the self-governing colonies is the new name more accurate than the old. In addition to the Dominions there is still the Empire. *Most of the Empire as regards population rather than area is coloured, and not self-governing. Moreover, the Dominions as they mature are being entrusted with a share in the task of governing the subject empire. South Africa and New Zealand have their mandates and dependencies. In short, there is both a British Commonwealth and a British Empire, and the Commonwealth rules the Empire.*"*

"The Bolshevik Revolution, of course, has somewhat altered the situation [Russian imperialist expansion]. Northern Persia is no longer a Russian sphere of interest. Outer Mongolia, formerly a sphere of influence, has been occupied by Russian troops and partly sovietized, although Russia has promised to evacuate it. In Northern Manchuria, the Bolsheviks have renounced some of the privileges obtained by the Tsar, yet they have attempted to control the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Russian dependencies in Central Asia have been given the new governments patterned on the soviet style, and 'allied' with rather than subject to Muscovite Russia. *In a word, while denouncing 'Capitalist imperialism', the Bolsheviks have practised their own sort of Red Imperialism and retained most of the tsarist empire in Asia. It is an empire so large that its economic development is beyond their industrial and financial capacity. Yet as her economic revival proceeds Russia may measure up to the task.*"

The greatest of the world problems of to-day is the rising tide of militant nationalism of over a billion people facing the oppressive yoke of Imperialist powers of the world for the solution of this problem. Prof. Hayes and Prof. Moon do not present any "pet formula," but they hope that "If the international public opinion" or to use Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler's happy phrase, "the international mind" continues to develop, then the fog of misinformation accumulated in the form of prejudice and venerable sentiment [greatness of imperialism] will be cleared. Once the fog is dissipated, perhaps those

* All italics are mine.

citadel of narrow vision will vanish, and in their place mankind may establish an edifice in which enlightened national interest and humane internationalism may be at one and at peace."

Those who are interested in the above idea, and those who are anxious to serve the cause of international peace with intelligence and knowledge should carefully study these two books as text books full of very valuable information. These books will remain for sometime to come as outstanding contributions in the field of the study of nationalism and international relation.

TARAKNATH DAS

Reviews.

Leaves from a Viceroy's Note-book and other Papers, by the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston ; Macmillan and Co., Ltd. pp. X + 414 ; illustrated. Price 28/ net, 1926.

Lord Curzon's literary executors found a collection of essays in a more or less completed state which the gifted author had intended to publish in the future and which were designed by him "to form a sequel to his *Tales of Travel*." With these essays were found a quantity of voluminous notes for a number of books on widely different subjects. The essays contained in the present volume were never revised by their author and their intrinsic value is best summed up by the executors when they commend their readers to read the stories "for their charm, their gaiety, their information and their style—a quartette of literary virtues which never fail to fascinate especially when they are combined so happily as in the present volume." The personality of Lord Curzon is stamped on every page. More than one third of the book deals with Indian topics, and the rest is concerned with miscellaneous subjects, such as—Morier's famous book, *Haji Baba*, in "The Old Persian," the wonderful description of Hué, the capital of Annam, and the Greek monasteries of the Levant. The first official visit to Goa by the Viceroy, was marked by incidents, both rehearsed and unrehearsed, and the various ceremonies attending his reception are fully described, as well as the lavish hospitality accorded to the Viceroy and Lady Curzon by the Governor-General of Portuguese India. One domestic detail is very amusing though the preparation of it must have been a work of trouble and anxiety. Lord Curzon describes it in the following words: "Baths, of the type favoured by the British in India, being unknown at Goa, a special bath-tub, resembling a wine vat of gargantuan proportions, had been imported for the occasion ; and, there being no bathroom in the house, it was placed in the corner of the drawing-room, where the removal of the spigot discharged its contents straight on to the floor." A very remarkable incident of this visit was the Viceroy's delivering of part of a speech in Portuguese through the kind offices of a lady who taught him the correct pronunciation *sotto voce* during the course of a state dinner at the Town Palace of the Governor-General. Lord Curzon was never more enthusiastic than in his description of the heroic conduct of three Englishmen employed by the Delhi Telegraph Office during the Mutiny. The only survivor of the trio was an old man of the name of Bendish, and the Viceroy asked for and

obtained leave from King Edward to decorate him with the medal of the Victorian Order, which was presented to him on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument commemorating the heroic deed. The old man in his simplicity led the cheers which greeted him as he rose in his place! The tragic account of feuds existing even to-day in the Sikh community, and particularly of one, which ended in disastrous consequences for the family concerned, led Lord Curzon to make the following pertinent comment: "even in the twentieth century it is not always wise or desirable to apply Western criteria to the behaviour of Eastern peoples." The accounts of the "Installation" and the "Abdication" of ruling Princes will recall many unique facts among the past and also recent events in India.

A delicious humour pervades those pages in which is described the extraordinary and inappropriate hymns chosen for particular occasions and he mentions instances occurring as far apart as the Chapel at Eton and the Great Durbar held at Delhi in 1903. The Head Master and Provost of Eton during Lord Curzon's school days was Dr. Warre, who was very popular. When the hymn chosen to be sung at the Sunday service was the one containing the lines:

" When comes the promised time
When War (re) shall be no more ?"

the boys, 600 in number, could not resist the temptation of shouting out the line at the top of their voices. The reason became so evident that the use of that hymn had to be abandoned. The other instance will appeal to our Indian readers. The hymn at first chosen for the male choir to sing at the Delhi Durbar contained the lines:

" Crowns and thrones may perish,
Kingdoms rise and wane."

Fortunately the inappropriateness of those lines was discovered in time, otherwise Indians would have been justified in believing that Delhi would have witnessed the downfall of the British Raj, as had been the case with the Hindu and Muslim dynasties which passed away after making Delhi (again) their capital. Perhaps the most fascinating chapter in the whole book is entitled "Inscriptions and Petitions," which the reader especially Indians, will not fail to appreciate. Lord Curzon's Privates, Secretaries used to preserve for his recreation some of the petitions and letters sent to him as Viceroy from time to time. A few extracts from these "gems" are given in the book. In describing these, Lord Curzon writes: "It

must not be supposed, if I, or any one else, quote amusing specimens of what is commonly known as Babu English, that we do it with any idea of deriding the (? their) native intelligence, or of poking fun at its errors. On the contrary, one of the most remarkable experiences in India is the astonishing command of the English language—to them a foreign tongue—that is acquired by the better educated Indians, enabling them not merely to write, but to speak it with an accuracy and a fluency at which I have never ceased to wonder. The blunders and absurdities that find a frequent place in the Indian press are cited both because they strike a note of gaiety in the rather dull routine of Indian official life, and, still more because they often reveal a sense of humour on the part of the writers that is both quaint and refreshing. It is in this spirit only that I reproduce a number of extracts from my own collection.” If Lord Curzon were so convinced of the command of the English language by educated Indians, there is no reason for giving specimens from the writings of uneducated people who wrote in a language foreign to them. It may be remarked that such solecisms would no less be found in compositions by the average European writing in an Oriental language.

The following may suffice as a sample quoted by Lord Curzon from an Indian newspaper which reported the speech of a Hindu Pleader of Barisal :

“My learned friend with mere wind from a teapot thinks to brow-beat me from my legs. But this is mere gorilla warfare. I stand under the shoes of my client, and only seek to place my bone of contention clearly in your Honour’s eye. My learned friend vainly runs amuck upon the sheet anchors of my case. Your Honour will be pleased enough to observe that my client is a widow, a poor chap with one postmortem son. A widow of this country, your Honour will be pleased to observe, is not like a widow of your Honour’s country. A widow of this country is not able to eat more than one meal a day, or to wear clean clothes, or to look after a man. So my poor client has not such physis or mind as to be able to assault the lusty complainant. Yet she has (been) deprived of some of her more valuable leather, the leather of her nose. My learned friend has thrown only an argument *ad hominy* upon my teeth that my client’s witnesses are only her own relations. But they are not near relations. Their relationship is only homœopathic. So the misty arguments of my learned friend will not hold water—at least they will not hold good water. Then my learned friend has said that there is on the side of his client a respectable witness, *viz.*, a pleader, and since this witness is independent so he should be believed. But your Honour, with your Honour’s vast experience, is pleased enough to observe that

truthfulness is not so plentiful as blackberries in this country. And I am sorry to say, though this witness is a man, of my own feathers, that there are in my profession black sheep of every complexion, and some of them do not always speak gospel truth.

Until the witness explains what has become of my client's nose leather he cannot be believed. He cannot be allowed to raise a castle in the air by beating upon a bush. So, trusting in that administration of British justice upon which the sun never sits, I close my case."

The description of the Plague Hospital and of its negligent officers show that besides being a keen observer, the Viceroy felt a personal interest in all things calculated to benefit humanity—a quality which sometimes appeared hidden under "a stiff and unbending exterior."

The value of the book is enhanced by the number of artistic photographs, including—Chitral, the Vale of Kashmir, a group of Buddhist monks belonging to the monastery of Ku-shan in China, and the Greek monasteries in the Levant. Lord Curzon describes in eloquent terms the beautiful scenery of Mount Athos situated on a promontory running for forty miles into the sea, "covered with the most exquisite sylvan verdure from end to end, watered by dancing rivulets and bubbling springs, and interspersed throughout this distance and on both faces with lovely valleys and enchanting glens, where, at points of vantage, on rocks or on the seashore, had been planted the monastic buildings." One of these monasteries is 1000 years old and contains wonderful treasures. Lord Curzon visited several others and they are all described with equal minuteness and vividness of language. All the monasteries are now on Greek territory and it seems curious that, that government does not extend its protection to the monasteries in the same manner as did the Turkish rulers before the territory was transferred to Greece. Under Turkish government no attempt was made to interfere with either the monks or their revenues. This conduct was not probably due to any respect for Christianity but rather to the desire to conciliate the members of that faith to their rule. The monastic establishments are now being allowed to die out and then the monasteries and their revenues will pass into the hands of the Greek government. The monasteries appealed to him in the same forcible manner as did the ancient temples of India many years after, an interest which, we regret, is often lacking in our countrymen who ought to prize more than they do the remains of our ancient glory. The natural beauties of the Yosemite Valley in the United States of America had also strongly appealed to him. This Valley has been reserved for all time for the public enjoyment, an example worthy of being followed by other countries possessing special gifts of Nature.

We have alluded more than once to Lord Curzon's remarkable powers of expression. He was an excellent scholar writing in a style at once graceful and chaste. He excelled as a writer of travels, and his books on that subject will always be considered as standard works. Above all he was a great Englishman, whose statesmanship was an asset to the Empire. Lord Birkenhead in an article in the *Sunday Pictorial* for March 22, 1925, paid an eloquent tribute to his memory when he wrote "that he (Lord Curzon) must undoubtedly be counted among the very great Indian Viceroyr." Many of our countrymen may disagree with Lord Curzon's views, but they would subscribe to Lord Birkenhead's encomium.

HARIHAR DAS

"**England, My England,**" by D. H. Lawrence.

As Vandyke and Reubens were to each other in Flemish art so are Galsworthy and D. H. Lawrence in modern English literature. Both depict life as they see it, and while with the one the spirit predominates, to the other the physical is the absorbing problem.

D. H. Lawrence is a specialist, and as such will limit his audience. His stories deal almost entirely with sex psychology, and his last book of short stories proves no exception to his rule. It abounds, also, in wonderful pieces of descriptive writing, but the psychological study is the *motif* running through every story.

The first story which gives its name to the book, "England, My England," reveals a man passionately attached to English soil, English history, English literature, but with a far from English temperament. Despite his absorbing interest in English folk-songs, it does not enable him to earn a living. Fortunately, his father-in-law steps in and does this for him.

But the centre of his life, is his wife—"he loved her in passion with every fibre of him," and for her part she was radiantly happy in having "all his tall supple fine fleshed youth to herself, for herself, and he had her like a ruddy fire into which he could cast himself for rejuvenation."

Then the tragedy comes. After the birth of her second son she loses all desire for him, mental or physical. One of his children has an accident through carelessness on his part, and his wife takes the child to London, whilst he stays alone in his cottage in Hampshire. "His heart goes back to the savage old spirit of the place; the desire for old gods, old lost passions.....the mystery of blood sacrifice, all the lost intense sensation of the primeval people of the place, whose passions seethed in the air."

Thus he lives with his sensuous dreams and sensations, deprived of wife and children, until the war claims him as its victim.

One of the cleverest of the stories, "A Blind Man" contains a wonderful description of the feelings of a young virile man, blinded through the war, yet not unhappy because of his passionate love of his wife who returns it equally. Into the lives of these two, comes the wife's lawyer friend, a man totally devoid of passion. The story ends with an almost terrifying description of the blind man's efforts to make a friend of the lawyer, and the latter's loathing of the blind man's caressing fingers as he tries to trace the lineaments of the lawyer friend.

The rest of the stories, "Monkey Nuts"; "Samson and Delilah"; "The Primrose Path"; "The Horse Dealer's Daughter"; "You Touched Me"; and "The White Peacock"; all deal with different aspects of the same thing—the story of physical passion in one form or another.

Mr. Lawrence's book will appeal to three kinds of readers—those who will read it for the sake of its vivid, forcible, picturesque English, those who are students of Freud or those who like the jungle for good or bad reasons.

K. M. WALKER

Some Novel Methods of Arithmetic, by Haricharan Chaudhury, M.A., Head Master, Hashanpore S. C. Institute, Daulatabad (Murshidabad), published by S. K. Roy Chaudhury, 9 William's Lane, Calcutta, pages 35, Second Edition, price annas six only.

This booklet with a foreward by Dr. Bibhutibhushan Dutt of the University College of Science, Department of Mixed Mathematics, is intended for students of the High English Schools. The methods used in the book are so simple and lucid that they will be of great help to the boys going up for the examination. The chapter on multiplication in one line is very interesting. We quite agree with Dr. Dutt when he says that the students will find the methods helpful in working out exercises involving (i) multiplication of numbers, integral as well as decimal, and (ii) reduction of fractions to recurring decimals and *vice versa*. We recommend this book for use both by teachers and students. On our part we hope that more examples will be added by way of illustration in future editions.

ESKARE

History of Europe, by Edward A. Freeman, revised and brought up to date by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., Professor of History, King's College, London, published by Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, price one shilling and nine pence.

This is a revised edition of Freeman's well-known primer of European History, revised and brought up to date by Dr. Hearnshaw, another known text book writer on European History. The book speaks for itself and is too well-known to be revised. This much may only be mentioned that the Editor has done good work by thoroughly rehandling the last chapter and appending a new one thus bringing it down to the present day. A chronological table has been incorporated at the end of the work. This will be of great use to the youthful readers for whom it is intended.

ESKARE



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KINDRED SAYINGS ON BUDDHISM

I

WILL AND THE WAY.

When man began to take pleasure in talking about himself as man, and in listening to those who made a business of talking about man to men, they, and he through them, accepted certain ways of describing himself, and these ways only. Here is an instance : "Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker ; let no man try to find out what seen-thing is, let him know the seer ;...what doing is, let him know the doer ;...what pleasure and pain are, let him know the experiencer ;...what going is, let him know the goer ; what mind is, let him know the knower, thinker." ¹ We may see here that he does not speak of will, nor try to describe man either as a willer, or as anything of the kind, such as tryer, desirer, wisher, wanter, striver. In many other passages of these old scriptures is man described, but neither in them do we find man called willer, or the like, nor do we find a special, distinctive word corresponding to our 'will.'

These ancient scriptures are the oldest Indian Upanishads, or 'sittings.' They are said to date somewhen between B. C. 700 and a few centuries later, and contain many talks on man, his nature, his life and ways, and the whence and whither of

¹ Kaushitaki Upanishad.

him. They form but a limited basis for this talk of mine, but at any rate they are now accessible to the general reader, and enjoy quite a considerable reputation as a mine of ancient wisdom.

In just one or two places the reader will stumble upon the word 'will.' But the words so translated are not any of them equivalents of the English word, but are either mainly intellectual in meaning, or emotional. They are words more properly, more usually employed to mean mind, plan, purpose, desire. All of these words, it is true, involve will, but not one of them is just 'will.' Effort, seeking, trying to get, is not what they *mainly* express. But the translator had the word 'will' ready to hand, and so, when the original wording seemed to convey something more than either thinking or longing, he just wrote down 'will.' But no word for just 'will' was there. Still less was there any word for willer.

One word that comes some way toward meaning will, that is, 'willing,' is *kāma*. This means wanting, wishing, desiring. The leading Sanskrit dictionary does not include 'will' in these equivalents, or at most only in compounds, or in its adverbial form. Professor Bloomfield, however, finds in *kāma* the Indian equivalent for will. He quotes as conclusive this passage from the Upanishads :—"Man is wholly formed from desire (*kāma*); as is his desire, so is his insight (? *kratu*); as is his insight, so does he the deed (*karma*); as he does the deed, so does he experience." ¹

And were *kāma* used always in the wide, *unmoral* sense in which it is used in this passage, and further, did we ever find man described as desirer (*kāmetar*), in such contexts, we might rightly grant that there was, in this old literature, a worthy equivalent for will. But more usually *kāma* means, not any kind of desire, but sex-desire and sensuous desire. And when, at the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, the moral conscience of India was feeling 'growing pains,' and becoming

¹ The Religion of the Veda, p. 259.

troubled as never before, *kāma* had become almost wholly associated with such desires and such pleasures. Very different are the words used in the scriptures of these cults for the desires stirring in man towards the Best, the Highest. These notable cults are both of them built up around the conception of man as by nature moving towards, or becoming something better or worse. They are India's very creeds of man as willer, as having will to choose the better, the worse. They place man in a long upward Way of effort, they urge him to earnest toil, to growth in worthiness, in holiness towards an ultimate goal. They wage incessant war against sloth, indifference and torpor. They created, to enforce this teaching, the word *bhāv nā*, 'make-to-become.' And yet we must say of their scriptures that which we said of those more or less older books : we find in them no worthy word for will, no worthy conception of man as willer. For them the word *kāma* was far too tainted to name man's efforts in quest of the Better. Hardly indeed did they bring themselves to use the somewhat less tainted word *chanda*, to express purpose. They guarded it by the prefix *dhamma*, righteous. They worded it as belonging only to the pre-saintly stage. They saw in it the wrestling of the learner. The adept, the saint, for them, as for the rest of India, is he 'who knows, who sees,' not he who wills. He is one who chose the better way, who strove, who struggled forward, who won. He strives no longer. Desire, effort, endeavour have fallen off his disburdened shoulders, are put away like a discarded weapon after the fight.

Since however they worded the desire, the seeking, the quest, the struggle ; since they also worded man as 'doer' and as 'goer,' is it reasonable to look for any closer parallels in their thought to will and willer ? May not the absence of such be nothing more than an accident in the history of ideas and words ?

Such a suggestion of the 'casual' will not commend itself to the inquirer into the 'causal.' Moreover words, names for

things, mattered tremendously to the man of ancient India. We can perhaps at this time of day afford to be more careless. But he was, as speaker, like a child playing with a wonderful and strange instrument. Every word counted for much.

Let me rather get clear what I mean by will, and by man as willer. I take will in the widest meaning the word can bear. Choosing, resolving, deciding are all modes of will, but 'to be willing' underlies all these, and indeed all that we are pleased to call our mind or intellect or intelligence.¹ All mind is self-directed activity, or the emotional reverberation of that.

'*You tak' the high road an' I'll tak' the low road...*' of the Scottish ballad tells of a self-directing activity, a work of seeking something, of trying to be, or to get something, and may serve to express in homely fashion what I mean. Now man as thus active is not fitly described as doer, or as goer. A machine may be fitly thus described, but we may not fitly describe a machine as self-directing (save figuratively), or as seeking, or as trying. And more: in describing thus a man, not a machine, our subject is, in so doing, and in consequence of so doing, to some extent changing, is altering from what he was before. He is becoming different in process of, and because of his self-directing. In willing, man comes-to-be; in willing lies 'werden'—Oh! why did we let our Anglo-Saxon parallel to that fine, sorely needed word drop out of use? The 'werden,' the becoming, may affect our body, our mind, or our possessions; it surely affects ourself, the very man. And because of this sure thing, 'werden,' or becoming or coming-to-be is the closest corollary, pendant, consequence, accompaniment of will. We cannot have the one without the other.

It will be said: 'this is too broad a definition of will. Will, as we use it, is really minding and willing together, as in purpose, intention, choice. You should use 'conation,' or

¹ More fully discussed by the writer in *The Will to Peace*, Ch. VII, and in *Will and Willer*, Ch. II.

other more specific terms for the broader meaning you give to will ; and you should leave out consequences of willing.'

This, I would reply, is to talk from the special and limited point of view of the School and the Manual. The same protest has there been used for the words 'thinking' and 'thought.' But I write for the general reader, not for the classroom, for 'everyman,' not for the special student. And 'everyman' does not show the slightest inclination to adopt 'conation,' or 'libido' (thanks be!), or any out-of-the-way words for what he feels is so big and traditional as is will, willing (let alone thought, thinking). Nor is he yet—and may he as everyman never be!—given to thinking of himself in transverse sections, so as to consider himself cut off from consequences. On the other hand, he needs to consider these a little more. He does not yet bring himself to realize all that he is, all that he has become, all that he is becoming, all that he may yet become, as willer wielding will. His are now the words:—'willer wielding will.' Let him hold tight to them; let him see himself as willer 'werdend,' becoming, growing. So let him for yet a few minutes consider literatures which lack this word-treasure; let him puzzle a moment over the problem of it.

The Indian had in his tongues the twin-root whence came will. Those twins were the Aryan WAIL and WAR. The Indo-Aryans held on to *war* (*vara*). The Europeans held more to *wal*. They bore Westward *war* also, and to it we owe *werden* and ward and worth—all priceless treasures. We know how L and R get interchanged in different tongues, and in one and the same tongue. We know the 'all-light' that comes from China; we hear a Japanese say, he is a 'rucky' man. Indian books give us *raja*; yet the rock-inscriptions of Asoka prefer *laja*. And corresponding to the root of 'rupture,' we find in Sanskrit both *lup* and *rup*. But of the root-forms *war* and *wal*, the Indian decidedly preferred, in *vara*, the former. Here any way he had a wordstem which he could have used to express

what we came to express with our twin WAL. From WAL we, of the Western Aryan immigrants, notably through Latins and Teutons, 'the greatest communal tryers' of all our stock, built up will-words :—*volo, velle, voluntas, wahl, wollen, wohl, will(e), well, wealth*. As compared with this strong lusty tribe, the Indian parallel *vara* shows a weak and sorry growth. *Vara* is used, not very often, for 'choice,' 'thing chosen,' 'thing to be granted.' In rhetoric it is used for 'beautiful,' 'excellent' (the 'elect,' the chosen). But *vara* never grew up as did its Western twin. *And no other word grew up in its place.*

Does the wish arise to test swiftly and easily how little the will figures in Indian thought? Then take up a very useful work to be found in any worthy library :—the last volume of the great series founded by Max Müller, the Sacred Books of the East—the Index-volume compiled by the well-known Indian scholar, Dr. Moritz Winternitz. Look under Mind and then under Will, and see how few, absolutely and relatively, are the references to will in a series consisting mainly of Indian writings. Consider how impossible this would have been, had the compiler found any insistence in the texts, in the translations on something which could literally only be rendered by Will. With this great little word so handy, English translators would have been very ready to use it, had they had any excuse. As it is, they now and then use it for the word *manas*, mind, and for *sankalpa*, plan. Hence the scarcity in references to will is not any fault of theirs. Deussen, historian, philosopher and translator, was in strong sympathy with much in Indian thought. His works contain excellent indexes of 'noteworthy ideas.' In not one of these indexes is there a single reference to the mention of will in any original! There is a little section on 'freedom of the will' (omitted from the Index), but it might as fitly have been called 'freedom without will.' Mind, and work of mind (*manaskṛta*) are called in to represent will. Neither has Mr. Das Gupta nor Mr. O. Strauss, as

Dr. Winternitz reminds me, any reference to will in the indexes to their treatises on Indian philosophy.

Now the Indian mind is very introspective, and it is very fond of definitions. The Indian—the Hindu, if you will—liked to ponder over and talk about the powers, the needs, the limitations of man. He began very early to study both mind and man. He believed in learning, in knowledge. He honored the teacher, the man who talked about man, exceedingly. He studied the way of impression and idea. He grew to be deeply concerned with the taming and training of the ‘self,’ with right choice at the parting of the ways, with the upward way of effort towards the Better. The more curious then is his failure to develop his own word *vara*, or to find any real equivalent to express that in man which is so vital in those matters. To discern and to word that in man, as which and by which man turns to a better, words it as such:—‘This is the way!’—and tries to walk in it—seem to call for the words ‘will’ and ‘willer’ as indispensable.

One of India’s noblest Helpers of men taught religion—that is to say, the warding of man through the worlds—as a Way of living at one’s best. Yet he did not teach it as a gospel of will to willers. Will and willer he left unworded, implicit. When he began by addressing himself to a little group of willers seeking, like himself a better way, and spoke of that way as a ‘Middle Course,’ or Path, neither worldly nor ascetic, he did not remind his hearers of that in them which responded to the Better they were inwardly aware of. Had such as he begun that ‘First Sermon’ *today*, it is possible that he would put it like this:—“Man is always reaching out after a better, after something he will choose as likely to be well for him. And in seeking that, he becomes a little other, little by little, than he was. The way he chooses makes him as he will be. Wayfarer is he, seeking the goal of the utterly ‘well,’ the end of ill, seeking it through the worlds. Such is man’s nature. He cannot do other; seek he must, though often wrongly. Go and teach that.”

For it is clear, from the surviving record of that first sermon, that Gotama, called the Buddha, relied, in it, on men of good-will responding to his message by their having that in them which we call will. But he did not call upon them as willers. *He had not the word.*

I remember when over thirty years ago my husband and I were in America and were leaving Buffalo after a lecture on the gospel of Buddhism, and how our worthy host, a man of the market, in bidding us farewell, was rather amused over a gospel being chiefly concerned with an 'Eightfold Path.' It was not up to me then to speak; I was certainly not ready. But I now think that if that 'gospel' of which we have, of the original elements, only a few fragments, had been worded to our New World friend after the way of his own newer world, it might have appealed more to him. Thus:—"There is in every man, every woman a will to seek to have, or to be something that's figured as better. When it's a matter of moral betterment, or of being safe hereafter, we call that 'will' *conscience*. You are, every one of you, aware that, at any moment, but especially when you have to choose, you can be a better man than you usually are; you know that you can choose a better way or a worse way, or may be a best way out of several ways." Our friends would probably have said:—"Ah! I see; Buddhism was a gospel of following the inner monitor, conscience. Well, it's curious they didn't say so."

This is the way in which the man who does not study the growth of language would speak. As to that, Sokrates spoke of the 'monitor' as a kind of *person*; St. Paul spoke of it as a 'law'; but no one anywhere, I believe, spoke of it by the peculiar, and as I hold unsatisfactory word 'conscience' *till modern times*. Conscience is a word which shares the fate of the Indian word 'manas,' mind. It has got to do duty for both self-awareness, which is conscience, and also for that self-directing, or will, which shapes our actions. Without will, self-awareness would be a purely stationary thing, of no practical

use whatever. I look forward to a day, when we shall no more speak of conscience, leaving will to be vaguely understood, but when we shall speak of the willer and the will, leaving conscience to be understood as the will made articulate, the will in word, the willer self-worded. We shall range conscience under the wider genus 'will.'

To return to India: there was in that central message of Gotama a wonderful opportunity for uplifting the life of man among his fellowmen. We know how, like Christianity, Buddhism as a missionary cult spread far and wide. We know also how, like Christianity, it realized that opportunity in part, in part it did not. In part it did, in that, albeit with makeshift words, it called upon man's will to work towards righteousness and ultimate salvation. The self, it said, is changeable, ductile, docile. It did not saddle itself with any obsession about unchangeable instincts. 'Grow,' it taught, 'make the pure self, the wise mind, to become. Stir up energy; foster righteous desire. Inertness, sloth are fatal to you as Wayfarer. Man's good self is judge over his worse self.' To be at last, to become in some future state a man of perfect 'worth' (*arahāṇa*), rather than any temporary heaven-world, was made the ultimate goal. And man was bidden to shape deed, word and thought, not according to tradition, or orthodoxy, or any teacher as such, but only according as any teaching conduced to man's 'more-welfare.'

Such a gospel might have brought out and worded the will, which it implicitly fostered so well. It might have recreated the parallels *vara* and *varetar*, for it was much given to bringing forward new words and to putting its new wine into old bottles. But it was hindered, yes, and it hindered itself.

First, it was hindered. With the whole of ancient India it inherited the old attitude, that man is by nature beholder, contemplator, namer, receiver of impressions, reacting to that which comes to him. It is man's earliest picture of himself. He sees, he knows, he feels, he names. He has not yet discerned

that, to do all this, he must be a fount, a source of radiant energy, and not only so when he comes out in choice and in action. And hence he did not call himself willer as much as, and even more than, seer, knower and the rest. It was ever so much later in time when he began to put will in the forefront of his religions, if indeed he can even then be said to have done so. In this way the Buddhist, like the Jain, was hindered by the heavy hand of the past.

And both cults hindered themselves. It is true that they looked upon life, when it is truly worthy, as upward effort towards attainment. But both held, that nothing in the way of higher, and highest attainment could be won without shearing away the greater part of life, that is, of development in the world as men among men. Body, man's chief instrument, without which mind could do nothing, was for the Jain aspirant a guilty criminal, for the Buddhist aspirant it was an ass in blinkers. Mind, working by body, was called away from the home, from the production of the necessary or the beautiful, from the discovery of nature's secrets, from the world's laboratory of experiment for the common welfare in the common life. All this was called *kāma*: the low thing. Both monk and ascetic made, it is true, demands upon will. They called it by the fine word '*virīya*' ('strong-man-ity') and other words signifying endeavour. *Virīya* and *vīra* could have been used for a theory of man as willer, no less than *vara*. But the bed-rock nature of man as being *virīya*:—this is *never put forward*. *Virīya* or *chanda* was necessary to win high worth, but this being won, they were to be suppressed. The saint was will-less, for he had 'done what was to be done.' What yet remained for him—the utter, or 'Pari'-nirvana—so far from being conceived as a going on from strength to strength, was judged to be ineffable, or only to be worded by a negation.

In these ways then did Buddhism hinder itself from framing a doctrine of 'man' which can satisfy the new world that is ours to-day. Its first call was to man the willer, that is,

the seeker after, the chooser of the Better, who inevitably becomes better in seeking the better. This, it said, would make for the happy life here and hereafter. But apparently the only way to spread a new gospel there and then was through the instrumentality of men who had 'left the world.' It was only through the artificial life-perspective of the recluse or the monk that it could reach and be honoured by the multitude. And hence it is, that in the monk-scriptures of Buddhism we find a teaching, which made appeal to the central fact in man's nature, his radiating will-to-well, but at the same time twisted and half-starved it. Men sought naturally then, as now, for fuller, happier life both here and hereafter. And life was looked upon as a 'becoming' (*bhava*). But that will to life the monk taught them to call 'thirst,' or craving; and, whereas the earnest man was exhorted to 'make-become' (*bhāveti*) wisdom and worth, 'becoming' (*bhava*) as development of life in this and other worlds, was a thing to be suppressed. Moreover, it was assumed there was no 'he' who willed to live, or suppressed that will; there was only body and mind. And the nobler life was only to be led as monk, fed and 'run' by the people.

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All this grew up in a very old world of our Aryan fellow-men, in a little corner of our now much widened world. There was the great message calling on man's will to lessen suffering and to safeguard his future, not by sacrifice, ritual and priest, but by the worthiness of his life, by kindness, simple earnestness and candour. But the message came to a world where man's nature was not quite so well understood as we now understand it, or should understand it to-day. It was because of this, that true words for that nature had not been found. We of the new world, the bigger earth, have much, much of high worth that the old Buddhist had not, did not know, was not ready to know. Among these treasures is a better insight into will, into man as willer. And it is because of that insight that we have

developed all unawares our Aryan Wal, not only into *val*, to be worth, and *Wahl*, choice, but also into the various forms of WILL, and into WELL, the thing we will to be.

Let us not speculate how Buddhism might have been helped, had it inherited these words, as we have inherited them. Our business is to exploit our heritage. We have barely begun to do that. We are at the parting of the ways. Either we shall follow most of the newer manuals, and half strangle, or shelve these strong words, or we shall see in them the very rhythm to the melody of life. Very impressive and pathetic is the earnestness of the Buddhist scriptures seeking to train the man as willer with self-directed will, when they had neither insight of him as such, nor words so to express him, and when they were hindered, so trying, by the wrong views I have mentioned. We have not their excuse, and yet almost we go on as if we were no less hindered than they. We are not barred, as they were by a constricted will and a constricted word. And we have long been free. Yet for all that, we are too much like men who have but just come out from a prison-cave. What then in this matter of word and will do we lack?

We might put it like this:—We need more-will to more-worth, and we need to more-word our more-well.

Let this not be too hastily called obscure. We fly so lightly to many-syllabled Latinisms and to hybrids of wordiness; why not try a little crisp English? We need here more words, almost as much as did the Buddhists. Never before has so much been written on psychology in education. It is inevitable herein that much must be said about will. It is so; and it is of interest to see in such books the groping after needed words. More interesting is it to mark in some such books, the wavering as to the nature of will, the poor insight into the child as being by nature a willer wielding will, and the often meagre way in which the 'good'—no, let me follow the other Western nations and call it the 'well'¹—of the man, the well of the world, is put

¹ *Le bien, das Wohl, il bene.*

before the young as to be obtained by will, by 'more-will.' Everywhere 'will,' when it actually is used, does duty for both will and willer—a defect brought over from yesterday's psychology. Thus we read in an American book: 'will is to will will'—a silly, because unnecessary wording. Again: 'we need a training not in knowledge, but in power,'—where the right word surely was 'but in will.' Then again, as to our need of 'more strength of will,' more 'intensity of will'—why not use the simpler, safer 'more-will'? Have we not retained the less needed compound 'moreover'? We drop glibly into the foreign 'plus' in arithmetic, in technology, in golf; but what's wrong with 'more'?

Now it may well be, that we want to distinguish between¹ the will we need to carry on, maintain, defend such 'well' as we have, so much of good habit and worth, personal or communal, as we have acquired, and below which we do not wish to fall, and next, the will to call up, in some morning hour of life, when there is a forward move to make, a step higher, a breaking out of the groove, a crisis in will. To one 'loved' man long ago that new will was called upon in this way:—'Just one thing you lack: sell all you have.....and come with me.' At other times the new will needed may involve less of an earthquake. But as to all such crises, would it not be a reasonable distinction to call the self-direction of the carrying-on rear-guard just 'will,' and the pioneer self-directing in the van-guard 'more-will'? A similar distinction might be made in the Better that we will to get or become. So much as we have worthed, held in worth, expressed in words and enjoy;—that is our well—our 'good,' if it please you better. That which we have yet to come to worth, and which we have therefore not yet well-worded—that which calls upon our 'more-will'—that is our MORE-WELL.

These are simple suggestions, but they bear on great and urgent matters. We are in some danger at present of stooping

¹ Jesus to the rich young man, whom he 'loved.'

too closely over our past. Our new world, our more-well, does not lie there among dead things. *Nor does it lie in just carrying on.* To each of us in whom is the forward view, there comes from time to time, in what we look upon as our welfare, a new feature of it, a new aspect of it, a new truth we had not seen before. Our 'well' takes on new worth; we want new words for it; we call upon new will to win it. In other words, we moreworth, we moreword, we morewill the morewell.

Others will one day find better ways, it may be, to word this very real thing in life. Language is full of such increments in 'morewording.' Some of these morewords we 'worth' and 'ward' badly, have done so badly in the past:—such are will, willer, well, werden. They can help us more than we let them. India is fully capable of giving us, even in English, 'more-words' in things that she 'more-worths.' She is, before us all, the land of the Word, the Speech, the Speaker, the Mantra-worder. She has loved much the spoken word, the re-spoken word, the words of the thoughts of the men of old, the Porâṇâ. But time was when those words were new. She found new words when she was coming to 'worth' new ideals, to 'more-worth' old truths. She is now in danger of waxing very wordy in wording English speech of yesterday, English wordy ways of word-architecture, word-combats of to-day. Let her show the world that there are worthier things to value and to word than what men are mainly debating about to-day. Let her consider her worthy son who called to her with a new message, yet had not words wherewith to clothe it. Let her seek what he tried to show. Let her put forth 'more-will.' More-use in electricity is giving us 'more-words' from year to year. And when we can bring ourselves rightly to place in our teaching the willer and the will, we shall find worthy words, because we shall have seen a fresh aspect, a new glory in that 'morewell' which is an evermore coming-to-be.

HOLY GANGES

(The River of Life.)

March on, Holy River,
from afar, Lo,
Thy Ocean-Home is beckn'ng Thee!
In tidal music,
Holy waters, flow
Till hast thou fulfilled
Thy destiny.

Leaping o'er ledges and lime
that stand and block,
Falling in cascades
down the rock,
O'er valleys and plains
rushing afoam,
March, Divine Flow
onward to Thy Ocean Home.

Thou art the Angel
of delight,
That ever rising from sun-kissed
lips of ocean wide,
Fly—on wings of winds
coloring the sky
With thy blushes
with thy flashes—
day and night.

From above,
thy flapping wings,
rain down life
on thirsty earth
as Thou dost look below.

Then—as if to flick the dust off
dost Thou soar and ever soar,
Till thine wings grow cold
and white as death
Dost Thou sleep on peaks
clad in snow.

But no more
canst Thou lie cold and deaf
In thine inaccessible height,
For the hour has sounded
And darkness has burst into
daylight.

—Waking Thee
Out of Thy snowy bed
Flooding Thee with
memories,
All too dear,
All too sacred.

M. DHAR

THE LOVE SONGS OF ASIA

A passion for rhythmical expression is inborn in human nature, and poetry was a vitalising force long before prose came into being. The earliest histories were recited and afterwards written in verse; the *Rámáyana*, *Mahábhárata*, and *Iliad* afford a clearer view of ancient civilisations than all the discoveries made in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Crete. But he who desires to reconstruct a long-buried past must not neglect the folk-songs cherished by every nation, and especially such as are inspired by the primordial instinct of sexual love. The student cannot fail to note a radical difference between the erotic poetry of Europe and the East. The first appeals to faculties which man possesses in common with sentient Nature; it is of the earth, earthy; the second often thrills with religious sentiment. "Súfism," representing the mystical side of Islam, is responsible for the curious blend of spirituality and sensualism which marks oriental love songs. There is no need to enlarge on its tenets; suffice it to say that Súfis recognise a perfect union between God and the human soul. All created things emanate from Him; all are irradiations of the Eternal Sun into whose bosom they will return when their brief terrestrial sojourn has ended. In Súfi eyes Woman is the purest manifestation of the Supreme Unity, a creature who fulfils its Maker's behest by multiplying infinitesimal portions of His essence. Bearing this doctrine in mind, the European will understand why Asiatic poets who were affiliated to the Súfi Order, and therefore convinced ascetics, should sing of feminine charms and beauty in terms which bring a blush to his cheeks. For the Christianity with which he was saturated in childhood has asceticism in common with Súfism, but differs widely from it in regarding Woman with profound suspicion. This attitude arose from the idiosyncrasy of St. Paul who—humanly speak-

ing—may be regarded as the founder of Christianity in a truer sense than Jesus Christ Himself. By his own confession he was a man of ardent passions, but cursed with a physique which was not likely to recommend him to the fair sex. There is, indeed, a persistent tradition that his suit was rejected by the daughter of Caiaphas, High Priest of Jerusalem. Cruel was the revenge he took for the agonies of slighted love. He told the Christians of Corinth that “Man is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man: Neither was man created for woman but woman for man.” (1 Corinthians XI. 7).. To his favourite disciple he wrote that women should “adorn themselves in modest apparel with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but with good works. Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not the woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.” (1 Timothy II 9-12). The Fathers of the Christian Church went to far greater lengths in expressing dread, and even hatred of woman. St. Chrysostom brands her as “Venomous bird-lime, spread by Satan for the entanglement of souls.” St. Augustine doubts the possibility of woman’s resurrection at the Day of Judgment, for “if she were allowed to enter the gates of Heaven she might lead the Elect astray in the very presence of God.” While many devout Christians regard woman as a snare set by the Evil One to compass man’s damnation, the Sûfis venerate her as God’s chosen instrument for continuing His creative work.

Translation is paid for as hackwork by the publishing confraternity; and yet it is beset with insuperable difficulties. For every race develops a collective soul, whose idiosyncrasy is reflected in its language and literature. One rarely sees two units of the same race living together in intellectual harmony; and rarer still is a complete understanding between units of different races. In fact, the only instance within my knowledge was afforded by Blanco White, a Spaniard of Irish descent, who

migrated to this country at the age of thirty-five, and gained a niche in the British Temple of Fame by inditing his immortal sonnet "Night and Death." The literature of every civilised tongue teems with peculiar shades of meaning, with allusions to tradition, custom and folk-lore which are shibboleth for foreigners. Genius, indeed, can soar on the wings of imagination to worlds unknown and bring back a scintilla of their radiance for the delight of ordinary mortals. Genius enabled Thomas Moore, who had never overstepped the narrow confines of Europe, to reproduce the elusive atmosphere of old Irán in his *Lalla Rookh*. Thanks to this precious gift, Edward FitzGerald distilled the quintessence of Persian poetry in his version of Omar Kháyyám's Rubáiyats. But he who is no Lord of Words, possessing only "an infinite capacity for taking pains"—which *pace* Lord Macaulay, is no definition of genius—must not attempt the impossible. And above all things else he must avoid the shackles of rhyme in clothing exotic imaginings with an English garb. Our noble language is comparatively poor in assonants. Did not Byron help his halting Muse by consulting a Rhyming Dictionary, and was not Shelley forced to lug in a "pale portress" in order to find a jingle for "fortress"?

We are all born Aristotelians or Platonists; in other words, we instinctively regard the Universe from a purely material standpoint; or seek a solution of its enigmas by postulating a "Great First Cause." Devout Christians regard Solomon's "Song of Songs" as a spiritual allegory, and Súfis read the essence of their creed into verses wherein the materially-minded see only a poet hymning the praises of love, wine, and Nature. This predisposition is seen in the erotic poetry of ancient Persia, which, taken as a whole, does not lend itself to mystical interpretation.

Thus did Umara, who lived at Merv in the 10th century of our era, address his loved one :

"O that I could hide myself in my verses, that I might kiss thy sweet lips as often as thou recitest them!"

From Abu Sayyid, born in Khorassan 978, died at Amol in Tabaristan 1062 :

“I asked my sweetheart, ‘Why dost thou make thyself so beautiful?’ ‘To please myself,’ she replied, ‘for there are moments when I am at once eyes, mirror and beauty; love, lover and loved one.’

I daily beseech the Angels of Paradise to unite me, my darling, with thee; and if my prayer be granted I will not envy an angel’s lot. Were my soul called into the heavenly gardens without thine, they would be far too small to contain it.”

Hedonism inspired the Muse of Omar Kháyyám, who was born in Khorassán 1025, and died there 1122. It permeates Edward FitzGerald’s famous “translation,” which appeals so forcibly to our disillusioned age, and is very marked in the following quatrains :

“They say that Paradise is peopled by *houris*; that wine and honey will flow in profusion there. Then why forbid me women and wine on earth if they are to be my recompense on high?

’Tis far wiser to quaff good liquor and court a pretty girl than to waste one’s time in hypocritical devotions. If all lovers and wine-bibbers must descend into hell, very few sane men would wish to enter heaven.

Give me some dancers, a flagon of wine and a girl lovelier than any *houris*—if there be such things as *houris*. Let me seek in their company a murmuring stream, and stretch myself on the moss that carpets its source—if streams and mossy banks have any real existence. Let me make love, drink and sing without a thought of hell—if there be a hell. Believe me, there is no heaven but this—if indeed there be a heaven anywhere.”

Hafiz was the pen-name taken by Shamsuddin Mohammed, who flourished in the 14th century of our era, and lies in a splendid tomb at Shiraz. His *Divan*, a collection of lyrics, or *Ghāzāls*, is immensely popular throughout Persia, and Fatwas, *anglice* "decisions," are arrived at by consulting it at random, just as our mediæval forbears used the Aeneid for their *Sortes Virgilianae*. The following Ghāzāls are sung at convivial gatherings :

"When I ask, 'lovest thou me?' thy angry lips purse up like a flower, and thou rebukest me. Thy words are felt like the sting of a bee; but such rebukes are my good fortune and a blessing from heaven; bitter words from thy rosy-red, honey-sweet lips seem but to set off thy loveliness.

Better than life Eternal is union with the Beloved : invite me not to enter Paradise, for the dimple on her cheek is dearer to me than the Gardens of the Blest.

Her eyebrow alone is my Mecca; what concern has this distracted heart with that place of pilgrimage? Were I left without my sweetheart, I would not care one jot for Paradise and its changeless maidens.

I said playfully to my sweetheart : 'Ah face, fair as the moon, why bestowest thou no kisses on thy broken-hearted adorer?' I have not ravished one from her lips, nor had more than a glimpse of her beauty—and she is gone. With loving words she said, 'Never will I depart from the circle of thy wishes'—and she is gone! She said again, 'He who desires the joy of my companionship must renounce himself.' I obeyed—and she is gone!

O Wind, whence wafted thou this perfume? Thou hast stolen it from my sweetheart's lips. O Rose, of what account art thou in comparison with her lovely face? Fragrant as musk is she, but thou hast thorns. Sweet Basil, what art thou compared with the down on her cheek? She is all-perfect, but thou art defiled with dust. Where art thou, O Narcissus, in the light of her laughing eyes? Hers are joyous, while thine are drunken. O Cypress, what art thou beside her slender figure? How can I cherish thee any longer in my garden?"

The eighteenth century was far advanced ere a school of Moslem poets arose in the Gangetic Valley who drew inspiration from Persian literature. Their songs bear the imprint of Sûfism, which is apt to confuse the creature with its Creator. The object of their desire is set on a lofty pedestal, and worshipped with chivalrous devotion; they sigh hopelessly for love that is not returned. My first specimen is by Mir Mohammad Taki, born at Agra 1715, died about 1800 :

"When I call thy long black tresses to mind, happiness fills my eyes with tears, which glitter like diamonds as they roll down my cheeks. I don't know why it is so, but in watching them fall I bethink me of a certain dark night, of rain drops pattering on our casement, and fireflies scintillating on the trees outside.

All my friends smile when they see how greatly my features are changed. Let them smile! Perchance they would envy me if they knew that it is the intensity of my love for thee which has changed my face into a bed of saffron. When thy soft arms encircle my neck, thy curling tresses are bespangled with beads of perspiration, which flash like falling stars against the mid-night sky."

From Jagni, known as Sháhgil, a pupil of Taki :

“Sháhgil can never banish thy coal-black locks from his thoughts, since for him thy face is the day, and thy hair the night.”

From Mir 'Izzat Ullah, whose pen-name was *Ishq*, “Love”—

“Ah cruel one, thy coquetry fills my soul with trouble and dismay. Yet thou sittest, tranquilly combing out thy long, silky tresses. Seeing thee thus engaged I compare thee to a traveller who, as soon as he reaches the *serai*, tastes selfish repose without giving one thought to his companions who are still toiling through the desert sands. Thou art like the earth, which drinks up unconcerned the tears wrung from a woeful heart.”

From Sheikh Shah Miyán Najum-ud-Din, ‘Ali Khán’, known in literature as *Abru* (Honour), born at Gwalior 1770, died at Lucknow 1820 :

“I don’t understand thee at all, my darling; if thou wilt none of my heart, why seekest thou to captivate it? If thou art my declared enemy, why give me long, stealthy glances which are full of promise? Can it be that thou deignest at length to be human, and to offer me thy scarlet lips? My heart is a fiery furnace, from which sighs for thee rise like flames. Why dost thou tyrannize over a humble suppliant? Fear God, my Beloved One, and cease to make *Abru* suffer.”

“The Fifth Element” is by a poet of our own day named Mir Mohammad Rahshan Káyyil, born in Kashmir 1852 :

“After creating earth, water, fire and air, Allah resolved to create a fifth element : He fashioned Woman. More swiftly than the wind do a lover’s thoughts fly towards the object of

his desire, were she at the other end of the world. My Kharo's body enshrines all Earth's treasures. Her lips are flowers, her breasts are swelling fruit, her face is daylight, her locks the night. Rubies and pearls shine in her pretty mouth; diamonds glitter in her eyes. Fathomless as the ocean is the delight of her caresses. Like all who have seen Kharo, Rahshan Káyyil bears in his bosom this Fifth Element."

Nazir, a native of Akbarábád in Oudh, is the "Robbie Burns" of Northern India. His lyrical effusions, redolent of the soil, find an echo in the peasant's heart, and his erotic poetry is equally popular with town dwellers. Of such is

THE LADY OF MOONLIGHT.

"That night into the garden came she, the flower-limbed Lady of Moonlight, clad in a white robe interwoven with gold and silver thread which seemed to catch fire from the moonbeams. There stood she, in a blaze which eclipsed the moon itself. On that night by happy chance she and I were alone. It was a night of love, kisses, and wine-cups, of rippling laughter, and the old, old music of speech. Just then the cock crew, day dawned, flowers awoke, the wind blew, and she stole from my side: God knows whither she went, leaving me done, with all my desires dead within me."

I will conclude with two rhapsodies which are set in a very different key:

A KIRGHIZ HUSBAND'S WARNING.

"Woman, beware, watch the purlieus of our Kibitkal! For if I surprise thee whispering with a lover—were he a Chief-tain, or even a Prince—I will transfix both of you with poisoned

arrows. Then I will cut off thy eyelids, nose, lips, ears and breasts; then thy fingers, one by one; then thy toes one by one; then thy hands and feet, one after the other; then thy arms and legs, slice by slice. Then, in full view of thy lid-less eyes, I will bathe in thy blood and drink it, sweeter than any koumiss. And I will force all my slaves to taste it, that they may learn how I treat an unfaithful wife. Then, with my own hands will I light the pyre on which thou and thy false lover shall be consumed !''

THE ARAB GIRL'S LAMENT.

“The sun is setting, O Mohammad Ben Sulluk, and darkness descends on the desert, even as her mourning veil conceals the widow's forehead. The warrior unsaddles his horse with lissom limbs, tired servants lie stretched beside the tents, flocks return from the pasturage; a vapour rises from the desert like the canopy of smoke above an encampment. Dost hear the Muezzin's voice calling the faithful to prayer? Prostrate thyself, bathe thy exhausted limbs, and turn towards Mecca.

The shades of evening deepen and I, O my Spouse, my loved one, am watching for thy approach as the tigress watches for her absent cub. My soul is gnawed by anxiety, it is like the bones of travellers which whiten the caravan's track. My tears are falling as almond-blossom fall before the sirocco's blast. Come to me, O Mohammad, for I am filled with a longing like the hyena's which prowls round a graveyard, eager to devour the flesh of the buried dead. But thou hearest not, thou turnest thy head away like the lion which passes a sleeping man with proud disdain. For thy heart is no longer in my keeping, thine eyes are riveted on the eyes of an infidel girl, blue as the turquoises set in thy warsteed's bit, thy hands tremble with desire to stroke her tresses, yellow as ripe maize. Yes; thou lovest a Christian maiden, O Mohammad! She has

weaned thee from me; she has taken my very life away. I used to dye my nails with henna, and darken my eyes with kohl to please thee. Thy new love knows them not; her skin is white as a Chieftain's burnus; and clammy like the snake that coils itself round a charmer's arm. And my breast swells as a mountain torrent in spring-time; I feel my hatred spreading as the shades at nightfall. For I hate, I hate that infidel, who is no daughter of the Prophet, and contemns the God we worship. May she suffer what I am suffering! May her husband forsake her; may her sons be pierced with arrows through their cowardly backs! I long to satisfy my love for thee and my loathing for her. She must give me back the man I love. O Mohammad, that I could drink her heart's blood on thy lips!"

FRANCIS H. SKRINE

HINDUISM AND BRAHMANISM

The term *Hindu* is of foreign origin. It represents the Persian pronunciation of *Sindhu*, the indigenous name for the river Indus. *Hindu* in Greek mouths was transformed into 'Indos' whence *India*. It seems to have come into general use in this country under Mahomedan supremacy, as the designation of all non-Moslem inhabitants of the geographical tract then called Hindostan. The connotation of the term extended with the extension of Moslem political supremacy. In the present day all inhabitants of the triangular tract of land, stretching out from the Himalayas to the seas, are called Hindus who do not profess the religion of Christ or of Muhummad, the rest being considered negligible. The distinction implies a negative attribute. In the search for a religious vinculum among the human groups called Hindus, the inquirer finds himself in a labyrinthine religious museum, containing all types of religion, from the grossest fetishism to the most enlightened spirituality. If Hinduism is taken to be the religion of the non-Moslem and non-Christian inhabitants of that portion of the world which is named India it will be found to be an undefinable agglomerate. The class attribute of Islam in India is capable of determination, notwithstanding the cleavage between the Shias and Sunnis. They all accept Muhummad as the messenger and the Koran as the word of God. Their external practice has much that is common to both sects. Their educated common tongue all over India is Urdu. It is conceivable that if there is a rebellion in the name of Islam it will be far more extensive and intense in India than in the name of Hinduism. The influence of this thought on state policy is outside the scope of our present purpose. All that is necessary to consider is the confusion of thought created by the application of the term Hindu to certain human groups, inhabiting India and only

negatively describable as non-Moslem and so forth or to any form of religion. Centuries of misapplication of this term has created an intellectual anarchy, indistinguishable from the abnegation of reason. The worst punishment of a liar is a belief in his own lie by its constant repetition.

An unprejudiced and impartial search for the greatest common measure of unity in Hinduism or the religions of men called Hindus is not barren of result. The greatest number of Hindus, of intellectual, social and political importance but not all with English education, profess to accept certain scriptures as of the highest spiritual value. These scriptures are in Sanskrit and they are accepted as current from immemorial antiquity. This description relates to faith in things unseen, super-temporal and super-rational. The same goal may be reached by another road—the road of practice. Hinduism is said to be the religion of veneration for the Brahman and the Cow. This may be taken in the present day as a description of the major and more socially important portion of those called Hindus but obviously not a definition of Hinduism. For there are men, described as Hindus who eat the flesh of cows, dying a natural death and others to whom the ministry of Brahmans is not acceptable. The *Chāmār* caste and the casteless Bengali Vaishnavas may be cited as examples. In order to distinguish Brahman-headed Hindus from the rest the religion of Brahmans may be called Brahmanism or Brahmanya. Brahmans, notwithstanding many internecine differences, accept the scriptures referred to as the ultimate source and authority in religion, all sectarian scriptures being taken as re-statements and amplifications of the truth declared by the ancient original scriptures. Caste can scarcely be taken as a differentia of Brahmanism. From pre-historic times men believed to have risen above castes by purity of faith are regarded with veneration. This feature of Brahmanism still survives in the holiness believed to reside in Paramhansas. Most Śākta Brahmans, of high position in caste and society,

disregard caste, in congregational worship, known as *Chakras* or religious circles.

The scriptures accepted as the ultimate source of Brahmanism are traditionally known as the *prasthānatrayam* or the three-fold path and consist of the ten Mahā or great Upanishads, the “Bhagavad-Gītā” and the “Brahma Sūtras” of Vyāsa. In search of reason for faith three principal philosophical systems are known in Brahmanism and are accepted as systematised by Śankara, Rāmānuja, and Madhvācharya respectively. Notwithstanding their differences the statement may be ventured that they all accept the traditional teaching of the Brahmanical religion as to the goal of religious culture, which reached, the devotee becomes “*Brahmaniṣṭha, sarva-bhīrta-hite rataḥ*, (with steadfast faith in God and devoted to the well-being of all creatures). Although the religious practice of Brahmandom is Tantric in the main and not Vedic, the above-quoted formula of spiritual perfection is accepted by all. Assuming that the Tantrics are of Buddhistic and not Brahmanic origin, it may safely be asserted that the rule of faith and conduct declared in the “Three-fold path” is accepted by the principal scriptures of that school. In the result it may be taken that the “three-fold-path” is the repository of the Brahmanic faith. The application of the foregoing general statements to existing conditions must be reserved for future consideration. It is only necessary here to add that the applicability of the Hindu Law does not carry us very far owing to its variation by local, tribal and family customs but, as is well-known, all ancient law-books (*smritis*) claim to be founded on the authority of the Vedas, of which the scriptures of the “three-fold path” are regarded as the essence.

THE SONG OF THE GALE

I roused the slumbering night
And roared into her ear,
She blinked her million eyes
And loudly groaned in fear.

I rode upon the clouds
And crumpled up the sky,
And swept the cobwebs forth
That time had piled up high.

My trumpet of the dark,
It roused the spirit of song,
And stirred the sluggish blood
To proudly dance along.

I banished dreams and stars,
I banished doubts and fears,
And out beyond my realm
All woman's wails and tears.

There's straining of the heart,
There's tightening of life-strings,
There's joy in work and faith—
My trumpet sweetly sings.

Then up beyond the stars
And scorn their plaudits small,
And let the idle sun
From day to day slow crawl.

My spirit of the dark,
My trumpet of the night
Go set the world top down
And choke up the fountain of light.

NALINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

JAPANESE LITERATURE IN THE ERA OF THE JAPANESE PRINT

On a morning in the year 1600, two armies gathered at Sekigahara, not far from Kyoto. One force was nearly twice the size of the other, but the General in command of the lesser was a man of genius, Tokugawa Iyeyasu. So it came about, that the battling was maintained all day; and with the coming of twilight, the clarions of the smaller army sang triumph. Some of Iyeyasu's followers, hastening to congratulate him, spoke of the vast wealth which would now be his, since surely all Nippon lay in his hand, as it were. He replied that he cared neither for riches, nor personal glory; he declared that his sole dream, was the welfare of the Japanese people. To his staff-officers he gave memorable counsel: "After a victory, tighten the strings of your helmet." And the night came down.

The literature of Japan, in the 17th and 18th centuries, with the first half of the 19th, is so extensive and diverse that it will not be possible, within the scope of a single article, to offer more than an outline history of the topic. Long quotations must be vetoed, nor may there be given, more than a very few individual book-titles. It is a little easier, however, to deal with an Eastern subject in this broad manner, than with a Western. For in mental spheres of activity, the Oriental folk have rather tended, to echoing each other. And, just as it is consequently feasible, to treat of Japanese painters under certain headings, which have grown familiar in America and Europe, so is like treatment admissible, with regard to Japanese writers. But before marshalling the various groups or schools, it is essential to make clear the significance of Iyeyasu's victory at Sekigahara.

In Japan the eleven-hundreds saw long baronial wars, the masses suffering hardship accordingly. And, in 1192, there was founded the Shogunate, or military dictatorship. It

assumed the supreme legislative authority, the crown devolving into a mere shadow, although the Mikados were still regarded as divine. But as centuries sped on, the Shogunate proved utterly incapable, of checking the bellicose ways of the feudal lords, and the condition of the populace went from bad to worse. Through his triumph in 1600, Iyeyasu became Shogun in 1603. The office was made hereditary with his family, the Tokugawa, and they remained in power till the Revolution of 1867-68. By brilliant legislation, the victor of Sekigahara wholly changed the Land of Sunrise. He established a firm, central government; he broke the power of the barons; he swept away the age-long curse of civil-war, and thus he brought at last, comfort for the masses, along with a considerable measure of education for them. It will be evident, that these altered circumstances were eminently conducive, to the fashioning of what Japan had not created before the 17th century, popular literature. Profoundly relieved that the shadow of the sword no longer hung over them, the toiling myriads asked for diversion, a prime result being an enormous output of plays and novels. And since Yedo, now-a-days called Tokio, was in Tokugawa times the seat of Shogunal legislation, naturally that town was likewise then the centre, of writing, printing and publishing.

The characteristic plays are definable as song-dramas. They include very little dialogue, and while there are passages in prose, there predominate passages in a metrical form. This consists simply, in lines of seven syllables, alternating with lines of five, rhyme being unknown in Japanese literature. It was but normal, that a metrical vehicle should be copiously used, for the plays were chanted by a chorus. And the task of the players, or of the marionettes, was to create as it were a series of pictures, illustrations to the chant. It must be well borne in mind that, in Japan of Tokugawa days, women had little freedom. There was virtually no love-making as the Occident counts such, and marriages were merely arranged. In consequence, the life of the passing hour proved anything

but inspiring, to the authors of song-drama. Where did they find their subjects?

... The outstanding dramatist was Chikamatsu Monzayemon (1653-1724). He was a most vigorous writer, with a talent for vivid description, precisely the talent wanted in song-drama. Composing upwards of ninety pieces, he found his matter chiefly in history, Indian and Chinese, besides Japanese. His great success was *Kokusenya Kassen*, or the *Battles of Kokusenya*. This play abounds in gory horrors, together with the ridiculously fantastic, for instance, a scene where a tiger obligingly allows an amulet to be tied round its neck. If the other authors of song-drama had not so high a literary skill as Monzayemon, they were nevertheless thoroughly akin with him. Finding their topics largely in the romance of the civil-wars and vendettas of Japan in the middle-ages, they spangled their works with the blood-curdling. Suicide by disembowelment was endlessly figured, the supernatural being dealt in too, as in a play where a goblin appears. Near the close of the 18th century, there came a bias for increasing the amount of dialogue; and ere long, some dramas wholly in that mode were written. But this change in technique was not accompanied by a change in the style of dramatic literature. Blood and thunder were still wanted, and still purveyed. If the tone of the legion of stage-plays, emanating from the Tokugawa period, has a redeeming trait, it lies in the frequent eulogising in those works, of sacrificial loyalty on the part of the man-at-arms towards his lord. For if this loyalty was illogical, it was deeply beautiful, an action well worthy of being praised.

Of two classes are the novels: things which set forth the life of the Tokugawa day itself, and things which are historical. In the latter sphere, the man of highest fame was Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848). He wrote about 200 tales; his work reveals a mind of most phenomenal alertness, ceaselessly absorbent; and incidents crowd his vigorous pages, almost as stars the sky. Perhaps his finest book is *Kumano Tayema Ama*

yo no Tsuki, or *Moonlight shining through the clouds on a Night of Rain*. In this story of Japan in the 14th century, there is a woman who, being a most devout Buddhist, and therefore believing in the transmigration of the soul, is terribly distressed about her husband being engaged in the taking of life, for he is a hunter by profession. On her death-bed, she implores him to make of their child a Buddhist priest, and the son duly enters the sacred calling. Later, becoming enamoured of a young woman-musician, in service at a restaurant, he passionately regrets his vows of celibacy. And in the course of the story, there is a description of a little girl who, greatly unhappy, consoles herself with the hope of some day winning to what she calls the "lotus terrace." That is, the Paradise of Buddhism.

It was in the history of Japan herself, that Bakin found the material, for most of his other romances. And, with his fellow-writers of historical novels, the past of their own country was the principal mine for topics. His talent notwithstanding, Bakin closely resembled the coeval dramatists, in a fondness for treating of the fantastic, and the supernatural, together with sanguinary horrors. And herein he was only too symbolic of the other authors of historical tales. For the predilection for the magical, and the gruesome, was the dominant characteristic with these men. While their books enclose the hairbreadth escapes, and terrific combats, which are naturally expected in the sphere of literature at issue, these books also embody witches, torture, suicide by disembowelment; and revenge was an eternally favourite theme.

The absence of courting, the plan of merely arranging marriages, could scarcely fail to make novelists incline to lay their scenes amid the thrilling adventures of the middle-ages; instead of delineating their own era. With those men, who did indeed depict the Tokugawa time, the absence aforesaid could not but have effect likewise. Faced as they were, with nothing but the apparently unromantic, in respectable life, they very largely tended to represent the disreputable, figuring events in

the prostitution quarters. Indecency was the rule, not the exception, in the pages of these men; and repeatedly the Shogunal government endeavoured to stem the torrent of obscene books. Shikitei Samba (1757-1822), and Ryutei Tanĕhiko (1783-1842), were both assailed in this relation, but either man was a writer with true gifts. To this present day, Japanese perform their diurnal ablutions at public washing-places, instead of at home. And it is the chatter, at one of these washing-places, which is recorded in what is probably Samba's best book. This is *Ukiyo-furo*, or the *World's Bath-House*. And a lively volume it is, as in pages where women talk noisily in attack on the ways of their domestic servants! Samba realised, that what is seemingly quite common place may become bright, if written about brightly.

An arresting book by Tanĕhiko is *Ukiyogata Rokumai Byōbu*, or *Episodes of the Passing Hour, displayed on six Screens*. Largely emblematic of the particular class of Japanese novels under review, it nevertheless discloses here and there a slight tenderness of accent, which it would be hard to find, in the other things of that class. This accent transpires, for instance, in the account of the doings of a young woman, Misawo. She belongs by birth to the military aristocracy, but she is in poverty. And so that she may support her sister, and the latter's little girl, Misawo works in a restaurant. Consequently, she is much the object of amorous attentions. A rich man tries to buy her; she provisionally consents to go with him; and her old grand-mother, who is blind, is under the misapprehension, that Misawo is leaving, merely to be a servant in a wealthy house. Opining as she therefore does, that the young woman is finely clad, and eager to feel her granddaughter's new dress, the blind old person stretches out her hands. Misawo, desirous that the misapprehension should remain, seizes at once from the small Buddhist altar in the room, a bit of tapestry, which she hastily wraps round herself. Just as the deluded old mother is fingering with delight this

counterfeit dress, there enters Misawo's little nece, Koyosi, who comes perilously near taking away the delusion. For she exclaims to her aunt : " Oh, what a joke of an apron you are wearing."

Waiving the writers of song-drama, there were not in the Tokugawa time, authors definable as professional poets. But the writing of occasional verses, a practice which has been greatly the vogue with the upper classes, in eras before Sekigahara, became after that battle common with literally all sections of the community. The formula chiefly used was one, with only three lines being called the *haikai hoku* ; and it is in anthologies, that the verses of the epoch may be read. Beyond doubt, the Japanese, as a nation, have a singularly keen appreciation of the beauties of nature ; these were a prominent theme, in the literature of Nippon, as far back as the ninth century. And the typical *haikai* of Tokugawa years are songs, in which some bit of natural beauty is the subject. Here it is a bird on the wing, or a graceful creeping plant ; there again, it is a bright-hued spray of flowers, or moonlight, or snow. And frequently the thing is depicted with remarkable vividness, true pictorial quality.

An ancient writer of *haikai* was Mrs. Kaga no Chiyo (1703-1775). And, in a famous poem, she regrets that she cannot bring herself to tear away the convolvulus, which having twined itself round the rope at the well, has inhibited the drawing of water. How finely suggestive too, is one of these miniature songs by Miss Shushiki (1683-1728), in which she simply says, that the iris retains its colour, whereas the dreams of the poetess are dead. Still another lady, who is represented in the anthologies, is called there Sono or Garden, which may be assumed to have been her baptismal name. There is charming *hoku* by her, in which he tells only, that the heat is doubly trying, because the baby on her back keeps tugging at her hair. Being marvels of terseness, hints rather than statements, the diminutive pieces under notice are perforce very hard to translate

adequately. The most famous of singers, in the three-line medium, was a Buddhist priest, Matsura Basho (1644-1694). And here is a gem by him, the original being exquisitely musical, one of the fairest of all lyrics :

“ A cloud of blossoms in the air,
Notes of a bell, from where, Ah where,
Uyeno or Asakusa ? ”

Alas, the beauty of sound in the place-names, Uyeno and Asakusa, can hardly be conveyed in the Roman script. At either of those places, there is a temple. And is it not easy to conceive Basho, wandering of an evening, pausing to scan with delight the flowers, then hearing distant sacerdotal chimes, and wondering from which of the two fanes they emanated ? With what fine skill he recorded the moment of enchantment.

The scholarly writing, produced in the Tokugawa period, was of titanic quantity. There were encyclopædias ; there were histories ; and there were studies of folk-lore. Commencing to write on the ancient Japanese paintings, literati also began to descant on the weapons of the past. Nor was it strange that this subject should attract learned men of taste, considering the extraordinarily beautiful art which, through centuries, was lavished in Nippon on arms and armour. Of the distinguished writers on the paintings was Arai Hakuseki (1656-1725), from whom too there came a book on old martial accoutrements. Another eminent author on this topic was Inaba Michitatsu, who lived soon after Hakuseki, the book by Inaba being *Soken Kishō*, or *Treattse on Sword-Furniture*. And a slightly later author, who also won note by a volume on soldier's year, was Sakakibara Kozan. Hakuseki's scholarship was minute and profound, but he has the typical defect of his qualities. For by exhausting his subject, he inclines to exhaust his rearders. Kozan is entertaining, by reason of his cynicism. The sculptured cuirass, he says disdainfully, was never used by true fighters, it was worn just by dandies. And he expresses scorn

for Hakuseki's pages, as being those of a mere scholar, not of a man with practical experience of soldier's appertinances. It is a fine sharpness of mind, which underlies Inaba's critical comments on art in general. He fascinates by the boyish enthusiasm, with which he extols the high beauty, achieved by the old masters in sword-embellishment. He delights by his devotion to, and talent for flowery language. In the work of one of the great artists, he discovers "tender suggestiveness"; in that of another man, "force that would rend a rock." The chisellings of a certain artificer were to Inaba, reminiscent of "white sails, scattered over the broad bosom of the sea." Those of another he found comparable, "to the weeping-willow swaying gently in the breeze, or the lovely lotus..... dappled with pearls of dew."

An important part of Iyeyasu's measures to pacify Japan, lay in his seeking jealousy to foster printing, as too in his ardent endeavour, to increase the number of scholastic institutions. One of the things, which were printed at his personal behest, was an edition of the Confucian classics, the first edition of such produced in Nippon. And among the great Shogun's actions on behalf of education, was his founding of what came to be known as the Seidō, or Hall of the Sages. This was a place in Yedo, where lectures on the teachings of Confucius were given. And out of these events, there came a group of scholarly writers, whose prime though not exclusive concern was the eulogistic exposition of the Chinese philosopher. They were known as the *Kangakusha*; prominent in this band was Hayashi Rasan (1583-1657); his writings include *Hi Yasukyō* or *Down with Christianity*. This is probably, if not quite certainly, the earliest Far Eastern book on the Western faith, Rasan's attitude to which is amply shown by his title. A notable of the *Kangakusha* was Kaibara Yekken (1630-1714), who is the more interesting because he ultimately wrote a book, in which he told of the doubts which had come to him, with regard to those Confucian tenets he had previously upheld.

Another salient person, of the scholarly group in question, was Muro Kyuso (1658-1734), whose chief work is *Shundai Zatsuwa* or the *Miscellany of Shundai*, the latter being the place where he lived. Into his Confucian disquisitions he blends, true Japanese that he was, talk about the beauties of nature. Into those disquisitions moreover, he mingles homage to Iyeyasu. And in fact it is *Shundai Zatsuwa*, which tells how the great statesman said, at Sekigahara, that his care was for the Japanese people, not for personal glory.

There is only one more group to be spoken of, the *Wagakusha*. These were scholarly writers who, disapproving of so much attention being given to a foreign thing like Confucianism, were preoccupied with exegesis of the ancient literature of Japan. The herald of the group was a Buddhist priest, Keichiu (1640-1701), who wrote a study of the *Manyoshu*, or *Garner of a myriad leaves* a poetical anthology of the eighth century. That same era had seen the compiling of the *Kojiki*, or *Records of Ancient matters*; this is the Bible of Shintō, the religion of Japan ere she knew Buddhism and Confucianism. It is the *Kojiki* which tells that the Mikados are divine, and this Bible was much written about by the *Wagakusha*. A commentary on it, the *Kojiki-den*, was one of the chief books by the outstanding man of the group, Motoōri Norinaga (1730-1801). Another thing by him is a miscellany, in which he showed that his dislike of Confucianism was almost as sharp as Rasan's of Christianity. And, in this miscellany, Motoōri speaks briefly of the colour-prints of his time, in which pictures he saw "artistic degradation."

Proverbially, the pen is mightier than the sword. And when, in the mid-19th century, the Tokugawa régime began to show signs of tottering, the might of the pen of the *Wagakusha* transpired. Under the lead of Motoōri, they had given a new force, a fresh familiarity, to the slumbering contention in the *Kojiki*, that the Mikados were rulers by divine right. And this revival of the Shintō tenet had much to do with the

Revolution of 1867-68. It was claimed by the insurgents, that the Shoguns were usurpers, holding as they did that supreme authority, which ought to be with the sacred Emperors. And thus it came about that, on the forcible abolition of the Shogunate, the crown was restored to its position as head of the government. With this rebirth of the old, there came an inrush of the new. For it was now that free ingress to Occidentals was granted by Nippon, it was now that certain of her sons espoused the dream of westernising themselves, together with the aspiration to see their country a power, in international politics. And these events could not fail to bring vast changes in the literary activities of the Sunrise Land. Old Japan was dead.

The fundamental things in life are the same from generation unto generation. And, in great literature, invariably the basic and changeless elements are those, principally uttered. It is far easier to find such utterance in the writings of Japan, in the eras before Sekigahara, than in the writings of the age following that memorable fray. It is this lack of human interest, this comparative absence of setting forth the eternal and universal emotions, which are the main weakness in Japanese literature of the Tokugawa period. If in the foregoing recital, prominence was bestowed on Bakin and Tanēhiko, this was because, while either author was greatly symbolic of his epoch, both struck something of a human note, as has been seen. It is very difficult to conceive Matsura Bashō being forgotten, and the best of the *haikai*, by other writers than he, will also surely have a long favour yet. But the literature of the woodcut age does not hold, in the sphere of literary art as a whole, nearly so high a place as is held in the sphere of pictorial art, by the work of that wonderful constellation of print-designers, whom the Occident adores.

THE MODERN STATE

(A Study in Political Theory.)

Organic development means increasing inter-relation among the constituent members of an organism, and increasing specialisation on the part of each member. This specialisation is carried on and achieved to secure greater and more harmonious co-ordination in the activities of the various constituent members of the organism. Making due allowances for the error of carrying this biological concept of organic growth into the field of the social science we find, amidst the multiplication of social relationships that marks the advance of civilisation, that social development proceeds along lines that are organic in a peculiar sense, in the same sense in which it is subject to the principles of evolution that regulate the growth and development of individual organisms. That sense is the psychic sense. It is for this reason that Prof. Giddings calls the social organism an organisation, a product not only of unconscious evolution but also of conscious planning, and that Spencer talks of the social development as a super-organic evolution because of the development of the phenomena of the social mind. The mediation of the social mind transformed the military organisation of the earliest form of civil society and liberalised the creative spirit of nation-making, which leads to a differentiation of functions and groups based upon such differentiation. The intensely industrial stage on which civil society has now entered, resulting in increasing specialisation of group life replacing status by contract, is the logical outcome of the same liberal-legal process which transformed the earliest form of civil society presided over by the Magician king. The industrial society has witnessed an amazing growth of associational life and a relentless carrying to conclusion of the principle of differentiation.

Each group or association considers itself to be autonomous for the purposes for which it exists, controlling the allegiance of its members within the sphere of its own activities as perfectly as the military dictator of the early forms of civil society, or his liberal-legal prototype, the Austinian sovereign. On the other hand, there is a gradual delimitation of the sphere of the pre-existing unitary 'political' or military society in favour of these voluntary associations. A slow revolution is being effected in the political organisation of society ; does not this revolution, so comprehensive in its character, justify us to recast our theory of sovereignty in favour of one which would be more in consonance with facts ?

It is needless to enter now into the chequered history of the political theory of sovereignty. I say political, advisedly, because all these theories have evolved on the hypothesis of the existence of the political sense among the large mass of mankind. By political sense, I mean the sense of larger citizenship, the sense with which the comparatively parochial interests of the club or the community are subordinated to the higher demands of a superior organisation, if and when necessary. This political sense assumes that individuals organised within the limits of this superior group, can think and act in terms of this group, and render to it an allegiance which is absolute so far as it goes, and can be enforced, in the case of any isolated revolt, by means of physical force, which the individuals have agreed to place at its disposal, to bring to book the recalcitrant members. This assumption, it is needless to point out, conceals various other assumptions which in themselves require justification. The first is that there is, in fact, a superior group so organised; secondly, that individuals do, as a matter of fact, think and act in terms of this group ; and thirdly, that blood and iron is the visible sanction behind the authority of this group supported ultimately by the tacit agreement among the individual members comprising this group as to the necessity of this visible coercive power. If,

on the other hand, the facts of our political life show that this superior group is a mythical entity to which allegiance is rendered as a matter of convention, liable to be withdrawn at the very moment when the supposed interests of this superior group will happen to clash with the more real interests of the group or the community to which the individual may happen to belong directly—that the vast majority of the people think and act in terms of the self and all that this entity signifies, and that the physical and coercive power of the superior group is, on the one hand, beginning to lose its efficiency as an obedience-compelling power and on the other hand, is being rejected as the sole, or even the most important basis of criminal reform by eminent statesmen and criminologists, as in fact it is,—might we not have the right to ask for a radical change in the traditional conception of the political State in favour of one which, while not ignoring the possibility of a higher life transcending the race, the region and the group, will take account of the increasing importance of the group or the regional life in shaping the economic and political activities of the people and in controlling them ?

The conception of the political State is a survival in idea, from the sociological point of view, of the condition of things which obtained in the first stages of civilisation when the community was based on a military organisation, pure and simple. It might be that in the Greek *πολις*, the perfect political society existed, but then the world seems to have bid good bye to these city-states after the era of industrial revolution was reached, or even before that, partly because the area over which the State exercises its authority has much widened, and partly because the principle of citizenship has been much extended,—and,—the most important of the reasons,—because man's interest in life has become more varied and complex. The political State, therefore, does not exist to-day. Politics now is the exclusive concern of people who happened to have leisure and of journalists,—and the legislature, the mouth-

piece of democracy, has now become an exclusive club, owing to the prohibitive election expenses and the control of the party caucus. Apart from the composition of the legislatures, the work which they do in each department of public life is dictated by that group or section of the people whose concern it is. The rest of the people scarcely or seldom think about it. In legislating, therefore, the legislature, the chief organ of the State, gives expression to a group-mind, provided of course it is sufficiently powerful, and at the same time keeps up the myth of a unitary political organisation.

Law itself is a social product. In primitive community, law took the form of custom or tradition,—the direct naive expression of popular life. It is a mistaken belief of jurists that the essential nature of law is that it is a *command* addressed by a superior upon an inferior and enforced by him through the medium of punishment.¹ In the first place, law so conceived is merely the crystallisation of what we usually call public opinion but which is no more or no less than the opinion of a particular group or section of the people,—as a rule, that section whom the question concerns most,—and is a confirmation by the “accredited” representatives of the group or section, to which others assent, of an otherwise nebulous social attitude. Secondly, the “command” has frequently to be revoked or “amended” according as this social attitude undergoes any change. We do not for the present consider those topics which are supposed to be the business of everybody as much as of anybody else, for example, the duty of preserving order. It would not be difficult, however, to show that these topics are only those tasks, in a re-oriented form, to address itself to which the earliest civil society was established. It does not make any difference in political theory, but is only a problem in expediency. Accepting, then, the sense in which we have understood law, *viz.*, as the reflection

¹ See Hobhouse ; *Social Evolution and Political Theory*, p. 137.

of a definite social attitude, we find that in paying allegiance to a law thus promulgated, an individual only accepts it as the will and verdict of the group to which he belongs and recognises that will and verdict to be his own. The law is not, and can never be, so long as modern conditions of life prevail, the *command* of a *central* sovereign political authority.

There are two principles on which the State is based,—the principle of citizenship and the principle of authority. In modern States, the principle of citizenship seems to have interpenetrated our civic ideals and seems to be the guiding factor in drawing up codes of “public” life. Supporters of the theory that the modern State is more intensely political than the city-states of Greece will point with great pride and satisfaction to the very large number of people who now enjoy political and civil rights as compared to those in ancient Hellas, to the number of resolutions moved and adopted by the political assemblies of to-day, to the tremendous interest created by the press, the pulpit and the platform in all the larger public affairs of a country and to the fact that there is an increasing reaction in favour of a paternal government as evidenced by the larger schemes of social reform, some of them essentially of socialistic nature, as undertaken by the modern governments; and rightly conclude, if these premises are accepted at their face value, that the contention that the centralised political State has ceased to exist has no foundation in fact. But an acute analysis of the modern organisation of political life will show that underlying all these arguments, there is the misleading connotation of the two terms, public and political. What we often call as public is nothing but a group, a class, a sect, a profession, or a temporary combination of these, and whatever combination there might be, the real unit in deciding the point at issue are these individual groups, classes, sects and professions. Likewise, what is called *political* has always reference to a State, conceived of as a super-association representing the general will of its constituent members. But, the question is, is there

a *general* will ? and does this super-association express the general will, if any ? As Professor Hobhouse says, "The general will is an entity not always to be discovered, and the use of this term leads to the most inhuman torture of evidence (—a fling, may we say, to the brilliant author of inverted Hobbism?) to prove that there is a generality of will where there is none." The mere fact that a super-association exists and legislates (implying as it does a confusion of the conception of the abstract entity called the State and the material agencies of its activity) does not prove that there is a political life clear and distinct from the activities appertaining to the group or the class as such and to which all such activities are to be ruthlessly subordinated from purely extra-personal motives. The new psychology of human behaviourism denies this. Secondly, the mere existence of a thing is not its justification. The conditions which gave birth to the monistic State which passed unscathed through a long period beginning with the Magician-king and the Patriarch down to that of king-ship by divine right (which died a very reluctant death only the other day), have been vastly changed by the remarkably rapid growth of associational life and by the industrialisation of society. An organisation like the T. U. C. of England can upset the whole 'political' machinery of a State based on a single-sovereign principle. The Indian National Congress commands a position which cannot be ignored with impunity, provided it stands united, by the arbiters of India's political destiny. The Chambers of Commerce have often dictated policy to the authorities at Simla and Whitehall. Even in the highest developments of the social mind it cannot boast of an all-pervasive unity but is a case of unity within unity and of organism acting upon organism. There are some cases on the other hand, where real balancing of interests is impossible and where any compulsory balancing may lead to social upheavals or revolutions such as has overtaken Russia. The extension of the principle of citizenship, far from being an evidence of the

centralised political organisation of the modern State has resulted in an invasion of the State by efficiently organised groups parading under the name of *parties* and a merciless assault on the principle of centralization. The principle of citizenship has found a new expression in the organisation of the party; here too, the group-element has been the predominant factor. Further, in extension of the same principle we find that political fight has now been shifted from individuals on to the constituencies, and each member comes to the political assembly more or less mandated, more or less burdened with "programmes" saddled upon them by their group, their constituency or their party as the case may be. As the franchise is extended, the citizens are less and less directly associated with the work of the State. Besides, as there is no direct participation in the exercise of political rights and in the discharge of political obligations (save, perhaps, at the time of the General Election) minority interests go by default because, might be, of the apathy of the majority party for its irresponsible Opposition.

We now come to the next principle, the principle of authority. The monistic State has, for its basis, an authority which can be traced to a single source. Anyone who is roughly familiar with the history of kingship and sovereignty, knows that beginning with the patriarchal and tribal chief down to that type of kings which passed away with the extinction of the German monarchy, the seat of sovereignty could be traced to a single source whether it be personal prowess, custom, or a divine authority. It is said that the legislature is the sovereign in the modern State, where, it is said, the principle of authority is replaced by the principle of citizenship. But as we have seen, citizens themselves have been differentiated into groups, and the legislature though *de jure* sovereign is not so *de facto*. The *de facto* sovereign naturally tends to be sovereign *de jure*, and this process of conversion is seen in modern times in the increasing irreverence shown to law, passed by the *de jure* sovereign when it happens to clash with the interest of the

de facto sovereign, viz., the voluntary groups or associations. The penalty attaching to law, especially 'political' law, seems to have less terror for the people to-day. In other words, while the penalty exists, the social dis-approbation which sanctioned it, and of which it was the symbol, has disappeared. The attitude of the social class or group to which the individual belongs is the ultimate standard of human behaviour and a State which fails adequately to represent this attitude cannot be a sovereign organisation in that its will as expressed through its law will not be ultimately effective; such a State stands self-condemned. To provide that the real will of each important group might be realised, it is necessary to invest these groups with as much autonomy as is compatible with the like autonomy of other similar groups, there being a central co-ordinating machinery to decide on questions of conflict on the one hand and on matters which unquestionably affect the interests of each and every group on the other. On the former set of questions, the decisions of this co-ordinating machinery should be merely recommendatory, which, therefore, shall not be sovereign in respect of these questions, as all decisions in order to be effective must needs be unanimous. On the second set of topics, the sovereignty of the central machinery would obviously be a really derived one. But these are questions of practical politics and may be left out of consideration for the present.

We thus arrive at the central thesis: that the modern State is essentially pluralistic in nature, and to avoid unnecessary political complications, every opportunity should be taken for the gradual devolution of the functions of a centralised State in favour of decentralised groups and associations. We have attempted to show, thus, that a centralised monistic State, though it has performed important functions in the infancy of civilisation, exists now only in name. It is a "theory" which has a past but no future. At the time when there was an increasing integration of social groups and aggregates, of

hordes, clans and tribes, of undeveloped nationalities, of heterogeneous racial and national elements in order to form compact nations,—the monistic State was a natural and useful outcome. But the organism, when once its main structure is completed,—when the process of integration, that is, has fulfilled itself,—can, as we have pointed out at the very outset of this essay, increase in efficiency only by an increasing specialisation of its component parts which secures a greater co-ordination and harmony in the social organism. But it must be warned that the biological arguments must not be pushed too far. To seek for the exact parallels of the structure of a complex biological organism in the discrete structure of the social organism will be to stultify our conception of society as a moving dynamic entity. But the fact remains that the monistic State is a hypothesis that is no longer true. Associational life, more real than 'political' life has come to stay. All our activities must come from the bottom upwards, rather than filter from the top downwards. The association is the pivot round which the social mind is to revolve, and all our rational judgment of social values must be appraised and accepted by the group.

The rise of the new psychology of the group-mind and its acute analysis of the crowd-mind has changed entirely the orthodox outlook in social theory. The State, for instance, does not now deal with individuals, but with groups. The individual does not think in terms of a mythical entity called the State but in terms of self as conditioned by the group or the region. The principle of self-determination as an accepted tenet of modern imperialism is the crystallisation of the same theory of political pluralism in the sphere of high policy. It is interesting to find that this principle of the group or the regional organisation of the State was realised in practice long ago by the Eastern communal democracy,¹ and is another proof,

¹ "The origin of the Indian village and functional bodies is also far different from that corresponding institutions in Western polity. The latter are the outcome of the delegation and delimitation of the central authority of the State. The former have an

if proof is required, that the West has still much to learn from the East,—though there is this difference that in the East, notably in India, the communal democracy was original, and not formed by the gradual delegation or delimitation of the functions of the central authority which must necessarily be the line in the West. And as Kropotkin observes, “Each economical phase of life implies its own political phase,” and a change in the economic life of the people implies a corresponding change in the political organisation of the State, and the postulate of a universal political sense is not warranted by facts.

Should there be, or should there *not* be, a central political machinery, is a question to which there can be only one answer : there *should*. There are many questions which affect the groups as a whole and there are many others which a combination of all the groups, organised for those purposes, can only solve. But as to the form in which this combined authority is to find expression, it is a matter for each State to decide. But it is clear that its functions should be restricted to the narrowest possible limits. The sovereignty would vest *ipso facto* for the simple fact that each group in obeying the “commands” of such a machinery will only be realising and obeying its own direct will. On all other topics, “the only way of preserving sufficient liberty is the organisation of citizens with special interests into groups, determined to preserve autonomy as regards their internal affairs.....The glorification of the State, and the doctrine that it is every citizen’s duty to serve the State, are radically against progress and liberty.”²

KHAGENDRANATH SEN “

independent origin and development and the State here had often to treat them on terms of equality and recognise their pre-existing rights of conventions and agreements which operated as charters regulating their mutual relations.”—Radhakamal Mookerjee : *Democracies of the East*, Ch. 21.

² Bertrand Russel : *Roads to Freedom*, Ch. 5.

PORTRAIT OF A ROMANTIC

“I think it takes more to make an Englishman, on the whole, than to make anyone else—and I say this with a consciousness of all that often seems to me to have been left out of their composition...” So Henry James wrote from London in 1880 ; and it was his considered judgment of the people with whom he “lost all patience about fifteen times a day,” yet loved them well and accounted them as the great race. So many factors contributed to the making of George Wyndham that he cannot fairly be called a representative modern Englishman. The brief “Prelude of Ancestry” with which Mr. Mackail opens his massive volumes is almost a necessity to the understanding of George Wyndham’s rich personality and varied attainments, for in him English, Scotch, French and Irish strains were mingled.

Among the Paston letters is one written by a certain John Wyndham, about 1465, with a single postscript line which is so significant that it might have been adopted as the family motto : “And how that ever ye do, hold up your manship.” That heritage, wider than the limits of family or race, was the one which George Wyndham maintained throughout his life.

His mother, Mrs. Percy Wyndham, was the grand-daughter of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and of *la belle Pamela*. She inherited remarkable graces of mind and person, and in her turn transmitted them to her children, of whom George was the eldest son, born August 29, 1863.

The glimpses given of his childhood and youth at Cocker-mouth Castle, Isel or, later on, at Wilbury, take us back to a world which had not lost its sense of enchantment and could still be thrilled by the touch of romance :

“ The two boys had little suits of armour, helmet, breast-plate and partisan, still extant, which were the furniture for endless adventure.

There is a pretty story of Dicky Doyle arriving one day on a visit, and as he came up the avenue, seeing among a drift of autumn leaves two knights and a damsel being impersonated, Mary Wyndham in a red skirt, George and Guy in their armour. He never forgot it."

It was through their mother's taste for art and the drama that the children were not only taken to Irving's Shakespeare plays at the Lyceum, but produced their own versions of *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Tempest*, and *Midsummer Night's Dream* in their holidays at Wilbury. Thus George Wyndham's love of English literature was a part of him from very early days.

Between 1877 and 1883, he passed through Eton, which he found "a lovely place," and Sandhurst; he was then gazetted to the Coldstream Guards. Early in 1885, his regiment was ordered to Egypt on active service. The day after he sailed his father wrote to him a letter which was kept by the younger man among his greatest treasures all his life: a letter that with all its simplicity, is classic in its expression of devotion to his son: of a highminded man's views of life and death: "...these occasions...leave Love and Duty *standing* as they will *stand for ever*...I cannot make you know what I think of you, but I feel to have had such a son is not to have lived in vain."

George Wyndham was in several hot engagements during his short campaign, and commanded a company for a time before the battalion returned to England in September. In the summer of that year, Wilbury, which had only been leased by his family, was given up and "Clouds" became the Wyndham's beautiful Wiltshire home.

After his home-coming, a year of mental restlessness and rather feverish social life followed. Wyndham had faced death in Egypt, and left something of his light-hearted boyishness there. The new powers which were stirring in him found their natural outlet in his letters, in his early poems, and in extensive reading among French and English books:

"I have just finished Ockley's 'Saracens'; they were very fascinating people; like all people thoroughly in earnest, their lives give great pleasure to those who have nothing to be in earnest about. At least I think this is the great charm about early Jews, Christians, Saracens, Turks, Buddhists, and all the other early religious or political people, that they knew they were right and every-one else wrong; whilst we only know we are wrong and think everybody else is too."

And later in the year, he wrote: "The two worlds of dreams and books are much more real to me than the third of things and people one meets." But nearer to him than he believed was "the happiest moment of life, winning the most lovely living thing." He was only twenty-four when he married the young widow of Earl Grosvenor, and thereby claimed that supremely happy family life which seemed to be the inalienable right of the Wyndhams, in the beautiful old Grange in Cheshire which was to be their future home.

While on his honeymoon in Italy, a letter from Mr. Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, invited him to return and act as his Private Secretary. For him, as his father's son, refusal was not possible, whether the "new adventure" appeared the most congenial or not. Mr. Mackail sums up the work and main result of George Wyndham's public life thus:

"It brought successes and failures, triumphs and disappointments; and even when most engrossing it did not fill his life. He gave his mind to it, he spent on it both energy and labour; his treasure and his heart were elsewhere."

Not till two years later did he enter Parliament as member for Dover: he made his maiden speech in the House of Commons on February 17, 1890. He had been described a few years before as "outrageously handsome," and now his amazing good looks and his easy, graceful delivery impressed his critics in the Press more than the gist of his speech. Indeed, Mr. Mackail considers that his natural gifts "perhaps really hampered his political career.....The public like a politician who can be easily caricatured. The House of Commons like one who addresses them in the plainest of prose." It is

not difficult to imagine what his constituents would have felt if they had known that at this time he was a member of the "Crabbet Club," presided over by his cousin, Wilfred Blunt of eccentric fame—a club which met "to play lawn tennis, the piano, the fool, and other instruments of gaiety"; and had as one of its rules "that anyone becoming a Cabinet Minister or a Bishop, ceases *ipso facto* to be a member." Moreover, he was in love with French poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and owned that the translation of a triolet by Charles d'Orléans, which he had begun in his bath, was finished as he sat "at the board meeting of the L. C. and D. R. directors!"

Between 1899 and 1905, George Wyndham's talents were at the Government's disposal, first at the War Office, as Under-Secretary, then as Chief Secretary for Ireland. But for weapons he had only the finely-tempered blades of honour and loyalty, and a man armed thus is hardly fully equipped for party politics, nor for self-defence. His sensitive nature and imaginative tastes must have suffered many blows from more robust opponents, though he brought to the fray the same spirit and determination that he gave to his soldiering or his sports. The opposing claims and interests are continually reflected in his delightful letters to his family and friends :

"I mean to be callous but get engrossed in the game.....There are so few on either side who pretend to act on principle, or even care to win for the sake of winning.....I don't want to be thirty a bit. I like sailing boats on ponds and riding about with my hat off better than anything else. What have I done to deserve this?.....The world of pens, ink and paper, ugly rooms, exhausted atmospheres, commonplace people and sordid details is all very well as a forest to go questing in. But you soon become a poor quester if you never go back to Camelot, to sing 'Tirralirra' by the river with Sir Lancelot....."

His impressions of scenes in France and Italy are like a Chinese painting in their delicate vigour :

(On the way to Cannes) ".....The sun set and all the gold became the very ghost of gold.....We pulled up and waited long at 'Le May.'

I shall never forget the stillness, the purple zenith and light horizon with one dead aloe flower against it. The aloe that flowers and dies."

Yet while his mind steeped itself in beauty by instinct and desire, he did not shirk the tasks which were "strenuous, exacting and anxious," for he wrote in 1898 :

"It is strange to see all the different movements beginning to weave themselves into a cable to tow civilization back to its moorings. Will the cable break? That is the supreme question for those who care for politics and art and letters and who love their land."

And again :

"How much more of courage and compassion and patience and sincerity is needed if the world is to go on any better than it has done!"

When he entered on his Irish work, he was moved to enthusiasm and even the Nationalist leaders acknowledged his charm and integrity. "Thank God, we have a gentleman as Chief Secretary," a political opponent* remarked to him. Wyndham's Irish Land Bill, in 1903, was the best proof of his force in a cause that he had at heart. But it was carried through by effort and strain which left their mark on him and the glow of his triumph soon faded. "Had he been moved by personal ambition, or had he consulted his own material interest, he would have played for safety and relinquished the reins of Irish Government" when, later in the year, the Ministry was reconstructed, and he had the opportunity of being transferred to another office of greater titular dignity.

He felt that it would be against the interest of both countries to leave his post at that juncture, and he remained to face detraction, overwork, antagonism, till finally he believed that his continuance in office would injure the Irish questions and his political chiefs. He wrote thus in tendering his resignation to the Prime Minister :

"Do not think of me, I shall be glad if misconception of my policy and above all of my action can some day be removed. But I am quite ready to wait for that."

Two months later, he made his own statement in the House of Commons and after that his mind was at ease. He had no cause for self-reproach; he allowed himself no vain regrets nor bitterness. His own attitude was expressed in the words which he wrote to a friend in 1907 :

“ You must not let disappointment weigh on your mind. May be is can be righted. May be it cannot. But what does it matter to an English gentleman?”

The remaining years were sereener ones, for George Wyndham did not hold office again, and his political activities were relieved by studies in Romanticism, by riding, hunting and all the country occupations he loved. Occasionally he was in camp with his Cheshire Yeomanry. In 1908, he was at the large-scale cavalry manœuvres for a month and at the end he wrote in a grave vein of soldiering being more important than politics, using the prescient words, “if Germany fights France and we have to go to Belgium.”

When he succeeded to the Clouds Estate on his father's death in 1911, he set himself “ to do his duty by the little stretch of England for which he was responsible.” He held that the part played by the landowners, large and small, was vital to the country's agriculture. He saw before him “ happy and uselul employment for twenty years”—this was his eager vision in May, 1913, when he was not yet fifty, and the marriage of his only child, the beloved young Guardsman, had just taken place.

George Wyndham had summed up the experiences of a previous year in the words “ I have lived and life is wonderful.” They are the epitome of his whole earthly course. The swift, undreaded passing on June 9, 1913, while he was on a few days' visit to Paris, seems now but the fitting completion of the gracious life, filled with love and friendship, with perceptions of “all the colour and shape and music of life.” He had made

his choice long ago : and in a period of decadence he stood definitely for a Christian humanism, for the knightly virtues of patriotism, truth and courtesy.

Lionel Johnson's lines on " A Friend " might well have been inspired by George Wyndham :

"As one of us he wrought
Things of the common hour :
Whence was the charmed soul brought
That gave each act such power,
The natural beauty of a flower?"

MURIEL KENT

VEDANTA—A CHARTER FOR CATHOLICISM

Secular knowledge augmented everyday by contributions pouring in from different parts of the world has already stepped out of esoteric seclusion, communal and racial exclusiveness. It is high time therefore that theologians from different parts of the globe should join hands to deliver spiritual knowledge also out of communal and sectarian grooves and make it a universal property of mankind. Indeed it is a demand of the age, that theologians should meet to find out the unity underlying the different religions on earth—to discover the fact that just as there is a uniformity in the application of physical and biological laws to different ethnic groups of the human species, there must be a uniformity in the application of spiritual laws as well.

We believe that discourses on Vedanta will expedite the consummation of universalising religion, for Vedanta holds before our vision unity underlying all possible experiences on the spiritual plane एकं सद्दिग्रा बहुधा वदन्ति “(One alone exists, sages call it by various names.” What a bold, clear, unambiguous charter for unbounded catholicism. This catholic outlook of Vedanta bestows upon us the proud privilege of making our obeisance before all religions, all scriptures, all saints and all apostles and makes it possible for us to feel and respect equally the sanctity of the Buddhist Vihar, the Christian Church, the Hindu Temple and the Mohammedan Mosque.

Religion is neither a bundle of philosophical speculations nor a store-house of meaningless ceremonials. It has a vital relation with our growth. Just as we grow physically and intellectually so we have a constitutional demand for spiritual growth. Every one of us has been panting every moment of our life for unbroken peace, unlimited knowledge and immortal life and all religions on earth declare in one voice that this

can be found only in God and in nothing else and lay down one universal condition of realising God and that is purity.

From this it follows that the purpose of a religion is served if it can attract our vision away from the vanities of the world towards God and give us sufficient incentive to purify our mind and thus prepare us for realising Him. Now, people vary in their tastes, so the same picture cannot attract all. Gross minds require gross representations, and subtle minds, subtle, the intellectual man must have strict logic, while the emotional man requires a stir of his emotion. So there is absolutely no harm that different religions or even different sects of the same religion have drawn different pictures of the same fundamental truths, for if the different pictures of the same truth do really lead different groups of people to purify their minds, the purpose is served, because this process of purification alone will guide them surely to the realisation of the truth—as it really is. Unlike other religions Vedanta holds out a number of different representations of the fundamental truths, covering, as it were, the entire range of human taste and requirement.

By Vedanta, of course, we do not mean merely the monistic system of philosophy as propounded by Sankaracharya, though in this restricted sense it has come to be used by many. Vedanta literally means the end of the Vedas, which are the oldest scriptures of mankind. So by Vedanta we mean the Upanishads, which form the concluding portion of the Vedas. Like other scriptures on earth, these Upanishads are the outcome not of mere intellectual operations but of intuitive experiences of pure hearts. Here in these Upanishads we find an epitome of all shades of religious belief; it throws open to mankind a vast mine of spiritual experiences which make it possible for every creed to accommodate its doctrines to the views of the Upanishads. So numerous are the suggestions of Truth, so various are the representations of the fundamental truths met with in the Upanishads—"that almost

anybody may seek in them what he wants and find what he seeks." This is why the sayings of the Upanishads have given rise to so many schools of philosophy in this land, which are nursing the various creeds enfolded within the catholic arms of Hinduism. Each school of dogmatics may fight with the other and may fasten its views to all the sayings of the Upanishads by straining their languages whenever necessary—each may try to 'victimise' the philosophy of the Upanishads by an interpretation of its own but the fact remains uncontradicted that all these different schools have drawn their inspiration from the same source, namely the Upanishads. The harmony of the Upanishads is not on the surface—the harmony is in the fact that all these various representations are not merely *guesses at truth* but *actual readings of the same truths* in the flash-light of intuition taken from different stages of spiritual growth and that every one of the representations fits in with the taste and requirement of a certain group of people.

The man of logic is perfectly satisfied when he hears of the Truth as the Impersonal Brahman described as **नेति नेति**—not this, not this ; for nothing can surpass the logical accuracy of this description of the Absolute. The Absolute is beyond Time, beyond Space and beyond Causation—so any attempt at describing the final cause limits it within the range of mental concept. The man of logic, therefore, is perfectly satisfied when in his ears rings out the passage **यतो वाचो निवर्त्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह**—from where baffled in the attempt, speech recoils with the mind.

But the thought of such an unconditioned and undifferentiated existence beyond the realm of all names, all forms, cannot surely be comprehended by many. Something more tangible, more concrete is required by the majority. Vedanta is ready with other representations to meet this requirement. '**विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म**' Brahman is Consciousness and Bliss. '**सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म**' Brahman is Truth, Consciousness and Infinity. And Brahman is immanent in the universe, in and

through Him every name and every form has its existence. ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् । The phenomenal world is pervaded by God. This is another representation of the same Impersonal Brahman ; but here something has been posited of the Absolute. Even this all-pervading Brahman is a reading of the Absolute taken through the mist of space-concept.

We meet with yet another picture—the picture of an “Antaryamin” a ruler of the universe—the Creator, the Preserver and Destroyer of the universe, the infinite abode of all that is good, all that is beautiful. Here we find God without form but with qualities, God of infinite love and infinite mercy. This suits the man of emotion, for he can pray before this God and find a solace in the thought of His infinite love and grace.

Even this is not sufficient, something yet more concrete is required by many. They must have God with a definite form and a fixed abode. Even such an idea of God is not wanting in the Upanishads. In Chandogya Upanishads we have the description of Brahman with a body of golden hue and lotus-eyes residing in the sun and in Kena Upanishad we find the glorious One, by whose power the fire burns and the air blows, appearing before Indra in the effulgent form of a beautiful female.

These widely different representations of the same Truth are but different readings taken from different standpoints like so many photographs of the same sun taken from different distances ब्रह्मैवेदमग्रे आसीत् एकमेवाद्वितीयम्. The One alone existed at the beginning—One without a second. The glorious One alone exists, untainted by any name or any form—and whatever we experience has its existence only in him. It is the Absolute, that looked through the prism of the mind appears as the world; and as this prism becomes more and more purified, the Absolute appears as God with form and with qualities, later on as God without form and with qualities ; and the culmination is reached when the mind becomes abso-

lutely stainless and becomes dissolved as it were and the individual suddenly steps out of all limitations and merges in the Absolute.

This about the Final Cause ; the same thing happens with Creation as well. The various sayings of the Upanishads have supplied materials to different schools of philosophy to hold out different explanations regarding the fact of Creation. But like the real nature of the Absolute, the first step towards creation will ever remain a mystery to the human mind—for both lie beyond its jurisdiction. We can't deny the fact that Brahman, in whom there cannot be any trace of differentiation, is after all the Final Cause of this infinitely differentiated universe. But how has such a contradiction become a fact will ever remain a puzzle to the intellect ! For who can say how or why of the cause of causation itself ? The query is logically absurd and any attempt at answering the query may be at best a theory, but it can never be a correct representation of the first step towards creation, the first step from the undifferentiated to the realm of differentiation. The different systems of philosophy simply give us so many theories, couched in grosser or finer imageries, to make the fact of creation comprehensible and acceptable to different groups of mentality.

The majority cannot comprehend anything more than a Personal God of Infinite Power creating this universe by His will. This may be a step in the process of creation—and the Upanishads boldly declare that it is so, when they describe Hiranyagarbha springing out of the Absolute and creating the universe by his will. But certainly this God with a will and an individuality cannot be the Final Cause, nor can this step be the last word about creation.

For yet finer minds there is the theory of the projection of this universe out of the Impersonal Brahman—like hair and nails growing out of the body, like trees shooting out of the earth, and like cobwebs coming out of the spider.

“यथोर्णनाभः सृजते गृह्यते च, यथा पृथिव्यामोषधयः सम्भवन्ति ।

... यथा सतः पुरुषात् केशलोमनि, तथाऽक्षरात् सम्भवतीह विष्णुम् ॥”

They look upon Impersonal Brahman as both the efficient as well as the material cause of the universe. Undoubtedly this is a bold advance towards the fact of creation but even this falls short of the truth, for it cannot satisfy extreme reason.

To the strict Advaitists—who form the vanguard of rational speculations about the fundamental truths, this causal relations of this universe with the Absolute, taken in its literal sense, appears to be a logical absurdity. How can the Absolute change? This is simply—absurd. So they say that the whole thing about creation is an illusion and not a fact. The universe has only an apparent existence, just like the illusion of a snake on a rope or a mirage in the desert, and they ascribe this illusion to the agency of Maya—an inscrutable power of Brahman.

But even this does not solve the riddle of creation. For one may ask the Advaitist, “How do you know that the Absolute cannot change? Do you fear that the law of contradiction will be violated? But the law of contradiction is a fact within creation. What right have we to stretch it beyond the universe and bind the Absolute by its shackles?”

Therefore we cannot say definitely whether it is a case of real or apparent manifestation just as we cannot say anything definitely about the real nature of the Absolute. Indeed Brahman is wonderful unlike any other thing within the range of our conception and this inexplicable self-contradictory fact of the one becoming many has been possible in Him and this fact we may call Maya. None of these different representations of the different systems give the final word about creation—they are only theories—so they have no reason to quarrel, because every one of them has the pragmatic value of drawing different groups of human minds towards the Eternal Abode of infinite knowledge, bliss and existence.

One word more about creation. Vedanta believes in cycles of creation and dissolution. The universe is not literally created but is said to be projected and again withdrawn, as it were, and this rhythmic process has been going on eternally. This position satisfies reason; for really creation, which involves the creation of Time, cannot certainly have any beginning in time.

Now let us take up the last and the most vital topic, namely, the relation between the individual self, nature and God.

Here also two different views are upheld by the two prominent schools of Vedanta, the monistic and the qualified monistic. As a matter of fact the qualified monistic view, championed so ably by Ramanujacharyya, is the basis of all conceptions of the various dualistic sects within the fold of Vedanta. For whoever will acknowledge the authority of the Vedanta cannot accept dualism in its strictest sense—he must accommodate his creed to a fundamental unity preached by Vedanta.

According to Ramanujacharyya, Nature and Souls have separate existence, although they are one in essence with the Antaryamin—the ruler of the universe. The souls are bound by the laws of nature—but they can become free by the grace of God only if they struggle for it and become pure. Even after freedom from the shackles of the sense world, they retain their individuality, although then they shine in their innate nature of infinite Bliss, Knowledge and Existence—for they are one in essence with the Lord.

Of the laws of nature, to which the soul is bound till it attains freedom, the most rigorous one is the law of Causation. And here all schools of Vedanta are unanimous. All of them accept this portion of the Sankhya system of cosmology and believe that every bit of this phenomenal universe is made of matter—gross or fine. Body, vital energy, mind, intelligence, ego are all made of matter ranging from the grossest to the finest and corresponding to these Ādhyātmik entities there are material worlds of various degrees of fineness. Now all these comprise nature and there is not a single recess in nature

which is free from the yoke of this law of causation. Every change in any sphere of this nature must be preceded by a cause and followed by an effect. The souls encased, as it were, in five sheaths of matter of different grades of fineness, namely physical body, vital body, mental body, ego body and causal body—make up the individual. Every action of the individual is bound to bring a result—and the result comes in the shape of pleasure or pain and the embodied soul is never immune from the dual throng hanging on the elementary sensations of pleasure and pain. Each experience of an individual is causally linked with one or other of his own actions. The child is born blind—he himself must be responsible for the suffering—this leads to a logical assumption of a previous birth. Indeed the infinite variety of experiences of different individuals cannot be accounted for by the actions within the brief space of one single life—so the Vedantists hold that death is nothing but a dropping of the physical body, when the self with the remaining four bodies proceed to finer worlds of intense enjoyment or intense pain according to his own actions—“**पुण्यो वै पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन ;**” and after a period it comes again to be born in this physical world and builds another physical body. Thus from birth to death and death to birth the embodied soul proceeds through the almost inextricable maze of Karma.

Now, to all schools of Vedanta, Moksha or freedom means freedom of the individual from this inexorable law of Karma. This may take place only when the self is extricated out of the meshes of nature. And Ramanujacharyya says—only those, who struggle hard for freedom and become absolutely pure, are lifted above nature by the grace of God. Dualists of all schools take their stand on such a fundamental conception of Moksha.

But this is not all. Sankaracharyya stands up with the tenets of monistic philosophy and says, “ Yes, what you have said is all true. The soul encased in five sheaths bound by the laws of Karma, its repeated births in this world and its sojourns to finer worlds, its struggle for freedom and attainment

of purity, and God and His grace of awarding Moksha, as you have conceived. are all true—only you have to take the whole thing with a grain of salt. The entire thing—the distinct existences of soul, nature and God and their inter-relations, as you have described—are true only in a relative sense—all these have only a Vyavahārik or apparent existence and not an absolutely real one. The monists hold that One alone exists and any idea of differentiation is due to Avidya or ignorance of the reality. So even the Moksha of the qualified monist or the dualist, which retains an individuality of the soul distinct from God is within the range of Avidya or ignorance. Moreover the self as long as it has a body, however fine that may be, is susceptible to pleasure and pain. So by Moksha the monists mean the complete disappearance of Avidya and necessarily of all ideas of duality—when the illusory limited individuality drops off—the phenomenal world vanishes—and the soul finds itself one with Brahman.

According to this school, ignorance of the reality of the soul's identity with Brahman is the fundamental cause of bondage—so naturally "Knowledge about this identity" is the only cause of freedom. The soul is already free, it is already one with Brahman, the idea of its bondage is an illusion and it has to be rooted out by true knowledge. We are bound by our actions, our actions proceed from our desires and desires from Avidyā or a false notion of identity of self with non-self, which they call Adhyāsa. According to them, therefore, real Moksha or absolute freedom from all duality of name and form can be attained by discrimination between self and non-self and a practical application of this intellectual process in the shape of renunciation which is an attempt at rooting out desires. And this they prescribe only for those, who are sufficiently purified by prayers, worship, and performance of worldly duties in the right attitude to comprehend this identity of self with Brahman and practise a considerable detachment from the attractions of the sense-world. As we have said before, these monists believe

in the Vyavahārik existence of the phenomenal world, so they need not grudge to admit that the freedom of the dualist may be compared to a stage in the soul's journey, for they believe in **क्रममुक्ति**—that is freedom attained through stages of spiritual development.

So practically there is no serious contradiction between the two views with regard to the relation of the individual with nature and God. Both take their stand on the essential divinity of the soul and declare that it can never be bound permanently by nature, however inexorable that may be. Freedom is the birthright of every soul—it is always free, it is always above nature, it is always of the same essence as God,—its bondage is a temporary appearance due to the impurity of the various bodies or sheaths through which it works. This is the message of Vedanta and indeed this is a message of hope and strength. The man is not hopelessly bound by a superior power ; for every act of omission or commission he has not to tremble before the judgment of an unseen autocrat—he has simply to remain prepared for the consequence of his own actions and work out his own salvation by manifesting the Divinity that is already within him. “**उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत्**” Liberate yourself by your own efforts; never get disheartened.

Vedanta is verily a gospel of hope and strength. Even those who cannot appreciate anything beyond sense pleasures, are not summarily dismissed with a threat of eternal damnation. Vedanta looks upon them with sympathy and says that it is quite natural for man to be roaming in the sense-world—for his senses are so constituted that they reveal to him the external world and not the inner self.—“**पराञ्चिखानि व्यदृणत् स्वयम्भूः परां पश्यति नाम्तरात्मन्**” Thus every individual goes through repeated births and deaths searching happiness in the sense-world till his own experience teaches him the facts that pleasure unalloyed with pain is an absurdity in nature and that fulfilment of desires never quenches the thirst for enjoyment. Becoming wise by experience every individual is sure to enquire one day of the path of

liberation from this tyranny of desires and every one of them is sure to find it ultimately in God.

Verily is the Vedanta a precious mine of strength and inspiration. Verily does it teach us to take a liberal and sympathetic view of everything about us. It explains why we should be patient even with the hardest criminal. It reminds us of the potential divinity of every creature and sweeps out all distinctions as so many accidents on an essential unity. It holds before our vision a number of readings of the same fundamental Truth,—covering in principle the entire range of human taste and comprehension and forming the corner-stone, as it were, of different types of structural details in the form of different religions. We do not mean to say that all religions have sprung up from Vedanta, but that the philosophical positions of all religions may be explained by referring to one or other of the readings found in Vedanta. If the different religions be so many melodies, in Vedanta we find the key-note of each of them. Thus—Vedanta accommodates every shade of doctrinal opinion and every stage of psychological growth. Indeed it will not be too much to call Vedanta an epitome of religious catholicity.

SWAMI NIRVEDANANDA

TRUE WISDOM

When wise Minerva sprang from Jove's great brain
With shield and helmet, 'twas with this intent :
To teach that time in learning is best spent,
That Wisdom is a shield 'gainst all earth's pain.

'Twas so I thought, in mine own wise conceit—
I set myself to conning stars above,
Instead of seeking knowledge of sweet Love—
But tried in vain my hungry soul to cheat.

I dived in Greek, and in all classic lore—
In esoteric teachings sought to find
The great content that comes from peace of mind.
On honeyed sweets I supped, but wanted more.

I trod the dust of Egypt's ancient shrine,
In hope of reading secret of the Sphinx—
And sought of her incarnate missing links,
The lack of which all theories confine.

In broken urns, and mutilated gods,
In storied dust where buried Cæsars lay,
And sought for treasures in Pompeian clay—
But 'twas in vain I turned up broken sods !

'Twas Solomon who taught of worthless things :
Of pride, ambition, and the lure of gold—
Of beauty, lust, and Earth's toys manifold—
And of the empty power of hapless kings !

But Solomon had tasted every sweet ;
Had walked on gold and won ambition's crown,
And in the cup of pleasure sought to drown
His sorrow, that life was so incomplete—

For like a gourmand at the feast of Life,
He'd tasted every dish and drunk each wine—
Had found all vain, and so began to pine,
And seek for Wisdom, and thus end the strife.

“Get Wisdom!” that begins and ends his cry;
Wisdom who builds not on the shifting sand;
Wisdom to test, and weigh and understand;
To comfort when we're old and come to die.

Knowledge will come with time, and thought and tears—
Wisdom as well, but love is to my mind
The purest, best, the gold that is refined—
'Tis lack of love that keeps life in arrears!

Minerva may go hang, for aught I care,
Beside Arachne! Love is all my mood—
My dream by night, my wine, my daily food!
Get Love; that's Wisdom—and 'tis aye my prayer!

TERESA STRICKLAND

Court questioned or disobeyed by any member. Nor were the members of the mess at all helpless in the matter of duly enforcing their verdict upon any member. For they could always threaten the recalcitrant member either with expulsion from the mess, or if he refused to go, with the entire responsibility of the rent of it being thrown on him. And this had a powerful appeal to the good sense of the offending member who always submitted to the verdict of his peers on all matters.

We were by no means purulent purists in our youthful days. The Calcutta Theatres which had just introduced female artistes in our stage, were very largely patronised by us. At home we gave ourselves up often times to all sorts of amusements with an abandon, that would shock the Puritans of our community. During our leisure moments we sang, we danced, we indulged in all sorts of satire and mimicry, all of which were by no means kept within the confines of what is called delicacy or decency in certain circles. But for all that, a real pure moral atmosphere pervaded our life in these messes. No manner of vice was tolerated ; and the least suspicion of loose morals in a member would make him liable to very serious displeasure of his friends and in extreme cases to expulsion from the mess. And such was the force of public opinion in these small " Republics " that I have known of cases of this punishment on offending members, which so worked upon them, that after a week of their expulsion from a mess, they looked as if they had just come out of some prolonged and serious spell of sickness !

We made from time to time Laws and Regulations for the proper administration of our little republics. I remember that a few months after I came to Calcutta, a set of laws were framed for the conduct of the member of our mess. We were a rather mixed lot. Some were orthodox Hindus, though their orthodoxy did not go so far as to prohibit association, or even interdining provided the food was cooked by Brahmins, with those who did not observe the rules of caste. Others were

absolutely heterodox, and openly violated all the rules of Hinduism in regard to eating and drinking. One or two were honest and professed Brahmos. Babu Nabin Chandra Sarma, who was the oldest member of our little republic, and as the most advanced University student among us who was held in sincere respect by every one, though not quite orthodox in his opinions, was yet exceedingly scrupulous in the matter of his ways of life. He used to frankly tell us that personally he had absolutely no objection to take cooked food out of a non-Brahmin's hands; but he did not like to get cut off from his family on the one hand, nor to tell lies about his ways and habits, when questioned by his people. So he thought the most honourable thing to do was to avoid everything that might create trouble or force him to a denial. He would not, therefore, take cooked rice out of the hands of us Kayestas or Vaidyas, but had no objection to our cooking curries and *dals* and other things for him. And the reason why he made this distinction, he would frankly tell us, was that no body would ever ask him if he took curries or *dals* cooked by non-Brahmins, the only question, if ever any were raised, would be, if he had taken "Bhat" or cooked rice out of their hands. The Bengalee idiom never used curries or *dals* as the name for cooked food, but "Bhat" or cooked rice was the only term used in this context.

The composition of our mess, called for some sort of a compromise between the so called orthodox and the Brahmo and other heterodox members of our republic. So a rule was passed by the unanimous vote of the whole House, that no member shall bring any food into the house (except of course loaves and biscuits, that had commenced to be tolerated by the orthodoxy of the Metropolis) which outraged the feelings of Hindu orthodoxy. It was, however, clearly understood that the members of the mess as a body or even individually would not interfere with what any one took outside the house. So we were free to go and have all sorts of forbidden food either at

the Great Eastern Hotel, which some of us commenced to occasionally patronise later on, or anywhere else.

... This law put us sometimes to very great inconvenience. One such incident has lived in my mind all these years. We had left Nimoo Khansama's Lane, and had taken a house in Madan Baral's Lane, off Wellington Street, at this time. One day our Brahmin cook was absent; and there was no dinner at home. So Sundari Mohan and myself, we two went out in search of food to Bowbazar, where we had seen cooked meat and crabs and prawns and hot flour-cakes, fried in ghee or butter, called "poories" in Northern India and "loochiees" in our own vernacular, put out for sale. We went to one of these shops and having bought a good quantity of curried mutton, and *poories* or *loochiees*, asked the shop-keeper if there was any room where his customers could have their meals. He showed us a door leading to a hall where we could safely enjoy our meal. So we eagerly went in, and found a table, a few chairs in that hall which was lighted rather dimly by a kerosine lamp hanging from the ceiling. The place was by no means inviting, but we made ready to use it gladly on the principle of any port in storm; because though our own house was very close to this place, the laws of our republic forbade the introduction of any cooked food into it from the outside. We had just set our things down on the bare table and were going to sit down to our dinner, when there entered a stranger with rather unsteady steps, and a blue bottle peeping out of his armpit. This gave us such a fright that we really did not know what to do. The new comer noticed our nervousness and in a very kindly way, but with a broken voice, stammered out : "What is there to be ashamed of, my friends? I have come for the same object as yourselves." And as with these words he brought out a small glass from his pocket and set the bottle from his armpit on the table, we gathered up our precious food and ran out of the room like thieves, trembling all over. Coming out into the street, we commenced to cast about for some place where we might

go and sit and have our dinner. There was a small platform, just opposite the small lane which led to our house, in front of a neighbour's residence, which was never used by the inmates of that house, but where the Municipal officers, whose rank had better not be disclosed, used to rest early in the morning, and which had rather unappetising associations about it. In our extremity, we went to this place and finished the *poories* and curries standing there in the dim light of the lamp that lighted our lane. And as soon as the prohibited things had passed out of our hands into our gullets, we ran to our house and there gulped the food down with the water from the house-tap!

I had my first truly forbidden food in the house of a friend, a class-mate of Sundari Mohan, and a very near relation of a leading lawyer of the city, a well-known and wealthy member of the Calcutta Kayestha community. He invited Sundari Mohan, Tara Kishore Chaudhuri, who also came from our district and was a messmate of ours, and one or two others and myself to dinner at his house which was not very far from our mess. It was here that both Tara Kishore Chaudhuri and myself had chicken curry for the first time in our life. And the incident is specially remembered by me, because early next morning, Tara Kishore came out of bed and standing in the morning light, stretched out his arms and commenced to examine what strength and flesh he had gained through the forbidden meat taken over-night! Tara Kishore Chaudhuri rose to considerable eminence in the Calcutta High Court Bar. A few years ago he gave up a very profitable practice and retired to Brindaban, where he has since been elected to be the head of an important temple, with the title of Braja-Bidehi, the highest spiritual recognition that one can get among the Vaishnavas of Sree Brindaban, reputed to be the scene of the life and *leela* or sport of Sree Krishna, in the Hindu legends.

Talking of Tara Kishore Chaudhuri, I am reminded of another anecdote of his student life in Calcutta, which found us

considerable fun for many days. There was illness in our mess. I think Sundari Mohan was ill, and the doctor prescribed chicken soup for him. Tara Kishore Chaudhuri was sent for it to the Great Eastern Hotel. When asked if he had brought any vessel to carry the soup in, he innocently took out a copy of the "Statesman" newspaper that he had with him, and asked the man who came out to serve him, to put the soup in it!

The story of my first lunch at "Wilson's," as the Great Eastern Hotel was called in those days, also deserves recording. It was typical of our educated classes in those days (1875-76). Sundari Mohan, myself, and three or four others went to have our "tiffin" in this place. We had a private room to ourselves. But none of us had any experience of European food, and our first difficulty, when the menu was placed before us, was how to make our selection. We avoided this by leaving it to the Mahomedan Khansama to get us the very best there was in the Hotel. None of us had any practice in handling knives and forks. That was our next difficulty. And we tried to solve it, by just trying to play with these as long as the waiter was present, but sending him out on all sorts of errands, we commenced to attack the victuals on our plate vigorously with hand and teeth. It was a very miserable experience after all. We did not like to hurt our dignity by honestly eating with our hands the things that we had to pay for so much; nor could we really eat in the unfamiliar way the Europeans do. That experience was so unpleasant that as long as I was a student, and not until I had become absolutely familiar with these foreign ways, I never again crossed the threshold of the Great Eastern or any other hotels in India. The story of our first fight with knives and forks and spoons used to be frequently repeated among our friends in those days to their intense merriment.

These students' messes were, naturally, only of mafassil young men reading in the University. They were generally

grouped according to the districts from which they came. We had, thus, a Tippera mess; a Jessore mess; a Barisal mess; and a Sylhet mess. Dacca had more than one mess, there was the Bikrampur mess, and if I do not forget, another, the Manikganj mess. Of these somehow the Bikrampur, the Tippera and the Sylhet messes were most prominent in all kinds of public activities of those days, among the student population of the Metropolis. Towards the close of my life in the University, 33 Musalmanpara (Lane) the Bikrampur mess; 28 Mechua-bazar (Street) the Tippera mess; and 14, College Street; these became something like prominent landmarks in the life of the East Bengal students in Calcutta. 33 Musalmanpara came to receive the highest distinction because of its association first with some of the most brilliant students of the University, and next for its liberal, social and religious views. Babu Ananda Mohan Bose, who subsequently went to Cambridge and was the first Indian "Wrangler," passed his M.A. Examination and Roychand Premchand Studentship, which carried a prize of 10,000 rupees in those days, while he was an inmate of this mess. Babu Rajani Nath Roy, who subsequently rose to the position of Deputy Accountant-General, was also a member of this mess, and his success in the University examinations, in most of which he topped the list of successful students, shed considerable distinction on it. Babu Shashi Bhusan Datta was another brilliant student of the Calcutta University, who, too, took his degrees while he was a member of this mess. Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy, Babu Sree Nath Datta, Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta, all of them distinguished students of the University, had intimate associations with the mess at 33 Musalmanpara. And their name and fame secured for it the distinction of being the premier students' mess in Calcutta in time. 33 Musalmanpara was also a very prominent centre of the social and religious revolt associated with Keshub Chandra Sen and his Brahmo Samaj of India in the seventies of the last century. It was from this mess that Ananda Mohan

Bose, Prasanna Kumar Roy, Sree Nath Datta, Rajani Nath Roy, and Aghor Nath Chattopadhyaya, went to be publicly initiated into Brahmoism by Keshub Chandra Sen, a few days previous to his departure for England in 1871. Babu Dwarka Nath Gangooly, the pioneer of liberal female education in Bengal, and the editor of "Abala-Bandhab" or the "Friend of the Weaker Sex," who was later the Assistant Secretary of the Indian Association, also lived during his first years in Calcutta, in 33 Musalmanpara Lane. It turned out a larger number of distinguished graduates, many of whom made their mark in the public life of their Province, and some, indeed, in that of whole India, than any other students-mess of our time. 33 Musalmanpara became thus almost a sign and symbol of culture and progress in our community in those days. The Tippera Mess at 28 Mechuabazar Street, and the Sylhet Mess at 14 College Street, came to considerable prominence after 1874, and particularly after the great schism in the Brahmo Samaj, due to the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshub Chandra Sen to the minor Maharaja of Cooch-Behar, on account of the intimate association of some of us with the new Brahmo movement under Siva Nath Sastri.

Presidency College was the premier college affiliated to the Calcutta University, in my time. There were also a few "private" that is, non-Government, Colleges in the city. Three of these, the General Assembly's Institution, situate in Cornwallis Square or Hedua as it was and is still known among our people; the Free Church Institution, which was situate in Nimtolla Street, called also Duff College, having been established by Dr. Duff; and the Cathedral Mission College, which stood in Mirzapur Street, and occupied by the building that still stands on the south-eastern corner of College Square, and is occupied by the Calcutta Corporation as a District Office;—belonged to Protestant Christian Missions; the first two, as their name indicated, belonged to the Free Church of Scotland, and the third to the Church of England

Presidency College,
Calcutta : 1875-76.

Mission. Then, there was the St. Xavier's College, owned and conducted by the Jesuit Fathers. Doveton and La Martinere were meant exclusively for European boys, and as a rule, no Bengalee was admitted to these institutions ; though I think, young Surendra Nath had his early education, preparatory to his going to England for the Indian Civil Service, in the former college, from which he passed his B.A. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had established the Metropolitan Institution a few years before I came to Calcutta ; and this was the only college affiliated to the Calcutta University which was owned and managed by private individuals. When Sir George Campbell opened his campaign against higher English education and laid down the policy of gradually withdrawing from the field of this education on the plea of releasing the funds of the State available for the promotion of education among the people, from collegiate education which benefited only a small section of the community, with a view to its employment in the cause of mass education ; the opening of the Metropolitan Institution showed the way in which this new menace to higher education in the Province might be fought and removed. Pandit Vidyasagar was not a very rich man. But he did not seek public help in this new educational venture. He had no faith in corporate action so far as his people were concerned. So he dedicated whatever he owned to the cause of higher English education, and practically staked his fortune and his high position upon this enterprise. The fees charged in his Metropolitan Institution were much lower than those of the Presidency College, and these were even less than what was charged by the Missionary colleges. Poor students were helped with freeships, and half-freeships as their condition justified. When I came to Calcutta, the Metropolitan Institution had already secured a high place among the Calcutta Colleges. Tara Kishore Chaudhuri who took a high position in Entrance Examination from my school in Sylhet in my year (1874), and had got a scholarship of rupees fifteen a month, went and joined the Metropolitan

Institution ; though I took my admission in the more expensive Presidency College.

Mr. Sutcliffe was the Principal of the Presidency College at that time. In the early years of our University, the Principal of the Presidency College was, almost ex-officio, the Registrar of the Calcutta University. The most brilliant students in the Province, therefore, sought admission in this College if their means allowed it. Mr. Sutcliffe's dual position as Principal and University Registrar, offered certain advantages to the students of the Presidency College which students of the other colleges did not enjoy. Students who passed with distinction from the Presidency College, owing to Mr. Sutcliffe's dual position, stood much greater chance of securing superior appointments under the Government, than their brethren from the other colleges. Though the institution of especial examinations for selecting candidates for the Subordinate Executive Service, under the administration of Sir George Campbell, somewhat restricted the field of Mr. Sutcliffe's patronage, there were other appointments, notably in the newly organised Financial Department, that were practically in his gift. All these offered great temptations to ambitious young men to prefer the Presidency College to others. Though I had no such definite ambitions, and was really not at all likely to succeed even if I had any, because I had passed the Entrance Examination in the Third Division, and was exceedingly ill-equipped for successful competition with the most brilliant students of the University who flocked to this Colleges, as a scholarship-holder I fancied it would be profitable and convenient for me to join it. So, at the beginning of 1875 I found myself in this College.

Mr. Tawney, who after his retirement, from the Bengal Education Service was for many years in charge of the India Office Library in London, was the senior Professor of English in the Presidency College at that time. But he was in charge of the B.A. and M.A. classes. Mr. Bellet and Mr. Hand, an

Indo-European gentleman, and Babu Pyaricharan Sircar, were Assistant Professors of English. They were in charge of the Intermediate classes. Mr. Bellet had the typical Anglo-Saxon features. He was a rather short man, with a red face. He had, however, the reputation of being a good English scholar, and his teaching was very popular among the students. But he had a rather short temper, which brought some trouble to us all when I was reading in the First Year Class. He had abused some students of the Second Year Class, and had indeed, gone so far as to order one of them to stand up, like a school boy. This gave very serious offence to the whole class. The next day, the Second Year students refused to attend his class. There was great uproar, towards the last period; and almost all the students came out and stood at the foot of the stairs, in an ugly angry mood. Mr. Bellet finding the situation rather more serious than what he had thought it was ever likely to be, took shelter in the Professors' Common Room, on one of the upper floors, and waited there for the College to be dismissed and the boys to go to their messes or homes. But he was disappointed. The College was dismissed at the usual hour, but the boys of the First and Second Year Classes,—and they were a large number, refused to disperse but waited in angry groups at the portico and the southern verandah through which the offending Professor would have to pass out. After about an hour and a half's waiting, Mr. Bellet came down the stairs with another English Professor, who was, I think, Mr. Parry, who taught us Logic. As soon as Mr. Bellet stepped down to the verandah, he was struck on the head, by an umbrella by one of his enemies. His hat went rolling out into the portico, but his head was safe and sound. He tried to catch the youth who struck him, but as the whole body gathered at the foot of the stairs went to the help of this young man, he had to give up the pursuit as risky and hopeless. Here the matter ended for that day. Mr. Sutcliffe took up the enquiry next morning; called a few students of the Second Year Class, to have the

whole story from them. He was a very tactful person, and took an almost fatherly interest in the young men of his College. Though he did not openly show it, we all knew and understood it, that the sympathies of the Principal were entirely with the boys ; and it was even believed that he did not conceal from Mr. Bellet his view of the indiscretion that he had been guilty of, in dealing with grown up University students as if they were mere school boys. One young man, however, who struck Mr. Bellet, was punished with rustication, and the matter was allowed to rest here.

Mr. Sutcliffe was, indeed, exceedingly jealous of the prestige of his College and the honour of his boys. I heard it that once one of his students got involved in a police case of some sort and the police officer in charge of the investigation went to his College to identify the youth and investigate into the complaint. As soon as information of the presence of the police in his premises reached Mr. Sutcliffe, he came out and ordered the police men off, declaring that he was the sole authority within the walls of his College, and neither policeman nor magistrate had any right to come there without his permission. This permission he sternly refused in the present case, and the officer was sent about his business, without getting any opportunity of holding any enquiry into the case in the college, and as the matter was evidently not very serious, the whole case was discreetly dropped. All this was in full consonance with the traditions of the British Universities where Mr. Sutcliffe had been brought up ; and even the Government dared not question the authority of the Principal in a matter of this kind. The prevailing idea in my young days among British officers of our Government Education Department, was to build up our colleges and universities after the model of the British universities, and hence they were always exceedingly jealous of their independence in all matters affecting the training and discipline of the youths committed to their charge.

Mr. Bellet and Babu Pyari Charan Sircar were my English Professors in the Presidency College. Mr. Hand taught us History. And, oh, the history that we read! Taylor's "Ancient History" was our text-book. The first-half of it was full of the so-called history of the Jews, collated from Old Testament legend. The discoveries of modern scholars regarding the history of the Semitic peoples, were then beyond the boldest imagination of the most diligent and imaginative historians of the ancient world. Taylor, if placed in the hands of our sons, would be thrown away as dry incredible fancies dressed up as history! We were, however, on firmer and much pleasanter ground when reading the history of ancient Greece and Rome. I have no recollection of the abilities or methods of Mr. Hand. He stands out in my mind only as a quiet and inoffensive gentleman, who always was kind to us. Mr. Sutcliffe, the Principal, taught us Mathematics. He knew every scholarship-holder by his name and face; and we had to be particularly diligent, or at least appear to be so, during his period; as otherwise, we ran the risk of being called to his room, and we knew what that meant. Not that he was ever harsh or rude, but still we stood in fear of being called to see him in private. It always meant some admonition. Mr. Bellet was a very good teacher; and on the whole, a good man. But he was exceedingly reserved. He came to the class just as the hour struck, and without saying a word or casting a glance about him, he would open his book and start his lecture. And though he rarely called for the register, very few students wanted to be absent from his class, so well did every one like his way of teaching. Pandit Neelmani Mukhopadhyaya, who subsequently became a Mahamahopadhyaya, was one of our Sanskrit Professors. He was a very strict disciplinarian, and used every day to call for the register to see which of the boys were present and who were playing the truant. But he was a very able teacher all the same, and we liked him for it. The other Sanskrit Professor was Pandit Raj Krishna Banerjee, who was a very great friend

of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He was a very genial sort of person: and indulged in all sorts of witticisms during his lectures.

But the one man, who had the greatest influence over my forming mind and character was Babu Pyari Charan Sircar, who was Assistant Professor of English in the Presidency College during the early part of my first year there. He had a magnetic personality. I cannot say how his personality affected my fellow students, but it exerted very great influence on me. He was a man of few words; and I do not remember to have exchanged even half-a-dozen words with him during the five or six months that he taught us. But these few words were so gentle, and his whole being seemed to breathe such a sweet gentleness and sympathy for every body, that when he died after a brief spell of illness, I felt that I had lost an old and personal friend or dear relation. That was the first time in my life when the death of one who was not connected with me by blood or marriage or long association, touched me so deeply and drew out tears from my eyes. I had, though in a much lesser degree, the same sense of personal loss, when, years after, the news of Mr. Sutcliffe's death reached us from England. But I had closer acquaintance with him than I had the good fortune of having with Babu Pyari Charan Sircar.

Babu Pyari Charan Sircar belonged almost to the first generation of English-educated Bengalees. Pyari Charan Sircar. He was about sixty at the time of his death in 1875. The Hindu College, which first offered opportunities of systematic education in English language and literature and modern sciences and European histories and humanities, was established in 1820, when Pyari Charan must have been a boy of three or four years. He was a pre-University man, and had passed what was known as the Senior Scholarship Examination with great distinction. Though he might have easily become a Deputy Magistrate, he chose the humbler but more sacred and responsible vocation of the school master; and dedicated all his

culture and intelligence to the promotion of this new education among his people. His school primers, called the "First Book of Reading," the "Second Book of Reading," the "Third Book of Reading" and the "Fourth Book of Reading," were the most approved text-books in my school days ; though I myself, I do not know why, had "Murray's English Spelling Book," placed in my hands at the Missionary School at Sylhet, in preference to Sircar's primer. But Pyari Charan was not only an ardent educationist, but a very enthusiastic social reformer also, though of the more conservative school. It is said that he spent as much as nearly 70,000 rupees, practically the entire saving of the lifetime of a poor school master and author, in promoting the cause of Widow-Remarriage among higher caste Hindus, to which his friend Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had consecrated his life. He was a very enthusiastic advocate of female education ; and established a Girls' School at Chorebagan, the part of the city of Calcutta where he lived and which contained his parental homestead, and maintained it at his own expense. This school was continued after Babu Pyari Charan's death, by his cousin, Dr. Bhuban Mohan Sircar, who was a well-known citizen of the Metropolis and a prominent member of the Calcutta Corporation up to the closing years of the last century. But Pyari Charan stood apart from the earlier generations of his English-educated countrymen, in his complete freedom from the drink habit that worked such havoc in their life. He was in my young days the leader of a movement against this drink evil, to which young Bengal had taken with as much avidity as they took to the study of Shakespeare and Milton. His advocacy of total abstinence found expression even through popular Bengalee songs one of which was current in and about Calcutta fifty years ago, and used to be sung by the masses. It declared—Don't drink wines or spirits : Pyari Chand has asked you not to. The inside which is used only to pulses and vegetables, if it runs to excess in the matter of strong drinks, will not take you long to reach the home of Pluto. It

was a comic song, supposed to be composed by one who was addicted to the hemp-drug ; and so the last line declared that though it is dangerous to go by waters (*i.e.*, indulge in drink) there was no prohibition against travelling by land (*i.e.*, smoking hemp or ganja).

A typical anecdote revealing the personality of the man has come to my knowledge recently and may very profitably be recorded here. Dr. Ganga Prasad Mookerjee, the well-known physician of Bhowanipur, father of Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, was a pupil of Pyari Charan Sircar while at school. Ganga Prasad had to pursue his studies under very great difficulties. His parents were not sufficiently well-off to be able to pay for the expenses of his education. When Ganga Prasad was sent up for the Entrance Examination, he had not the wherewithal to pay his examination fees. He asked his elder brother who was living in their village home for these. He disposed of some of the household utensils to procure the amount and sent it to him. Unfortunately, poor Ganga Prasad lost the solitary ten-rupee note, and did not know what to do. A friend suggested that he might approach Dr. Duff, who was known to help indigent boys in such matters ; and Ganga Prasad went and saw him. Dr. Duff was very much impressed with the honest and intelligent look of the young man and readily agreed to meet his want, but asked him to get a note from his head master. Ganga Prasad next came to Babu Pyari Charan and told him everything. Pyari Babu felt hurt at the fact that Ganga Prasad had never told him of all this before. " Could'nt I find rupees ten for you, Ganga Prasad, that you had to go to Dr. Duff for it ? But since you had been to him, I cannot deprive him of the pleasure of helping you now ; but please whenever you are in difficulties in future, do not hesitate to come to me."

Over two hundred boys, I think, came and joined the Presidency College in my year ; and so we had two sections

in the First Year Class. Among my class-mates here were Bhut Nath Chatterjee, who had stood first in the University Entrance Examination in 1874. Bhut Nath went to the Engineering College, which was then a part of the Presidency College, and was located in the same building in College Street, after passing his First Examination in Arts. He entered Government service and is now enjoying a well-earned pension. Amulya Charan Basu who stood second was also a class-mate of mine in the Presidency College. He took his Law Degree and joined the Bar, but his health gave way and he has been living practically in retirement. Krishna Lal Datta, who after taking his M.A. degree found employment in the Financial Department, rose to the distinguished position of Accountant General and was a trusted officer in that Department. Pankaj Kumar Chatterjee, rose to be a District and Sessions Judge. Parvati Nath Datta secured a Gilchrist Scholarship, went to England, took his B. Sc. degree in London, and got a post in the Geological Survey of India. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu though of the same year, was not in our section. Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra, Principal, City College, was also in that section.

I do not know how things are now, but in my young days, students in the Calcutta Colleges who came from East Bengal Districts, and particularly in the Presidency College which was patronised by the sons of the Calcutta aristocracy, had a rather bad time of it, especially if they were very sensitive. Their local *patois* was the object of open ridicule by their more refined Metropolitan fellow students. Many of these mafassil boys were very shy and of a far more serious mood than the Calcutta boys; and they failed oftentimes to freely mix with the latter or throw themselves into the playfulness of their Calcutta friends. The Calcutta boys made fun of their professors, behind their back. Some of them, including the very best indeed, wrote horrid satires on their teachers, and others, instead of listening to their lectures, drew caricatures of them

on their exercise book. Ganga Govinda Gupta, a younger brother of Sir Krishna Govinda Gupta, was especially distinguished in this art and he had quite a collection of these caricatures in his exercise book. All these things seemed to hurt the more serious minded East Bengal boys, and stood somewhat in the way of their freely mixing with the Metropolitan boys. But there were, of course, exceptions. Ganga Govinda was himself one, for he too was a "Bangal" as his native District was Dacca. So was Krishna Lal, who came from Jessore. But generally the East Bengal or "Bangal" boys found it rather hard to put up with the ridicule of the Calcutta boys. Dacca boys were too proud of their own District and of their old traditions as one-time capital of Bengal, to accommodate themselves to the new conditions ; so while we Sylhet boys put forth strenuous efforts to give up our local *patois* as soon as we came to Calcutta, and learn the idiom and intonations of the Metropolis, our Dacca friends kept up the habit of talking in their District *patois* as a matter of parochial pride and patriotism ; and this tended to keep them away somewhat from the general life of the Calcutta students. This was, however, helpful to them, because they were able owing to this aloofness, to devote themselves with greater diligence to their studies and thereby to oftentimes beat their rivals belonging to the Metropolis, in the University Examinations. As these students from East Bengal had fewer interests outside their studies, they were looked down upon by the Calcutta boys as "book worms."

BIPINCHANDRA PAL

STATE *VERSUS* COMPANY MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS

Railways made their first appearance in this world in Great Britain. They were the outcome of private enterprise. There was a great deal of opposition from landlords, canal companies and others against building of railways in that country. The passing of railway bills through both houses of parliament and the acquisition of land for railway purposes were no easy matters; and large sums of money had to be spent in these connections. The public opinion in regard to creation of railways was divided, and there was no help from the Government either financially or in the matter of grant of land for railway purposes. Naturally, therefore, Railways were made by private capitalists, who yet remain the owners and managers of British railways. But mainly on the ground that the Railway Companies were given monopolistic rights over the roads they built, regulations were made from time to time in order to bring the railways under public control, exercised through the Board of Trade and Railway Commissions (and now by the ministry of transport as well), with a view to secure to the public those rights, which they could reasonably demand of railways as public carriers. During the past quarter of a century, there have been agitations from time to time with a view to railways being turned from Company lines into State lines, but, so far, these endeavours have failed in Great Britain. Railways on the continent of Europe were in some cases built by the Government, or with the aid of the Government, and in other cases by companies, which were in some instances originally financed by foreign capitalists. And the main reasons for acquisition of such company-owned railways by the Government (for example, Railways of Belgium or of Switzerland) were that the people of such countries felt that as the control of foreign companies (owing

and managing the railways) extended beyond the Railways, *viz.*, to trade and industries, this was not beneficial to the economic development of those countries.

In U.S.A., the Railways were the outcome of private enterprise, and their Railroads, which are equal in their length of mileage to the Railway mileage of the rest of the world, are the finest examples of what private enterprise can do for a nation in providing works of great public utility, although such works might be created and run mainly for the purpose of earning dividends for the investors.

In Germany, many years before the war, the Railways were owned by the Government and worked by the managements, which were strictly those of the Government. They were a great asset to the finances of the old Government in Germany and were worked for developing Germany's trade and industries. Whatever was the fiscal policy of the Government was also the rates policy of the railways, which favoured German industries, German exports and did everything to further the trade and industries of Germany, irrespective of what the financial results might be to railways themselves.

So far as the British colonies and dependencies are concerned, the railways of South Africa and East Africa, of Australia and of Newzealand are state lines, owned and managed by the state; Canada had both company-owned and state-owned railways, and to-day there is the "Canadian Pacific Railway," which like the railways of U.S.A. is company-owned and company-managed, but there are also the Canadian National Railways which are run on commercial lines by the state.

No railway question has been so much discussed in every country during the past 25 years as the question as to whether company management or state management is the best in the interests of a country.

In no country state management or company management of railways has been determined upon, from the

point of view of efficiency of one or the other but, truly speaking, each country has state or company-managed railways due to the circumstances peculiar to that country. Where private enterprise was able to finance railways independently of the Government, and when there were prospects of a fair return as dividends on the capital outlay, private enterprise was not slow in putting up money to build railways. In cases where such private enterprise, or rather the capitalists, were indigenous to the country they continued to be the owners and managers of the Railways. In those countries where the companies, who made railways, were foreign they were, in some cases, bought out by the Government and in others by capitalists in the country itself, but in certain instances, as for example in the case of Argentine Republic, the foreign companies still remain to own and manage the railways. Circumstances peculiar to each country decided the state or company ownership and management of railways; political, economic or military consideration in each case decided for or against state management. As the two great democratic countries like Great Britain and U.S.A. still have company-owned and managed railways, which are fine illustrations of efficiency and continuous improvement, it is now generally held that in democratic countries it is best to have private (*i.e.*, joint stock company-owned) railways, as the managements of such railways are free from political influences. While not state-owned such railways are sufficiently controlled by the state in the interests of the public; whereas if they were state-owned and state-managed the natural tendency of the Government officials, in the event of inefficient management, would have been to try to justify the action of the Government. At present, it is held, the Government have no such interest of their own to induce them to be partial to the railway officials. The Government officials now know that they are only there to control company railways and to see that the public interests are well protected. Even when they have to be on the

side of the companies, such action is intended to protect the companies against undue and unreasonable demands of the public which, if complied with, would inflict unnecessary burden on companies, and would thus cripple the power of the companies to do greater good to the community. It has often been said that democracy and efficiency of state-owned railways are not synonymous. But, in the case of South African Government Railways, it was publicly admitted that in that country state ownership and management of railways had achieved the greatest amount of good, which, it was alleged, would not have been possible with company management or company ownership. The broad features of the South African State Railway policy are summed up as follows :—

“ Low rates for raw materials of manufacture, agricultural produce, minerals and other raw products of the country, with a view to stimulating agricultural and industrial development; special low rates for long distance traffic on tapering rates principle; passenger fares substantially low, particularly for suburban and long distance traffic; low distribution rates to afford inland traders equality of opportunity, as regards the railway tariffs, in competing with coastal merchants for the internal trade.”

With the German state railways, and with the state railways of Belgium, the recognised policy before the war was that the railways were to be one of the main instruments of furthering the interests of the industries and trade of the country, and this was their first object, and the earning of money was then not the primary consideration. But unless such a policy is carried out judiciously, state railways are bound to err on the side of yielding to public demands, irrespective of whether they are reasonable or not, and whether or not in meeting such demands the railways are making any profits. And there can but be one end to such a policy, namely financial crisis. When railways are state-owned and state-managed, under the railway ministry of a democratic

Government, the result may be that the ministry in the long run thinks it easy to take the least line of resistance, until its finances are adversely affected. Commercial enterprise and efficiency of management, economy and discipline may be sacrificed to gain popularity with the members of a responsible legislature, which control the destinies of a Government, and not unoften extensions of Railway service and of railways themselves might be made without much consideration to financial results. When concessions are granted to one locality, to gain popularity with a certain or a certain number of influential or powerful member or members representing such locality, other localities would naturally demand similar concessions and they too could not obviously be disappointed. But if the railways are commercial concerns, subject to a reasonably strict state control, it may be pretty certain that the stability of policy and efficiency would be maintained without any adverse financial results. At the same time democratic Government can always enforce reasonably strict control over company railways, in order to ensure that public interests are well served and protected. But there is one disadvantage; purely commercial railways will not go to territories which are undeveloped, and would not bring in a good financial result in the near future, without substantial aid from the Government, either in the shape of advance of a portion of capital on easy terms or of a guarantee of reasonable minimum dividend on the capital laid out by companies. In such cases, the Government generally reserves the right (and is sometimes compelled to do so owing to financial failure of companies) to purchase the railways eventually, and when the subsidy paid to companies and the purchase money are added together, it is generally seen that the total cost is more than what it would have cost the state to build the railways, out of state funds or from direct state borrowings, from the beginning.

There is again another big problem in connection with state railways. The influence of the labouring classes in

democratic countries is getting stronger, and the voting powers of the masses will increase more and more. The railway workmen will have the sympathy of the other members of the labouring classes, and it is feared that in the long run it might lead to workmen demanding more and more wages which, however, if demanded judiciously, would remove inequities of the past, but it is feared that this would not be so. The demand for increased wages might be carried on to such an extent as it would make it no longer possible to run the railways economically, and the result might be that efficient and cheap service, combined with modernly equipped and up-to-date railways, would not be possible; the inevitable end of this must eventually be rise in rates and fares to meet the expenses of railways. Not only this; it is also thought that in the case of non-employment prevailing in a country, owing to depression in trade, the State Railways might be called upon to employ more men than they require, and this was found to be the case in the case of German State Railways after the war, until they became company railways. On the other hand, the railway technique is advancing rapidly and the railway plant is getting more and more standardised, and then, again, in place of competition between railways, which was at one time regarded to be healthy to trade and industries, combination is getting more common (and this is very apparent from amalgamations and grouping of railways). On the principle that when business outgrows the capacity of private individuals it passes into the hands of joint stock companies, it follows that when the business becomes bigger still and extends over a very big area the intervention of public authority becomes essential. Whether this public authority could be made more effective by state management or by state control, through commissions or trade boards or railway boards of a Government, is a matter on which it would be most difficult to pass any decided opinion at the present moment when the railways in many of the great countries are passing either through a process of evolution or of

revolution in the matter of internal management (Executive and Administrative), and as regards railway rates, Government control and financial results. But the fact remains that while, on the one hand, there is demand on the part of the users of railways, or the public and the working classes, to nationalise the railways and to run them as state concerns, the financial conditions and considerations, on the other hand, are making it quite clear that if railways are to be efficiently run and have to provide for cheap rates and fares, and are to be saved from bankruptcy, they should either be managed by companies or run by the state on a purely commercial basis, *i.e.*, with efficiency and economy. Then only they would be able to earn a reasonable return on the capital outlay, which would enable railways to pay interest on borrowed capital or loans, to save money to create depreciation funds to allow of repairs and renewals being carried out without further borrowings, and also to create sinking funds, where loans have to be redeemed.

Some think that amalgamation of railways is the first step towards nationalisation of railways, *i.e.*, amalgamation would eventually lead to nationalisation. Amalgamation and grouping of a large number of railways avoid many of the wastes, such as for instance, running of trains by parallel routes of competing railways, without there being the necessity for such trains from the point of view of overflowing traffic from one of the routes going over to the other. Moreover, when contiguous railways are brought under one control, the public benefit by long distance trains which also effect economy in working costs, and enable carriages to be employed in working traffic for a longer journey ahead, instead of being kept standing at junctions for return trips after comparatively shorter runs. The passenger fares and goods rates, on a tapering basis, are quoted over longer distances over the amalgamationised railway system, which naturally means lower rates and fares. Uniformity of working is rendered more easy along with standardization of rolling

stock, plant and equipment. Delays to traffic at junction stations of two railways, due to the process of taking over and making over goods wagons, small consignments and parcels, are avoided. These are some of the advantages that are aimed at by the public when they ask for nationalisation of railways, but it has been seen, both in Great Britain and in the United States, that such advantages can also be secured by means of co-operation between and amalgamations of railway systems owned by companies. Moreover, the interest in railways is becoming international, and as regards uniformity of working and standardization of rolling stock, plant and equipment a great deal is being achieved by the International Railway Congress association, in which Company Railways have played a great part in the past. It is thus believed that if a Government were to concentrate its energies in protecting the interests of the public against unreasonable actions of joint stock railway companies, the Government would render far better service to the community, than if the Government were to engage in the business of running commercial concerns, such as railways, which had better be left to private enterprise; because state officials can hardly get rid of red-tapeism. Though it is admitted that a state can find better educated and abler men to join state service, because of prestige and security of service, it is held on the other hand, that it is this security of service and promotion mainly by seniority that are the causes that take away incentive and initiative from the officers and employees of a state railway. In the case of commercial concerns, promotion by sheer ability and merit or on good results shown, and more pay for deserving men are great incentives to the employees to do their best for their employers, and as a railway can only hope to prosper by meeting the requirements of the public and by working in the interests of the community they (the Railways) serve, it generally follows that in endeavouring to do their best for their employers the railway employees naturally do the best also for the public.

So far, the general aspects of the question relating to state *versus* company management of railways have been discussed, and it would perhaps be proper now to start with the Indian railways and to deal with particular points that affect them.

Indian railways, as already stated, were first started by joint stock companies of British domicile. Thus it was private enterprise that built the first railways of India, and more railways were built by railway companies in India than by the Government, but from the beginning such companies did not take that amount of risk which is generally undertaken by commercial enterprise. The railway companies that built the railways of India asked for and were given free gifts of land (*i.e.*, the ownership of land was that of the Government and the guaranteed companies' capital outlay did not include the cost thereof), and a specific guarantee of 5, 4 or $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ minimum dividend. This latter concession led to company officials becoming less keen in making and working railways economically (because companies were made secure by the guarantee of a minimum dividend) than such officials would have been, had they not had this feeling of security against any loss to their employers. Therefore, in the later agreements, which were made with new companies, or with the old companies after the old companies had been bought out by the Government and the railways were leased back to companies for purposes of working, the minimum guarantee was reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3 and 3% . Then the companies could only get a higher profit by sharing a portion of the surplus profits (which were available after meeting all expenses) with the Government. And thus incentive was given to companies to earn more money for railways and to economise in working and building railways.

The railways were acquired by the Government after 25, 30 and 50 years, and, in most cases, payments were made by systems of annuities, and a premium of 20 or 25% , over and above the real value of the railway, was included in the total

money payable to the old guaranteed companies for the purchase of railways. After the acquisition of railways by the state, the responsibility for finding funds for further expenditure became that of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State. The railways became the absolute property of state, and naturally Government control over such railways became more rigid. It will thus be seen that, so far as ownership of railways by Government was concerned, nationalization of railways in India was effected a long time ago, although most railways were left to be worked by the lessee companies. A few were, however, retained by the state for management by direct state agencies. But this did not meet with the wishes of the Indian public, and they asked for state management of Indian state-owned railways on the ground that since the railways were owned by the state (and therefore by the Indian taxpayers) there were no reasons for employing companies to work them, and that the railways should be managed by the real owners (*i.e.*, through direct state agencies). It is true that a small part of the capital was yet held by railway companies, but it was noted that the Government, which was $\frac{4}{5}$ th owner, should not entrust the management to the $\frac{1}{5}$ th owner—the company—and share the surplus profits with them. But, on the other hand, another section of people interested in and using the Indian Railways, mainly the European mercantile community of India, and some Indians as well, were of opinion that the sharing of the surplus profits was not such a loss to the Government, as compared with what the loss would eventually be by lack of incentive and want of initiative on the part of the managers of railways, when they come to be run by the state, and that in the long run the nett profits of the railways might diminish and efficiency might be sacrificed.

The whole question was examined by a Railway committee, appointed by the Secretary of state for India, and it was presided over by late Sir William Acworth, once a great apostle of company management; but it was his view and also of some of

his colleagues that taking into consideration the special circumstances of the case it would be much better that the Indian state-owned railways should be managed by the state. They arrived at this conclusion after taking most exhaustive evidence both in India and in England (unofficial and official). The late Sir William Acworth was supported by four other members, but the rest 5 decided in favour of company management ; so the committee was divided equally in their opinion.

The late Sir William Acworth, and those who shared his views, stated that they did not find that there was any difference between the managements of Indian state railways by direct state agencies and of company-managed State Railways, and the Railway Board also admitted this, but those who held the opposite views declared that the existence of state-managed and company-managed rail ways side by side in India gave the state-managed railways the incentive to keep their managements up to the mark so as not to be below the standard of the company-worked lines. It was, however, pointed out by the supporters of state management of Indian railways that the company management of Indian state railways was not the same as the company management of railways of Great Britain or of U. S. A. In the latter countries, the railways were the absolute property of the companies while in the case of Indian Railways the property belonged to the state, and for this reason the state controlled the finances and the expenditure ; and money for improvements, additions and alterations came from the Government, or through the help of the Government. Thus the companies in India could not undertake any expenditure to effect improvements in service or in earnings on its own initiative until or unless the Government sanctioned, and were in a position to sanction, the expenditure and provided funds. And thus the real incentive of commercial enterprise was entirely lost in the case of companies that were managing the Indian railways. That this was true to a great extent could not be denied, but, on the other hand, it was also

possible that as the companies looked for better profits they were able to place before the Government such profitable proposals and schemes which acted as inducements to the Government to consider them favourably.

It was further contended that the railway companies would serve the interests of the public better by trying their best to develop the traffic, but the Indian public bodies held the view that the policy of the Indian railways in the past had been to encourage exports of raw materials to foreign countries and imports of foreign products by favourable rates to and from the ports. It was clear, however, that this was not due to any specific design or motive on the part of the railway companies, (because they were foreign companies) to encourage the export and the import trade in preference to internal traffic. But it was apparent to a certain extent that in the case of railways (whether worked by the state or by companies), which were run as commercial concerns, the main object was to earn money, and that, this being the case, as traffic to ports gave the railways long leads, concentrated wagon and train loads, and since imported traffic assisted to obtain loads for empty wagons returning from the ports, the natural tendency of the railways would be to encourage such traffic, in preference to traffic which is not port traffic, *i.e.*, internal traffic carried for comparatively shorter distances. The object of the state railways, it was argued at the time, should be to work on the same lines as on which the German state railways were working at the time, *viz.*, the first and primary object of state railways should be to improve the economic condition of the country and not to look mainly for profits. But since then the policy of the German railways has now been altered, and the same has happened to railways in other parts of the continent of Europe, mainly because of financial crisis, and the altered policy is said to be summed up as follows :—

“The primary object of railways should be to fix the rates and fares as to earn a reasonable dividend on the capital

outlay, without of course impeding the progress of the economic condition of the country so long as this could be done without loss of a reasonable return to the railway on its investment. "

It was once observed, many years ago, that the interests of a railway company and those of the Government were not identical in many respects. It was pointed out that while a company might be content to earn 30,000 pies (Rs. 156-0-0) by carrying 10,000 passengers at 3 pies per mile, the Government, which would be naturally interested in seeing that railways were made useful to as large number of people as state railways could serve, might allow 30,000 pies to be earned by carrying 30,000 passengers at 1 pie per mile, if the railway could afford this without incurring loss or seriously minimising the profits. It was, however, eventually accepted that as high rates and high profits were not synonymous, and since low profit per unit, repeated several times on a larger volume of business, meant in the long run a larger aggregate nett gain than lesser business at high rates, it would not be to the interests of a railway company to charge such rates and fares as would impede or impair the development of the railway business.

The Indian public opinion against company management of Indian railways was mainly based on the ground, that state management would be more amenable to Indian public opinion than company management would be, and that as the state was the owner of railways the public should reap the full advantage of the Indian railways in the matter of making them useful to develop India's resources and economic condition to their fullest extent, by grant of more favourable rates to Indian enterprise, local trade and Indian industries, and by Indianising the higher railway services. At the time the Acworth Railway Committee made its investigations it was possible to shew that more Indians were employed in the higher services of the state-worked state railways than they were in the service of the company-worked state railways. The defence of the companies

was that as Indians were found suitable they were being employed in the higher services, and that the company railway policy in this respect was changing on the side of more Indianisation; the companies argued that in the past the absence of Indians in the higher services was not on the ground of racial prejudices but on account of efficiency. Sir William Acworth and those of his colleagues, who agreed with his views, held that as the railways were owned practically by the Indian tax-payers it was not unreasonable that the Indian public should demand Indianisation of the higher services and that the evidence before the Committee showed that this had been more possible in the case of state-worked state railways than in the case of company-worked state railways. In Germany, even under the present company management, no permanent employee is allowed to be in Railway service unless he is a German. The bulk of Indian public supporting state management laid stress on the point that state railways were more useful in furthering the national interests of Indians than company lines could be. The supporters of company management practically held the view that as the country became more democratic and the masses came into more powers, undue influence might be brought to bear from the political side in connection with railway internal management, which might result in inefficiency and want of discipline and loss in railway earnings, which would reduce the powers of a railway to do good to the country.

The Acworth group of the Railway committee (consisting of late Sir William Acworth and four other members) recommended state management of state-owned railways in India and the rest (*viz.*, the other five members) supported company management and suggested that there should be, in future, companies of Indian domicile, but the strongest argument against such company management was that they would not be companies in any real sense of the word because the greater part of the finances would be those of the Government and that, therefore,

the control of the Government would remain as rigid as before, so that the real benefit of commercial and private enterprise would be lost. Both the recommendations were placed before the Indian Legislative Assembly, who by a great majority of votes declared in favour of State management. The Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, acting on this recommendation, took over the two great railway systems, the G.I.P. Railway and the E.I. Railway, under direct state management, on the expiry of their contracts with the companies, and the Government were thus able to effect the amalgamation of O. & R. Railway (a state railway) with the E.I. Railway, which, it is expected, would lead to good results in the long run. The Acworth Railway Committee also unanimously recommended the separation of the railway budget from the general budget, and this change has already been effected.

It may be useful to mention here that in the contract of the newly formed company, which has taken over the German state railways and is managing them as commercial concerns, the following clause appears :—

“The rights of supervision and control of the operation and tariffs of the Railways reserved to the Government by the present law shall never be so exercised by the Government as to prevent the Company earning a net revenue adequate to secure the regular payment of interest and sinking fund on the bonds and the preference shares.”

A railway or railways of a country are the arteries of trade and industries, and the flow of traffic through them should be even and continuous, and this can only be done if the management is efficient and the rates and fares are reasonable. Interference and control of Legislature over Railways of a country are essential so long as they are in public interests, and do not tie the hands of the managers too tightly, whether the railways are company-owned or state-owned. But when the railways are state-owned the Legislature in a democratic country is naturally responsible both for efficiency in management and

for their finances ; and they are again required to see that the safety of the public and the charges to the public are fair and reasonable. If these can be attained by state railways, which are already there, it is well and good, but if company ownership, of a purely Indian character, can at any time develop and purchase the Indian State Railways and give efficient service and cheap rates and fares it would be still better because it would make the Indian people more enterprising and self-reliant, so long as such companies do not ask for any subsidy from the Government either in the shape of free gift of land or a guarantee of minimum dividend.

S. C. GHOS

MILITARY EXPENDITURE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The military expenditure of the East India Company furnishes the key to its general policy. Before, however, we discuss the details of military charges, it will be desirable to give a brief history of the growth of the army in India. As a trading corporation the East India Company did not find it necessary to maintain a large military force. But the need began to be felt when the Company's servants in India, commenced the practice of interfering in the quarrels and intrigues of the country powers. This policy before long involved the Company in wars, offensive as well as defensive. During the earlier years, the authorities in England desired to pursue a policy of peace. Let us take an instance. Immediately after the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773, the Directors sent instructions to the Governor-General and Council directing them to fix their attention on the preservation of peace throughout India. The Council was, however, divided on this question. The majority favoured a pacific policy, but Warren Hastings was too ambitious to concur in this view. He not unoften intervened in the affairs of the Indian princes with the object of acquiring territories. In connection with the participation of the Company's forces in the Rohilla war, the Court of Proprietors unanimously adopted the following resolution in 1775: "They are of opinion, with the Court of Directors, that the agreement made with Suja-ud-Daula for the hire of a part of the Company's troops for the reduction of the Rohilla country, and the subsequent steps taken for carrying on that war, were framed on wrong policy, were contrary to the general orders of the Company, frequently repeated, for keeping their troops within the borders of the provinces, and for not extending their territories, and were also contrary to the general

principles which the Company wish should be supported.”¹ The Proprietors strongly approved of the policy of the majority of the Governor-General’s Council which coincided exactly with their own, and remarked that “ their determination to endeavour to maintain peace in India, and rigorously to defend our possessions and allies, cannot be too much applauded.”²

The orders of the Company, during this period, to their administration at Bombay, were drawn up in the same spirit and directed to the same object, namely, the preservation of peace, and a system of defence. And yet they were not without wishes for some extension of territories in that quarter ; and had early recommended, in very strong terms, to the President and Council of Bombay, “ an attentive endeavour, upon every occasion that might offer,” to obtain a grant of Salsette and Bassein from the Marhattas.

The Company’s officials in India were, with a few exceptions, wedded from the beginning to a policy of conquest. And with the extension of territory and the hope of acquisition of fresh riches, the policy of the authorities in England themselves also underwent a gradual change. A large army thus became an imperative necessity. Some of the writers in the service of the Company had already transformed themselves into soldiers. Small batches of armed men were from time to time brought from the United Kingdom. In 1764, the President and Council in Bengal represented that the Company’s interests were exposed to great danger by frequent mutinies among the Sepoys, and urged the indispensable necessity of keeping up such a body of English troops as might furnish a sufficient security for their possessions, and might over-rule the country powers. In the same year, Lord Clive in a letter to the Court of Directors proposed that the Company should always have in Bengal 4,000 (or at least 3,000) European soldiers. The Directors agreed to

¹ Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1782, Appendix, 46.

² *Ibid*,

the proposal and left it to the Governor and Council to reduce the same whenever it might be done with safety, or to increase it, whenever it should appear to be absolutely necessary, and not otherwise.¹

A practical limit was set to the number of European troops by the difficulty of obtaining recruits from Europe and the enormous expense incurred for the purpose. Besides, the European soldiers in those days were mostly drawn from the lowest strata of society, and indiscipline and various vices were their marked characteristics. Thus the formation of an army, composed largely of Indians, was found necessary. Originally, the Indian force consisted of half-disciplined *sepoys* equipped with rude, antiquated arms. It was at Bombay that the first Indian corps was formed by the English. The *sepoys* continued long in independent companies, commanded by Indian captains. As the possessions of that settlement enlarged, its army increased. The companies were formed into battalions under European officers. In 1780, during the war with the Maharattas, the establishment consisted of fifteen battalions. At the termination of the war with Tipu, these were reduced to six, and one battalion of marines. In 1788, its numbers were augmented to twelve battalions. In 1796, it was formed into an establishment of four regiments of two battalions each. The acquisition of territories, and subsidiary alliances, led to a progressive increase in the force.²

Indian troops were first instructed in the European system of discipline by the French in Madras. The idea was then borrowed from them by the English. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the southern Presidency was a scene of keen warfare between the English and the French. During the siege of

¹ Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

² *Vide* Sir John Malcolm, *Rise, Progress and Character of the Native Army of India*, written in 1816. Minutes of Evidence, Report of the Select Committee, 1892. Appendix B.

The Bombay *sepoys* army was indiscriminately composed of all classes, Mahomedans, Hindus, Jews, and Christians.

Madras which took place in 1746, a number of peons, a species of irregular infantry, armed with swords and spears or matchlocks, were enlisted for the occasion. A young officer attached to this body, by name Haliburton, was employed in the following year in training a small corps of Indians in the European manner. The number of such sepoy gradually increased. During all the wars of Clive, Lawrence, Smith and Coote, the sepoys of Madras displayed great courage and devotion to duty.

The Indian cavalry of the Madras Presidency was originally raised by the Nawab of the Carnatic. The first corps embodied into a regiment under European command served in the campaign of 1768 in Mysore. From 1771 to 1776, the cavalry force was greatly augmented, but then it declined. The proportion that was retained nominally in the service of the Nawab, but actually in that of the Company, served in the campaigns of 1780 to 1783, and was formally transferred to the Company's service in 1784.

The organisation of the troops in battalions in Bengal was first made in 1757. Each battalion consisted of 10 companies of 100 men each, commanded by a captain, with one lieutenant, one ensign, and one or two sergeants. The cavalry came into existence at a later date. The Bengal troops distinguished themselves in the war against Tipu Sultan in 1790 and 1791. They also showed their accustomed valour in the campaigns of 1803 and 1804.

Thus before the end of the eighteenth century, each of the three Presidencies of India had succeeded in organising an efficient army of its own.¹ The actual strength of the army in India varied according to the political changes which took place in the country itself as well as in Europe. In Bengal, the total number of soldiers in 1757, the year of the battle of Plassey, was 3,796, of whom 1,407 were Europeans (including officers and non-commissioned officers),

¹ Malcolm, *Rise, Progress and Character of the Native Army of India, 1816*,

and 2,389 sepoy and topasses. In 1766, the Bengal army was composed as follows: European infantry, consisting of 119 commissioned officers and 2,520 non-commissioned officers and privates; European cavalry,—one officer and 26 privates; Artillery, 30 officers and 23,066 men; Sepoy infantry,—3,000 officers and 300 mounted sowars. The army in the Presidency of Madras consisted of: 97 officers and 2,397 non-commissioned officers and privates in the European infantry; 2 officers and 90 soldiers in the European cavalry; 20 officers and 338 men in the artillery; and 3,000 officers and 13,122 sepoy in the Indian portion of the army. The strength of the Bombay army was: 65 officers and 1,388 non-commissioned officers and privates in the European infantry; 17 officers and 297 soldiers in the European cavalry; 437 officers and 3,077 soldiers in the sepoy infantry. There were, besides, small contingents maintained in Bencoolen and St. Helena, at India's expense.

Some increase in numbers in each of the Presidencies occurred in the course of the next six years. This increase, of course, involved an augmentation of charges. In 1772, an attempt was made to reduce military expenditure; but a few years later, it again showed signs of increase. A comparative view of expenditure in the different provinces during this early period will be found from the following table¹:

	Bengal £	Madras £	Bombay £	Total £
1765-66	996,007	333,549	118,020	1,447,576
1772-78	1,579,175	599,216	311,902	2,490,296
1778-79	1,295,074	911,669	401,534	2,608,079

It should be remembered that, in addition to these sums, considerable amounts were spent by Indian princes in accordance

All figures include expenditure on military buildings and fortifications.

with treaties and engagements with the Company. Instances are to be found in the stipulations made by the Nawab of Murshidabad, the Nawab of Arcot, the Raja of Tanjore and the Vizier of Oudh.¹

A brief reference may be made here to the pay of the soldiers during this period. The salaries of the Indian portion of the troops in Bengal were as follows : subedar, Rs. 20 ; jamadar, Rs. 13 ; havildar, Rs. 6-2-0 ; naik, Rs. 4-2-0 ; topass,² Rs. 5 ; sepoy, Rs. 4. The pay of the European soldier was somewhat higher. The salaries of the European officers, were fixed on a much more generous scale. They received house-rent in addition to salary.

In 1780, the pay, *bhata*, and allowances in the Bengal army were as follows (in sonat rupees) :—colonel : pay, 310 ; *bhata*, 775 ; allowance, 2,100 ; lieutenant-colonel : pay, 248 ; *bhata*, 620, allowance, 195 ; major : pay, 186 ; *bhata*, 465 ; allowance, 155 ; captain : pay 160 ; *bhata*, 186 ; lieutenant : pay, 117 ; *bhata*, 124 ; ensign : pay, 50-8 ; *bhata*, 96 ; sergeant : pay, 16, *bhata*, 10 ; corporal : pay, 14 ; *bhata*, 10 ; drummer : pay, 11 ; *bhata*, 10 ; fifer, pay, 11, *bhata*, 10. The private soldier received Rs. 10 as pay and Rs. 10 as *bhata*. The salaries of the Indian officers and soldiers were slightly higher than in 1757.

We thus find that while the rank and file received miserable pittances, substantial emoluments were fixed for the commissioned officers, especially in the higher ranks. In addition to the sums mentioned above, the officers received commission on the *dewani* revenues in different proportions. The Commander-in-chief received, in addition to his salary and various allowances,

The Nawab of Arcot engaged to defray the expenses of ten battalions of sepoy, besides that of his own garrisons. The Raja of Tanjore paid annually four lakhs of pagodas for the expense of the Company's troops.

¹ The 'topasses' consisted mainly of half-castes. The name was derived from 'topi' (the European hat) which they used. They were intermediate between 'Sepoys' and European Soldiers.

seven and a half shares of the commission.¹ In 1774, the Court of Directors directed that the Commander-in-chief be permitted to occupy a suitable house and that he be paid a sum of £6,000 (Rs. 60,000) per annum, in lieu of travelling charges and all other advantages, in addition to his salary of £10,000 as member of the Governor-General's Council.² Curiously enough, these emoluments were not considered sufficient for the head of the military department, and it was resolved in the Governor-General's Council in 1779 that Sir Eyre Coote (then Commander-in-chief) should be allowed to draw Rs. 7,500 per month for the expenses of his table and Rs. 6,326 for travelling and incidental charges when in the field.³ These allowances were discontinued in 1780 under the orders of the Directors.⁴

Another, though uncertain, source of income of military officers and soldiers was prize-money. All ranks of the army participated in the plunder obtained from the various wars, the shares of the officers being naturally much larger than those of the rest. After the defeat of Tipu Sultan, Cornwallis ordered a gratuity equal to six months' *bhata* (about 22 lakhs of rupees) to be distributed to the troops out of the money obtained from him. The Court of Directors went further, and directed as much

¹ The accounts of the military department show that from the 1st May, 1763, to the 1st September, 1777, the total amount of the allowances drawn by the Commanders-in-Chief in India (including profit on the monopoly of salt and the commission on the revenues) was 24,08,928 Company's Rupees. No change for the Commander-in-Chief appears from the 15th September, 1765 to 27th January, 1767, during which period Clive was Governor as well as Commander-in-Chief. The average amount thus works out at about two lakhs of rupees a year.

² Company's General Instructions, article 60, to the Governor-General and Council, dated March, 29, 1774.

³ Philip Francis objected to the proposal on the ground that the proposed establishment was a double one. But Hastings supported it by referring to the precedent of Col. Stibbert. To which Francis replied that no conclusion in favour of Sir Eyre Coote could be drawn from the abuses of former times; and he urged that it was in view of these abuses that the Company had fixed a precise limit to the pay and emoluments of the Commander-in-Chief. *Vide* Proceedings of the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, 12th and 22nd April, 1779.

⁴ Company's General letter to Bengal, October, 18, 1780.

more to be distributed "in testimony of their approbation of the services of the army."

... In the earlier days, the number of British officers was small, and Indians rose to high positions, "even occasionally to the command of irregular regiments."¹ But, gradually, they were excluded from the higher ranks of the army.² In 1783, the Select Committee of Parliament observed: "No native of whatever description holds any rank higher than that of a Subadar Commandant, that is of an officer below the rank of the English subaltern."³

Wars and extension of territory led to further increase in military expenditure during the next fifteen years. In 1781, the President and Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Directors that the heavy charges increased by the war with Hyder Ali laid them under the necessity of appropriating all the revenues to the defraying of military expenses, and prevented any provision for investment. Cornwallis believed in a policy of peace, but the engagements of the Company with some of the Indian princes led him into a long and arduous struggle with Tipu Sultan. He did not consider it advisable to make any material reduction in the strength of the army. Besides, his conviction that a large European force was necessary for the maintenance of British authority in India prevented him from reducing the military charges.⁴

In 1793, the total military expenses of India amounted to £3,035,375. The strength of the army in that year consisted

¹ Cornwallis relinquished his share which amounted to £47,224, and his example was followed by General Medows. *Vide* Forest, Selections from State Papers, Cornwallis, Vol. I, p. 178.

² Paper read by Sir George MacMunn at the East India Association, 1927.

³ Ninth Report, 1783. The Committee said further: "All the honourable, all the lucrative situations of the Army, all supplies and contracts of whatever species that belong to it, are in the hands of the English."

⁴ On the 18th August, 1787, Cornwallis wrote to the Court of Directors: "I think it must be universally admitted that without a large and well-regulated body of Europeans, our hold of these valuable dominions must be very insecure. It cannot be expected that even the best of treatment would constantly conciliate the willing obedience of so vast a body of people." Ross, Cornwallis Correspondence.

of 88,429 men. Of these, 34,922 belonged to the Bengal Army, 39,895 to Madras and 13,612 to Bombay. The relative proportions thus were: '394, '451 and '153 respectively. Madras had now gone ahead of Bengal in respect of military strength. Though divided under three administrations, the army in India was in reality one whole, "engaged as it was for the protection of the Empire at large."¹

Shore was of a peaceful turn of mind, and he did his best to keep military expenses down. But after 1796, the armies of all the Presidencies were increased by successive and considerable augmentations. Between 1793 and 1807 the increase of expenditure amounted to nearly four and half millions sterling a year. This was due, primarily, to additions made to establishments during Lord Wellesley's wars, and, secondarily, to the remodelling of the army and the increase of the pay of both European and Indian soldiers.

In the course of an exposition of the state of the Company's finances since the renewal of the Charter in 1793, the Court of Directors observed, in 1808: "Whenever Great Britain is involved in a European war, the effects are always felt in India in increased military expenses, even when no European enemy appears in the field there; but that war (the Napoleonic war) has been carried into India, and, at the desire of His Majesty's Government, the Company have had to sustain the expense of various expeditions to the French, Dutch and Spanish possessions in India, and to Egypt, all chiefly on the national account."²

The Directors pointed out that the Company had incurred a very heavy charge on account of the great increase in the number of the King's troops sent to India. They advanced a claim of £18,00,000 on the British Government on account of the expenses incurred since the commencement in 1797 of the foreign expeditions from India. In support of this claim they

¹ Vide an Exposition of the State of the Company's Finances in India, 1808.

² An Exposition of the State of the Company's Finances in India, 1st April, 1808.

observed: "Our revenues will not, with the requisite allowances for the other branches of public expenditure, suffice for the payment of the present military establishments, of which the King's troops, including their passage to and from India and the recruiting service, account for so extensive a part. Reduction, therefore, is here indispensable. Increase, payable from the funds of the Company, is impossible; and this is a subject on which a clear and definite understanding is immediately necessary." They concluded their exposition with the following significant remarks: "For wars growing out of our Indian system, at least before we had spread ourselves, as within these few years we have done over so much of the continent of Hindusthan, our Indian resources, with the aid of loans, have been adequate.....But against the invasion of great European armies by land, the Company's revenues can by no means provide, and it may be doubted whether the current revenues of the Moghul Empire, when flourishing and under one head, would long have been sufficient for such purpose... The Nation has an interest in preserving the Eastern possessions of this country, and from the hands of the French, greater even than that of the Company. The Company have acquired and maintained them, infinitely more to the advantage of the Nation than its own. If these possessions should at length be assailed by Powers to which the revenues and resources derivable from them can provide no effectual opposition, it is but just that some part of the wealth which has flowed from them into Great Britain through public and private channels, for the last fifty years, should be employed in their defence, and in defending them out of means they have themselves furnished, the country will only act in the maintenance of its own essential interests."¹

At the time of the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, the amount of force stood at 200,071 men. The relative

¹ An Exposition of the State of the Company's Finances in India, 1st April, 1808,

proportions in the different provinces had also, in the meantime, changed. Bengal, which in 1793 was second in point of number, had now a considerably larger force than Madras, and Bombay stood far behind both. The military operations against Nepal and the Mahrattas led to several additions to the strength of the army from 1815. The maximum was reached during the first Burmese war and the siege of Bharatpur. With the return of peace in 1827, there was some decrease in number, and in 1830, the total force stood at 223,476 men. The numbers in the different presidencies at this time were : Bengal, 112,598 ; Madras, 70,730 ; Bombay, 40,148.¹

If we compare the European and Indian troops in respect of numbers, we find that in 1793, there were 18,768 Europeans, 69,661 Indians, the relative proportion being 1 European to 3·711 Indians. With the acquisition of new territories, the number of European troops gradually increased, but the proportion of the European to the Indian force fell almost steadily till in 1830 it stood at 1 to 5·110.

The question of the relative strength of the two kinds of troops formed one of the objects of investigation by the Select Committee of 1832. The witnesses before this Committee expressed very divergent views on the question. Sir Robert Scot was inclined to fix the proportion at one-tenth of the number of troops maintained, but at one-sixth when they took the field. Mr. Mackenzie observed : “ I consider that a large native army is quite essential for maintaining the tranquillity of the country ; but I should be very sorry to see its defence and obedience trusted to them without also a large European force.” On the other hand, Sir John Malcolm remarked : “ That a certain proportion of European troops should always be in India is fully admitted, but there is no error more common than that of considering them as a check upon the native armies. They never have, and never will prove such. It

¹ *Vide Evidence taken by the Select Committee, 1832.*

is by complete confidence alone that the native army of India can be preserved in efficiency, and attached to the Government it serves."¹

The difference of expense between the two classes of troops was always considerable. The actual cost per man in each description of corps, European and Indian, in 1830, was as follows :—*Cavalry* : in Bengal ; European, £100 ; Indian £64 ; in Madras, European, £109, Indian £90 ; in Bombay, European, £107, Indian, 87. *Artillery* (Foot) : in Bengal, European, £61 ; Indian, £28 ; in Madras, European, £81 ; Indian, £45 ; in Bombay, European, £90 ; Indian, £46. *Infantry* : in Bengal, European (King's), £61, European (Company's), £59 ; Indian £30 ; in Madras, European (King's), £66. European (Company's), £68, Indian, £35 ; in Bombay, European (King's), £65 ; European (Company's), £67 ; Indian, £32.

With the question of expense is connected that of the relative efficiency of European and Indian troops. This, according to Sir Robert Scot. "would vary very much according to circumstances." "In some situations," he said, "the native troops I should think better calculated for employment than European troops ; in others, I should think the European troops better calculated for employment than the native ; but in the general course of service I should say they act better together, and perhaps they should always be so employed, but with a very limited proportion of Europeans to natives."²

The pay of the Indian troops at the different Presidencies was practically the same. There was, however, a difference in the *bhata*, and a more considerable one in the pensions. This had arisen from "a variety of causes referring to the class of men, the difficulty of obtaining recruits, price of provisions and labour, and other local circumstances."

¹ *Vide Minutes of Evidence* recorded before the Select Committee, 1832.

² *Vide Minutes of Evidence*. Select Committee, 1832. Another advantage of the Indian portion of the army was mentioned by Sir John Malcolm. He wrote, "Our regular native army not only inspires awe by their courage and discipline, but form a strong link with a great body of our subjects, including their relatives and connections."

The European troops were of two descriptions, namely, King's troops and Company's troops. The total number of King's troops in the year 1813, including both cavalry and infantry, was 21,490; and the expenditure amounted to £1,014,971. There was some reduction in the strength of this portion of the army between the years 1819 and 1826. But an increase took place in 1827. The number rose to 20,292 in 1830, and the expenditure came up to £801,200.

The constitution of the Company's army experienced frequent and important alterations. Till 1783, all Company's officers were commanded by King's officers of the same rank. From that date till 1796, the Company's armies had an independent constitution and system of promotion. A new arrangement was made in 1796, and another in 1805. In 1823, further changes were introduced into the system. The pay and allowances of the King's forces in India were the same with the corresponding ranks in the Company's army in 1830. The pay of the officers was somewhat higher, but in such instances a deduction was made from the allowances, so as to keep the two services on a footing of equality in the corresponding ranks.¹ The Company repaid to the British Government every sum spent in England in respect of regiments serving in India.

The desirability or otherwise of the transfer of the Company's army to the Crown was one of the questions asked of the witnesses who appeared before the Select Committee of 1832.² Some of them expressed the belief that a material reduction of expense would result from the transfer of the Company's troops to the Crown. They held that a considerable duplication of staff

¹ Major-General Sir John Malcolm's letter to the Secretary to the India Board, dated 13th February, 1832.

² Lord Cornwallis had proposed not only that officers in the King's and the Company's troops should be put, as nearly as possible, on a footing of equality in every respect, but that the whole of the army, Indian as well as European, should be transferred to His Majesty's Service. Letter to the Court of Directors, December, 19, 1787 and Letter to Dundas November 7, 1794.

would be avoided by this means, and that a saving might be effected in the supply of stores. There was, however, no unanimity of opinion expressed in this regard. One of the experts declared that the separation of the Company's army from the King's had been "productive of the greatest obstacle to its efficiency, good spirit and economy." On the other hand, some other witnesses expressed themselves as decidedly opposed to such a change. A few of them supported the idea of amalgamation with some qualifications.

The army was divided into three branches, namely, artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The strength of the artillery force rose from 16,460 in 1813 to 17,385 men in 1830. During this period, the expense of this branch rose from £398,929 to £626,463. The cavalry consisted of 15,925 persons in 1813, while the strength in 1830 was 19,539. The expense increased from £939,490 to £1,070,834. The strength of the infantry maintained in 1830 was 170,062 as against 156,279 in 1813, the cost being £4,025,079 as against £3,644,099. Besides, there were the irregular corps, the engineers, the pioneers, and the medical staff.¹

A few words may here be said about *bhata* or allowance. The system of *bhata* was first introduced in the days of Clive, in view of the additional charges which service in the field involved. But in 1757, the system of double *bhata* was introduced in peculiar circumstances.² Clive, being urged by the Directors to reduce military expenses in Bengal, abolished double *bhata* in 1766. The decision caused so great an irritation among officers that a conspiracy was formed to resist the order. The combination was, however, put down without much difficulty. In 1779, the system was this. All officers and soldiers,—whether of cavalry, infantry,

¹ Minutes of Evidence, recorded by the Select Committee, 1832.

² In regard to the origin of the system of double *bhata*, Mill says, "When the English forces took the field with Mir Jafar after the battle of Plassey, it was to cherish their goodwill, on which he was dependent, that the Nawab afforded to the officers twice the ordinary sum, and this allowance was distinguished by the name of double *bhata*," History of India.

artillery, or sepoy, —all laskars, artificers and workmen of every description, acting in the field, within the provinces, were allowed full *bhata*. Half *bhata*, was allowed to all of them while in garrison, cantonments, or quarters. Double *bhata* was granted to commissioned officers only, when they were acting in the field beyond the provinces, and half double (or full) *bhata* when in garrison, cantonments or quarters beyond the provinces. But officers who received double *bhata* were not entitled to draw the monthly gratuity. The commissioned officers received pay and gratuity (besides their pay and allowances on the staff) according to their military rank, but *bhata* only in one capacity, namely, that of their highest rank.¹ Full *bhata* was originally meant to provide for field equipment and extra expenses which officers were obliged to incur when marching. But it early lost this character in Bengal when continued to officers in cantonments. The same case occurred in the Bombay Presidency, where instead of an amount to meet a necessary but temporary expense a monthly allowance was given, which became practically part of the officer's pay. On several occasions during the Governor-generalship of Marquis Hastings and Earl Amherst the Court of Directors urged the reduction of the *bhata*. But both these administrators objected to the proposal. In 1828, as one of the measures of retrenchment, orders were issued for reducing these allowances by one-half. Considerable hardship was felt in consequence of the change, and it led to a great deal of discontent among officers.²

Evidence was taken by the Parliamentary Committees of 1832 on the question of Indian military expenditure. It is significant that the increase of the European portion of the army was higher than that of the Indian, the relative strength of the two kinds of troops being now 1 : 1·94. During the administration of Lord Dalhousie, a great improvement took place in the condition of the European soldier. His terms of

¹ Vide Report of the Committee of Secretary, 1778.

² Vide Sir John Malcolm's Letter, dated the 13th February, 1832.

service, food, clothing, and lodging were all bettered, and great care was bestowed upon his occupation, recreation and health. But the condition of the Indian soldier was found to have been so perfect in the past as to have left no room for improvement. Many of the witnesses urged a substantial reduction. One witness said : "Just in proportion as good government fails, is the chance of insurrection." He expressed the opinion that "future expense ought to be less than the past," for the chance of war had greatly diminished. He urged a policy of non-interference with the Indian States. On the recommendation of the Military Finance Committee, some reduction was made in the strength of the army before the renewal of the Charter in 1833. Considerable retrenchment was thus effected in military expenditure.

In 1834-35, the total strength of the army in India was 183,760 men. During the Afghan, Sind and Gwalior Wars it rose to 267,673. In 1844, there was a slight reduction in the military force. But the Sikh Wars gave another push to the army. By 1851, the total number of persons composing the army had risen to 289,529. The Sepoy Mutiny caused a large increase in the strength of the army. In 1858-59, the army in India numbered 302,533 men, and it was composed of 106,290 Europeans and 196,243 Indians. Of the former, 86,186 were royal troops. This was, in reality, a question of policy.

Simultaneously with the growth in number, there was an increase in military expenditure. In 1834-35, army expenditure, excluding buildings, works, stores, etc., amounted to £7,041,162. There was a slight reduction in charges in the next two years. But from 1837-38, owing to the various military operations, the expenditure showed a continually upward tendency. In 1846-47, the military charges stood at

¹ It was observed in reference to the half bhata order, "that an over-strained attention to economy on occasions which call for special consideration, is too likely to operate injudiciously on the spirit and disposition of the officers and men."

£11·98 millions. In the following year, a small reduction was attempted, but there was again an increase in 1848-49. During the three years which followed, military expenditure was slightly less. But the year 1853-54 saw another increase. On the eve of the Mutiny, the annual expenditure was over 12 million pounds sterling. The Sepoy Mutiny caused a large increase in military charges. The total military expenditure rose to £18·40 millions in 1857-58, and in the following year, it amounted to no less than £25·16 millions.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

CHHATTARPUR IN BUNDELKHAND

H. H. the Maharaja Biswanath Singh Bahadur, the present ruler of Chhattarpur in Bundelkhand, Central India, is a striking personality. He is about fifty-six years old, a slim figure—rather short-statured and of a light brown complexion. His eyes, under prominent eyebrows, sparkle with animation in ardent conversations, and his sudden and hearty laughter is an index to the candour and warmth of his heart. His Highness has of late been suffering from various chronic diseases but the geniality of his temper has kept him above all physical pain. He is thoroughly conversant with Sanskrit philosophy and is a profound scholar in English, speaking that tongue with an easy grace and fluency. There is nothing like superficiality in his attainments. When he takes up a subject, he dives deep into it until he has acquired a thorough mastery over its details. When I was explaining to him the principles of the Bengali Shahaja cult, he referred to some analogous practices prevalent amongst the ancient Greeks, and while the topic turned to Vaishnavism, His Highness drew parallels from Kant's philosophy. The Maharaja is particularly fond of learned discussions specially on religious matters. Towards this end his purse is always open. He invites scholars from all parts of India in order to have an opportunity of discussing the knotty problems of the Hindu religion with them. However learned a scholar may be in his special branch of study, Maharaja Biswanath has the capacity and power of trying his lance and of hitting at the weak points of his opponent. The popular notion about him is that he is a devout and orthodox Vaishnav. But one talking with him on religious subjects will find nothing of crudeness or orthodoxy in his views which are characterised by a broadness and liberality for which one is scarcely prepared. His Highness takes interest even in

discussing Charvak's philosophy, and would not reject sophistry and scepticism without meeting the subtle points of its doctrines on fair ground. His mother died about twelve years ago, and for ten years after her death, he did not use any bedstead but slept on a plain rug spread over the bare floor. Owing to his ill health during the last two years, he has been using a *khatia* or a *charpoi* of an ordinary kind used by poor people. His Highness is lavish of expenditure in all matters, of course, within the limits of economy consistent with his income. His guest-houses, both for Indians and Europeans, are furnished with all the equipments and luxuries befitting modern tastes, where every visitor is welcome. He has spent nearly a lac of rupees over a Krishna temple, but he himself lives the life of an ascetic, denying himself even the ordinary comforts of life. I found him warming himself with fire, preserved in a poor earthen pot. The people of his city use things locally made at Chhattarpur, which has its own sculptors, artists, weavers and makers of all kinds of metal utensils; and one has scarcely to go outside for purchasing things necessary for everyday life. In their weal and woe, in their distress and festivals, the Maharaja is the true *Mā bāp* of his subjects and they put absolute faith in him as the child does in his parents. The simple life of the people of Chhattarpur is certainly a lesson to us. What a contrast with the Bengalees even of lower classes, who are mad after trinkets of European make and go on borrowing when their limited means fail to appease their unwholesome thirst for luxuries! The people of Chhattarpur are evidently content with their simple life, and when extreme poverty overtakes them, they feel assured that the State would come to their rescue and save them.

The Maharaja claims descent from the celebrated *Agnikul Kshattriyas* who sprang from the lustral fire of the old sage Viswamitra on the sacred hill of Abu. He belongs to the Panwar clan who played a leading part in the Medieval History of Rajputana and Central India and are still represented in

the latter by the chiefs of the sister States of Rajgarh and Narasing.

... I have dwelt on the outstanding personality of the Maharaja at some length. His city is a perfect type of cleanliness. Repairs and improvements on large scales are going on everywhere in the city. There is no end of temples within the limits of Chhattarpur. These temples are nowhere dilapidated or in ruins. The Municipal arrangements are so perfect that the city seems fresh and smiling as if built to-day. This description, however, does not exhaust all the interesting things to be met with within the jurisdiction of Chhattarpur Raj. The Maharaja has obtained a large inheritance of a good many places of historical and artistic fame, and this lends a great interest to Chhattarpur. Of these let me first speak of the Rajgarh palace.

About thirty miles from Chhattarpur we motored through extensive tracts abounding with mango and *mahua* trees and reached Rajgarh in the noon. As we proceeded in our way we perceived a gradual ascent, wave-like but steady, and the *garh* looked from distance like a mound covered with shrubs and plants, till we reached a red path, winding round the mound, which proved to be a hillock, about 500 feet high from the ground level. As we ascended the hill we saw large sheets of water, at first looking like silver courses, reminding us of Kalidasa's मन्दाकिनी भाति नगोपकण्ठे सुक्तावली कण्ठगतैव भूमौ and gradually as we came nearer, expanding into beautiful artificial lakes which delighted the eyes by their charming transparence.

Our motor stopped at the foot of what looked like a tall cliff, with an ascent of nearly 400 steps—all broad and high and made of stone. The State palanquin was ready for us, but we preferred to climb the steps and observe the things around more closely. It was a great strain on our nerves, but anyhow we succeeded in coming to the highest point where we found a cave covertly lying across the pathway but as we entered it, it grew wider

and wider. Suddenly rose to our view a strange palace, created as if by the touch of a magician's wand. A great arch revealed itself to us, splendidly decorated with floral paintings of the sixteenth century. Surrounded on all sides with green plants and water courses, this coloured arch measuring about a hundred feet in diameter afforded a lively contrast. Through the opening overhung by this wonderful arch, looking like the gorgeous background of the image of our goddess Durga, we were ushered into a large hall, so gigantic and magnificent that one could take it to be the dwelling place of a mightier race of men than ourselves—the pigmies of the present generation. Numberless stone pillars rose high up with artistic designs at the top, placed in rows and leading to stone rooms and halls of great dimensions. Silent as death itself but all in perfectly good order of preservation, we imagined this mighty *garh* to be the abode of spirits loitering somewhere in the daytime, who would come back and rest here in the night. Rooms after rooms, pillars after pillars with beautiful arches curved like a lady's eyebrows displayed a panorama of sights of great sculptural beauty and of chiselled labour. The grand palace appeared like what a child would dream after having heard the Arabian Night's tales. Over the top of this huge three-storied construction lay parapets like crowns with openings at short intervals for a thousand guns to be shot at once from each side. It was really like a palace where a monarch of old after his weary wars abroad would come back and shut his eyes in sleep with a sense of perfect security against his formidable foes. As I walked over the verandahs sufficiently long and wide for horse race, as I saw from the top the vast hilly tracts, the silvery streams, the great audience-halls and massive stone-pillars that gave to the palace, not, indeed, an air of awe, but of perfect security, I asked His Highness, who was my honoured companion, as to why he preferred to live at Chhattarpur when he possessed such a wonderful palace which the Panna Rajas had built about three hundred years ago. This grand palace with its picturesque environments of hilly

lands made an impression on me never to be effaced from my mind. It refreshed the memory of the descriptions of palaces of fairies and demons that I had heard in childhood.

Rajgarh was built by Maharaja Hindupati of Panwar clan, a descendant of King Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand (B. 1650).

Great interest of Indian antiquarians, however, centres in the historic temples of Khejuraha, which have already drawn the attention of orientalists. The monuments, architectural remains and statues there are so vast and multifarious that a minute study of them will require many years of hard toil and industry of scholars. These statues and temples are attributed by popular tradition to Chandravarman, the founder of the Chandel dynasty. Though he may have given the first start, the monuments reached a flowering point of architectural and sculptural glory during the reign of his successor Chandrakirti Varman (775 A.D.) and of Dhanj Deo. The latter had established the Kalinjar fort about thirty-five miles south-east of Bundelkhand and forty miles north-east of Khejuraha. One is struck with wonder as he views these glorious monuments of the Chandel Rajas. The statues have mostly been gathered together and placed in a plot of ground, covering an area of hundred *bighas*, arranged in rows. This plot is practically filled not only with statues but with doorways, gates, towers and other architectural and sculptural relics. The eyes of the observer will feast in this vast panorama of archaic remains. All the deities of the Hindu, the Jain and the Buddhistic pantheons, the ten incarnations of Vishnu, prominently those of the great Boar, the half-man and half-lion Narasingha, the divine dwarf, the Vamana, and beautiful images of the Buddha and of the Jain Thirthankaras are to be seen in this museum constructed under the supervision of the British government but owned and maintained by the State. The research scholar will feel the same difficulty in studying the statues which Shahabuddin Ghori, the great iconoclast, experienced in destroying them when he gave an historical importance to the

place by his campaign in 1203 A.D. He came like a storm and in the course of his rapid expedition of conquest could only break a few of the most prominent figures. Some of the most beautiful figures on bas relief have remained unhurt, far above at the top of the gateways and in the interior of the temples. He had no time to stay for completing his work of destruction and but superficially performed his iconoclastic mission. Scholars have now and then visited those wonderful relics but like Shahabuddin Ghorî, they could not deal with them in a minute way for shortness of time and funds. I give here facsimiles of a few figures. The image of the Buddha (Fig. II.) as shown here is in no way less interesting than that of the Barabodur temple of Java, over which Mr. Havell is in raptures. The most ancient and beautiful image of the Buddha has not yet been noticed by scholars and orientalist. It is lying hidden in a niche in the Tilavandeshwar temple of Benares, and the Pandas have given it the name of Jata Sankar. The Jata is not, indeed, the knotted hair of Siva, but the leaves of the great fig tree under which the Buddha attained his Nirvana and which have been mistaken as Siva's Jata by the Hindu Pandas. The great interest of the Khejuraha temples lies in the erotic figures of which I have got a number of photographs. Though taste would not permit of their reproduction, yet I, an old man, find nothing repelling in these sexual pictures. Nay, the smiling and jubilant faces of men and women enjoying themselves, have a grace and innocence which seem to verge on spiritual symbolism. Men and women are represented in hundreds of poses, so graceful and loving, that a scholar would be tempted to pass years in this fascinating field of study. There are many inscriptions on the temples, some of which have not yet been deciphered. All the lovely coils of creepers laden with floral wreaths, all the innocence of buds blooming into flowers, all the simple joy of manhood that gives a tenderness to masculine grace have been brought out by a touch of chisel in the figures on bas relief, illustrating the union of the sexes and forming a tangle

which shows the lovely modes of a picturesque natural scenery. How fine these are is beyond my power to describe. My stay was short, so that all that I saw of Khejuraha is now to me a midsummer night's dream and more than this I cannot say. The sculptures and models at Khejuraha seemed to me mostly of the type of Bengal and Orissa art.

The third interesting thing that I saw in this Feudatory State is the Mau-palace. It was built by Maharaja Hindupati and had at first belonged to the Panwar Rajas. It was latterly occupied and enlarged by King Chhattarasal of the Chandel dynasty. Rajgarh and Khejuraha stand in solitary grandeur in the midst of a large uninhabited tract abounding with mango and *mahua* trees of a dwarfish size. We found peacocks displaying their plumes and dancing, and the deer drinking at the fountains, in this hilly land which, however, is without any forest. But the Mau-palace in all approaches to it from outside showed inhabited localities and their gradual ascent was made imperceptible by a slow and easy slope. The houses of people and the temples were generally brick-work, interspersed with tiled roofs and there was nothing like congestion. As we entered the Mau-palace, the same types of pillars and halls that we had seen at Rajgarh accosted our eyes, though here these were smaller in size and not so striking. But as we came to the eastern halls, our eyes were startled by a strange sight, which, once seen, will ever be in the memory of the visitor. Passing through a garden of flower-trees displaying all the wealth of variegated colours, pink, red, white and purple—of fruit trees, hanging down with their rich burdens, we came to a verandah, supported by massive stone pillars, which rose from underground like stalwart guards to watch over the palace, and at the feet of these pillars lay a vast sheet of clear and transparent water extending over miles. It is an artificial lake of which if one would like to travel all the four sides, it would mean a journey of six miles. The vast reservoir of water is of a crescent shape and bound on all sides by solid stones which looked like a thin

thread faintly indicating the crescent form of the lake. This vast body of water is of azure blue without any dirt or weed but fragrant with the scent of flowers from the palace garden and transparent as a solid piece of glass. Sitting in the terrace of the palace, one might look at it unceasingly and yet the charm of the place would not be diminished. In one corner of this great lakelay a small temple and within it a flock of geese swam easily looking like white dots in an extensive blue field. Though I was in haste to catch the train, I was in no mood to leave this place of enchantment, which cast a magic spell on my mind.

I was for twelve days in Chhattarpur and the things that I saw in this land of romance are never to be forgotten. I was there during the nights of the waning moon, and the dark blue of the sky I saw there was grander than what I have seen of it anywhere else. Here, in Calcutta, the atmosphere covered with soot and smoke, incessantly issuing from the ever-working mills, hangs on the city like the dark veil of a horrible wench concealing in the folds of her scarf the germs of all foul diseases. The sky is not seen but only the semblance of it through the smoke. At Chhattarpur, the darkness of the sky was grand, the blue of the sky in its brilliant clearness studded with stars shining like diamonds, was a sublime sight. There is no damp in the atmosphere and in October when I was there, the weather was delightfully cold. I was charmed with the solemn darkness of the night, and Mrs. Jackson who enjoyed it equally with me, wrote a fortnight later that the moonlit nights were even grander. I have a vivid impression of a temple dedicated to Ram, which I saw on the top of a small hill at Chhattarpur. I had to pass through a flight of 200 stairs before reaching the temple. I found the temple closed and saw the sacred images through openings. The most prominent of these was the Hanuman, the monkey chief. There was a single *chameli* plant in the delightful compound, where thousands of white and fragrant flowers bloomed, spreading their scent in the air, looking like the silent tributes of Nature to the gods of the temple.

The minister of the Raja, Rai Bahadur Sukdeo Behari Misra, is known all over India as the historian of Hindi literature. He is a person of outstanding merit. His studies, vast and varied in their range, his administrative abilities and his literary talents are justly praised by all Hindi-speaking people. On the first day I had taken him for a European and was agreeably surprised afterwards to find him to be an Indian of high enlightenment. The Maharaja who is a lover of literature must be given credit for selecting his minister, so highly efficient and disinterested. The Maharaja's secretary, Mr. Gulab Ray, M.A., LL.B., is a person of quiet dignity and of unassuming and pleasing manners. I am proud of the friendship that I have contracted with these personages during my short stay there.

One word more before I conclude. The Maharaja is a Vaishnava of Gauriya order. It is known to all Vaishnavas that the activities of Rup, Sanatan, Jiva and Gopal Bhatta in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries popularised the Chaitanya religion in Upper India. From an inscription in the greatest Vaishnava temple in Vrindavan built by Man Singha we find that he was a disciple of Rup and Sanatan, a fact which is substantiated by the Bhaktamala and referred to in the pages of the History of Mathura by Growse. Maharaja Biswanath of Chhattarpur is a disciple of a descendant of Adwaitacharya of Santipur. It was at my suggestion that he agreed to instal the images of Chaitanya, Nityananda and Adwaitacharya in the Krishna temple of Chhattarpur that he has recently built. The installation ceremony came off on the 5th of May last, and I regret to say that though cordially invited to join the function I could not do so owing to ill health. It will be a good news to many Vaishnavas of Bengal that a Kshatriya Raja of Central India has established the images of our own apostles in his city. This will add to the many attractions of Chhattarpur for Bengali scholars to visit the place.

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE

The third anniversary¹ of the sad and untimely death of Sir Asutosh is just over. The sacred memorial ceremony observed with such genuine reverence by his relations, friends, co-workers, followers and admirers in the Darbhanga Buildings on the 25th of May last presented a touching scene of love and regard for the illustrious departed soul whose memory the nation will not easily let die. Was not his verily a soul sent on a high mission—the mission of uplifting through culture a race once truly great but now fallen on evil days?

The hushed silence of that evening was in perfect accord with our calmer grief. Three years have come and gone. We realised how out of the distance of time might ensue desire of nearness doubly sweet. Regret was buried in love for the human-hearted man—the man with a large heart and a kindly hand. We recalled the massive face always lit up with a genial smile made at times more significant by an occasional humorous twinkle of the ever-brilliant eye.

The complexity of Sir Asutosh's character baffles analysis and makes a just estimate of the many-sided genius of this wonderful man really difficult. The highest culture and tradition of India and the noblest efforts of his own generation of great Indians were summed up in one man. In him was also beautifully and harmoniously blended the highest and best of the East and of the West. He was a great apostle of progressive culture in all directions and along all lines.

An intellectual giant, a mathematician of no mean repute, a brilliant lawyer, an erudite judge of the High Court, a sound scholar, an administrator of the first order, a keen and far-sighted educationist, a genuine nation-builder, a masterful and

¹ May 25, 1927.

The Calcutta Review



HOMAGE TO THE DEPARTED GREAT

(The 25th May, 1927)

towering personality, a man of sturdy and fearless independence, of infinite energy, of vast capacity for work, of indomitable will possessing force and tact to strive, fashion and achieve, of lofty patriotism and finally of deep piety—in vain do we search for an equal. Where shall we find a man to fill the void left by his premature death?

Sir Asutosh stood before the public gaze as more than an epitome of his own generation and will remain an invigorating and stimulating example unto generations unborn. A single dominant trait of his character by itself is sufficient to guide all as a never-failing beacon, *viz.*, his selfless devotion to the cause of higher education and advancement of learning than which nothing was dearer to his heart. The Calcutta University with all its limitations and failings, organised as it is to-day through his marvellous efforts, may rightly challenge the admiration of the whole world as a monument to his constructive genius.

The conversion in the teeth of vehement opposition and uninformed adverse criticism of a mere examining body into a Teaching University modestly claiming with a due sense of her shortcomings her legitimate place of honour by the side of the great and prosperous seats of learning of the world—this alone is a glorious achievement of which Bengal is rightly proud to-day and for which the people of Bengal will ever remain grateful to Sir Asutosh. How many years of patient and untiring labour and what tremendous and ungrudging sacrifices were needed to build this solid edifice!

The spheres of his activities were too many for a single man. In spite of these divided claims on his time and energy, the volume of his varied and brilliant achievements in the field of learning and education alone remains unrivalled and will, it appears, stand unsurpassed for many a year to come. He succeeded in carrying out this arduous task through the sheer driving force of his marvellous character strengthened by a dauntless *will to do*. His stirring words uttered on a memorable occasion ring in our ears—"Freedom first, freedom second, and

freedom always " but it would have been equally characteristic had he said, " Work first, work second, and work always."

While possessing a masterly grasp of minute details as a thoroughly practical and efficient administrator he was jealous as an idealist in maintaining a high standard of excellence. " No nation," he once said with emphasis, " attained to real eminence as a nation unless they maintained in a state of the highest efficiency and excellence their chief seat of learning." This high ideal was responsible for what has in some quarters been condemned as " thoughtless " expansion of higher studies in the Calcutta University.

The organisation of the Post- Graduate Departments in Arts and Science and Technology is unquestionably the highest result of his lofty patriotism, keen farsightedness, ardent zeal for learning and culture and long vision as a true idealist. At one bold step he succeeded in placing his own *Alma Mater* in the forefront of all the Universities of the vast continent of India. This sound and elaborate scheme of studies with its ample provision for research in all departments of knowledge, ancient and modern, at last justified the motto of the premier University of India. Sir Asutosh's own University has now undertaken the heavy responsibility of efficiently teaching no less than 25 subjects in their higher branches and of affording tuition to students in a variety of modern languages. The work done by the Post-Graduate Departments has been recognised by the World of Letters and Science. The noble ideal which has borne this fruit is very aptly embodied in one of his pithy utterances—"Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man; its publication a paramount duty."

He not only possessed inexhaustible enthusiasm but knew how to infuse it into others less fortunate and thus became an unfailing source of inspiration to young men of the right stamp to whom his warm sympathy was unstintedly extended. Their personal devotion to him is a proof of their thankful acknowledgment of his generous help and of the stimulation given to

their efforts in extending the bounds of knowledge by patient study and arduous industry.

... All this Sir Asutosh accomplished in spite of the combined opposition of a very influential body of men in power and with the meagre help of limited public funds most grudgingly placed in his hands and that after a strenuous fight carried on from day to day through many long years.

The Post-Graduate organisation is a pioneer's work and has its defects. No sensible man forgets that there is considerable room for improvement. Let us not as its critics also forget that nothing human is perfect. The foundation has been truly laid. A highly creditable amount of good work has already been done. Much yet remains to do. We should all now work in mutual trust and fellowship and concentrate our powers and efforts on the task of its consolidation, financial stability, correlation and co-ordination of activities, economy where economy is not inconsistent with efficiency and further progress and advance within the limits of all available resources.

The day, let us hope, of frontal attacks on the reconstructed Calcutta University is now gone. Sir Asutosh has left it to his countrymen as a legacy and a sacred trust. All true lovers of the country and sincere friends of the youth of Bengal will anxiously watch and patiently wait to see how the responsibility of administering the nation's trust is discharged and posterity will give its dispassionate verdict as to how we acquit ourselves. As for those who are directly engaged in the daily work of the Post-Graduate Departments, may genuine grief chasten them and make them wise!

The reorganisation of the secondary education of a vast province like Bengal at this critical juncture is naturally the burning question of the day and there is a good deal of controversy over this very important matter. But this is not the occasion for the discussion of a controversial thing and we therefore prefer to keep silence on that point.

Let us finish with a word about technical education. Here we cannot do better than give a single extract from one of Sir Asutosh's illuminating Convocation Speeches :—

“Let me,” he said in 1922, “emphasise that though much has already been achieved, more still remains to be accomplished, especially, in the direction of expansion of what may be called industrial studies. * * *. Industry and education will march forward, more and more, hand in hand, for this is pre-eminently a time to awaken industry and education alike. Industry in its many-sided interests will look to education for enlightenment and support, and out of the laboratories of the University will emanate in an ever-increasing measure the influences that make for economic and industrial improvement and contribute to the betterment of human living and to the good of mankind. I have in my mind particularly the development of technological studies in the broadest sense of that expression, not merely in the University but also in hundreds of schools in the province where the students and teachers alike legitimately display a hopeful yearning for vocational training unhappily not yet satisfied.”

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Bihar and Orissa, 1925-26, by Mr. B. Abdy Collins, C.I.E., published by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, Gulzarbagh, Patna. Price Rupee One a copy.

The most striking feature of the year under review is the favoured treatment accorded to the *Transferred* Departments of the Government. It is a well-known fact that in other provinces owing to financial difficulties the schemes prepared by the Ministers-in-charge of the *Transferred* Departments, cannot be fully given effect to. But such is not the case with Bihar and Orissa. *Education* and not the *Police* is the chief spending department, having increased its share of the expenditure from eleven to fifteen per cent. in five years. Altogether, the *Transferred* Departments get forty-two per cent. of the money available. It is further to be noted that the *Reserved* Departments include *Irrigation* and *Forests* and these account for six per cent. of the provincial expenditure. Though there is no hope of large sums being available for schemes involving recurring charges yet judging from the figures noted in the report it can safely be asserted that the province is solvent. But the most disquieting feature is that the volume of litigation shows a continuous tendency to increase so much so that separate arrangements had to be made to dispose of the suits. An interesting experiment was the establishment of a class at the Gaya Central Jail for the compulsory education of all Hindi-speaking prisoners of twenty-five years and under, serving sentences of over two years. The prisoners are taught tailoring, weaving and other practical subjects, besides reading, writing and arithmetic. We also find nearly six per cent. of the male population are attending primary education institutions of all kinds.

ESKARE

The Rāmāyana, for Boys and Girls (Young India Readers), Grade V, by Mohini Mohan Mukherjee, M.A., Professor of English, Asutosh College, Bhawanipur. Price 5 as. (Oxford University Press, 1926). Illustrated.

This is, on the whole, a very successful attempt to present to Indian readers in our English schools the story of the immortal epic of Valmiki.

The author has shown himself to be possessed of no ordinary skill as a story-teller. Throughout his book, though there is no want of picturesque detail, the main thread of his narrative is never lost sight of, the types of character are brought into clear relief, the descriptions which have a truly epic variety are rendered in an admirable fashion. The author's English style is always chaste and idiomatic. The interest of the book for juveniles is increased by the attractive pictures which it contains. The general get-up and print are all that can be expected of a publishing house of the reputation of the Oxford University Press,

U. N. GHOSAL

Annual Report on Emigration to Labour Districts (Assam, Cachar and Sylhet), 1926, by Lt.-Col. A. Denham White, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., I.M.S., published by the Government of India, Central Publication Branch Calcutt. Price Annas Twelve a copy.

During the period under report we find that twenty-seven local agent's licenses were granted by the District Superintendents of Emigration of Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, Jessore, Khulna, Midnapore, Murshidabad, Nadia and the 24-Parganahs as against eighteen licenses granted in the previous year. Five-hundred and twelve garden *Sardars*, including eighty-eight *Sardarnis* were employed and worked under the control of the licensed local agents. The total number of emigrants recruited by garden *Sardars* working in and outside Bengal was 9,442 as against 12,638 in the previous year. Of these, 9,426 were despatched to the labour districts. 4,839 left for Assam, 1,433 for Cachar and 3,154 for Sylhet.

S. K. R.

Ourselfes

THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1927, was 15,754 of whom 15,626 candidates actually took the examination. The number of successful candidates is 8,388 of whom 4,618 passed in the First Division, 3,266 in the Second Division and 504 in the Third Division,—the percentage of pass being 53·95.

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RESULTS OF L. T. AND B. T. EXAMINATIONS.

L. T.—

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination was 27 of whom 23 passed.

B. T.—

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination was 63 of whom 49 passed, 13 failed and one was absent. Of the successful candidates 13 were placed in the First Division.

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KAMALA LECTURE.

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Lit., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for the year under review. The subject of his lecture is *Philosophical Discipline*. We understand that

an attempt was made in vain to secure the services of a distinguished Mahomedan poet.

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READERSHIP LECTURE.

Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., who was appointed University Reader, will deliver a course of six lectures on the "European Alliance : 1815-1825 " next cold weather.

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TWO NEW UNIVERSITY CHAIRS.

The following communication was received from the Government of Bengal on the subject of creating the Asutosh Chairs in Sanskrit and in Islamic Culture :

" GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

Education Branch.

No. 173-T. Edn.

FROM

J. H. LINDSAY, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.,

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

TO

THE REGISTRAR,

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Darjeeling, April, 1927.

THE HON. MR. BYOMKES CHAKRAVARTI,

Minister-in-charge.

SIR,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. A-357, dated the ^{19th}/_{22nd} September, 1925, and to say that the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education have decided to make an annual grant of Rs. 12,000

to the University for the appointment of a Professor of Islamic Studies and Culture in the Post-Graduate Department of the University. A provision of Rs. 8,000 has, accordingly, been made in the current year's Education Budget for the purpose.

2. I am now to request you to be so good as to submit proposals for an appointment to a chair of this nature and to furnish Government with what the University consider to be proper conditions for the tenure of the Professorship. They would also be glad to know what demonstrators or other Assistants could be assigned to the new professor so that an efficient department could be established.

3. In this connection, I am also to refer to your letter No. C-4761-P.G., dated the 29th June, 1926, and to this office letter No. 3226-Edn., dated the 25th September, 1926, about the establishment of two Chairs to be known respectively as the Asutosh Professorship of Sanskrit and the Asutosh Professorship of Islamic Culture in the University and to enquire whether, in view of the circumstances stated above, the University contemplates the submission of revised proposals for the utilisation of the fund accruing from the rentals realised from the shops on the ground-floor of the Asutosh Building.

I have, etc.,

J. H. LINDSAY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal."

whereupon the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate passed the following order :

(1) That the offer be accepted with thanks.

(2) That the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, be informed that appointments will be made in the terms of Chapter IX of the Regulations and that rules under Sec. 7 of the same Chapter will be framed by the Senate.

(3) That a copy of the letter be sent to each member of the following Committee for drawing up Rules and for making suggestions as to the utilisation of the surplus money set free :—

The Vice-Chancellor.

E. F. Oaten, Esq., M.A., LL.B., M.L.C.

Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ahsanullah, M.A., M.A.S.

Prof. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Bar.-at-Law, M.L.C.

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POST-GRADUATE DEPARTMENT AND THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.

We have been requested to publish the following :

“ FROM

J. H. LINDSAY, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

TO

• THE REGISTRAR,

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Darjeeling, the 23rd April, 1927.

THE HON'BLE MR. BYOMKES CHAKRAVARTI,

Minister-in-charge.

SIR,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. C. 2700 P.G. (Rec.), dated the 30th November, 1926, on the subject of the co-operation of the staff of the Presidency College in the scheme for Post-graduate teaching in the Calcutta University. In that correspondence an agreement has been arrived at between the University and Government on the recommendation of the Presidency College Committee on the terms of co-operation, as contained on pages 6 and 7 of their final Report, a copy of which was forwarded to you with this office letter No. 3775 Edn., dated the 15th November 1926. I am now to address the University regarding the remaining recommendations made by the Committee.

2. *Extent of Co-operation*—The proposals of the Committee in this regard are set out in paragraph 7 of their second *ad interim* report (copy forwarded to you with this office letter referred to above). These proposals were arrived at in consultation with the Post-graduate Re-organisation Committee of Calcutta University, who in paragraph 43 of their Majority Report, have also made identical recommendations on the subject. I am to request that the University will be so good as to favour Government with their opinion on these joint proposals of the two Committees.

3. *Laboratories*—Government have had a set of rules drawn up to give effect to the recommendation of the Presidency College Committee under this head. I am now to enclose a copy and to enquire whether the draft rules meet with the approval of the University.

4. *Library*—Government are of opinion that the principle of reciprocity, advocated by the Committee, cannot be arranged for the following reasons:—

(1) the number of University students is very large and additional staff will be required at the College to arrange for the lending out of books to them ;

(2) the collection of money deposits at the College, which is usual in such cases, will involve a great deal of extra work and will complicate accounts ;

(3) the College Library is not large enough to allow of extra students reading there. As it is, there is very little room for the Presidency College men who number over 1,000 to read in the library and the addition of several hundreds of men from the University will make reading in the library impossible ;

(4) if the books are taken out by the University students from the College library it will be necessary to arrange for duplicate or triplicate copies of several hundreds of volumes ; otherwise many members of the staff, and students, of the College will be unable to consult works, which they at present use. •

• For these reasons Government feel that the proposal must be dropped, though the Principal of the College will be prepared to make arrangements in special case for a Post-graduate student, recommended by the University, to consult any book required by him, which is otherwise unobtainable. •

I have the honour to be,

• SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

J. H. LINDSAY, .

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.''

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JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSE RESEARCH PRIZE.

The following subject is selected for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1927 :

“ A comparative study of the Law of Evidence according to the Smritis.”

The attention of the intending candidates is expressly called to the following conditions laid down for the prize :

(i) By comparative Indian Law shall be meant the Hindu Smriti Sastra called “Byabaharkhanda” and a comparison of the standard Sanskrit authorities on the subject with British Indian Law as contained in Parliamentary Statutes, Regulations and Acts of the Indian Legislative Council, and the law as laid down in leading cases. The study, which it shall be the object of the prize to encourage, is the history of the Hindu Smriti Sastra as it existed at and from the time when India came

under British rule and how and to what extent it has been altered under British influence, regard being had not only to the existing Statutes, Regulations and Acts but also to those which, having been in operation for a time, have now been repealed or become obsolete and regard being also had not only to the existing leading cases but to cases which were considered leading at one time, but have now been overruled; and how and to what extent such alteration has affected Hindu society.

(ii) The essay may deal with the whole of the Indian Comparative Law as before defined or with part or parts thereof; but in no case shall an essay be entitled to competition which in any way attacks the religious belief, usages or institutions of His Majesty's subjects.

(iii) By Adhyapak shall be meant scholars of the Smriti Sastra, students of the Smriti in the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta, and in the *toles* of indigenous Brahmanical schools which send in candidates for the title examinations held in that College, and students in other similar institutions in India.

(iv) Every candidate for the prize shall be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portion of thesis which he claims as original. He shall further be required to state whether his research has been conducted immediately, under advice or in co-operation with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

(v) Successful candidates shall be required to publish their essays, and if necessary they shall receive help from the University for the purpose.

(vi) The essay or essays shall be written, either in English or in Bengali, but if any competitor sends in an essay in a vernacular language other than Bengali he shall be bound to furnish an English translation thereof.

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STATE SCHOLARSHIPS.

Two State Scholarships of £300 a year tenable for three years in the United Kingdom with the usual War Bonus will be awarded this year by the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education to the best Hindu and Mahomedan candidates respectively. The University has been asked to nominate three Hindus and three Mahomedāns for the purpose.

